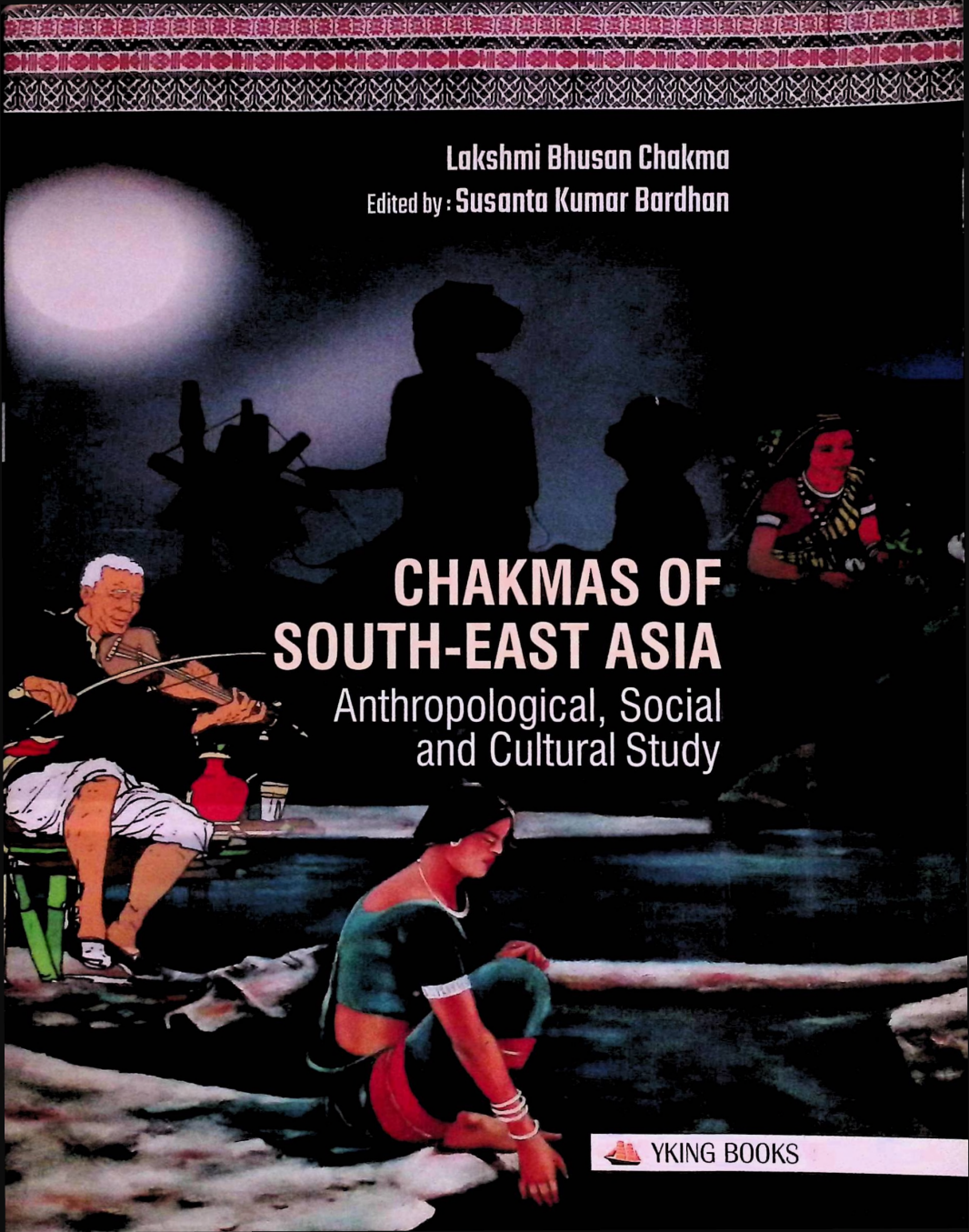
Lakshmi Bhusan Chakma
Edited by : Susanta Kumar Bardhan



CHAKMAS OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Anthropological, Social and Cultural Study

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Dedicated to my mother

Smt. Chigoni alias Vidyadhari Chakma
who helped me in every possible way on every subject
dealt with in this book.

Chief Executive Member
Chakma Autonomous District Council
Kamalanagar, Lawngtlai
Mizoram - 796772

Rasik Mohan Chakma

MESSAGE

"Chakmas of South East Asia" – Anthropological, Social and Cultural Studies, the first book of Dg. Lakshmi Bushan Chakma to be published, will be the first book on the Chakmas dealing with a very wide range of topics ever written such as traditional history, myths, traditional belief, Vaidyaali, Chakma script, literature, folklore, rites, festival, food habit, Jhum cultivation, Bein, weaving, hunting, games and sports, customary laws, etc. It will be a complete book to know about the Chakmas, a community rarely written about.

Dg. Lakshmi Bushan Chakma is revered in the community for his in-depth knowledge about the history, tradition, culture, traditional medicine, sorcery and black magic, language and script of the Chakmas. His role in the development of Chakma language and script as a subject, as taught today in the schools of Chakma Autonomous District Council is invaluable. His expertise has been useful when he has held various posts under Chakma Autonomous District Council especially as Art & Culture Officer and Court President Recorder.

The book will be an expression of his lifelong love to delve deep about his community and I hope it will be a treasure for the community.

(RASIK MOHAN CHAKMA)

Dr. B. D. Chakma

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Date.....

MESSAGE

It gives me immense pleasure to know that Shri Lalchini Bikram Chakma, Retd. Court President & Recorder, Law & Judicial Department of Chakma Autonomous District Council is set to publish his forthcoming book titled "Chakmas of South East Asia: Antropological, Social and Cultural Study".

This book shall open a rare window to the readers to learn more about the life, history, myths, society, culture and religion of the Chakmas. The oral traditions and cultural knowledge of the Chakmas shall also find its place of prominence and relevance in his works.

In that spirit, I congratulate the author for bringing out his works of research, scholarship and expertise in the form of this book which should prove useful to not only the Chakmas across the globe but also to those interested on this lesser written about subject.

I convey my best wishes for the successful publication of his book.

Dated Aizawl.
The 14th January, 2022

(Dr. BD CHAKMA)
MLA, Mizoram

Residence : Legislator's Home, Room No : 403 & 404, Tuikhuahtlang, Aizawl, Mizoram-796001

Preface

In the year 1987, I came to serve the Chakma Autonomous District Council (CADC), Mizoram (formed under Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India, to safeguard own identity and culture) in the capacity of an Historical Research Officer in the Arts and Culture Department. But after joining, I observed that our very own culture and identity is at the verge of losing since the modern educated children do not know about our age old heritage like the traditional script, the old social values, the traditional method of healing, rites and festivals, social identities, etc. The children knew nothing about our own history and genus we belong to, our indigenous folklores, lullabies, folk song, rhymes, the traditional games and sports. I decided to record everything about Chakma identity, life, history, culture and tradition so that a true genuine or authentic picture or account of the Chakmas is displayed and the children learn about their rich past.

In my childhood when I visited relatives in other villages, I would be offered eggs and chicken while returning home. Boys of my size used to invite me for friendly bout of wrestling called *Badābodi* (wrestling). They would also invite me to play at *Gheelye* (a game played with round nut), participate at *Gudu Khārā* (Ha doo doo), *Pohr Khārā* (Pond game) and *Nādeng Khārā* (Top game). I was never administered allopathy medicines till the age of eighteen. I wonder now how I got cured from malaria with *Thāndhā Mānik* (a jungle shrub bulb) and *Sāba Pit* (bile of snake). In my childhood I was administered *Jhākkwa Dāru* (a syrup made by soaking thirty six items), *Tel porhā* (mantra chanted oil), *Nun Porhā* (mantra chanted salt), *Ādā Porhā* (mantra chanted ginger) and sometimes *Dāli* (sacrifice of animal). I also witnessed painless delivery with the help of our *Pādhu Ojhā* (midwives) who applied *Tel Porhā*, mantra and sometimes medicine and *Dāli*.

Being engaged in the CADC Art and Culture Department, I decided to gather information on the Chakma Script and their traditional healing process. I started collecting books on *Vaitdyali* from various *vaidyos* and relatives. I was fortunate that I had already acquired some knowledge on Chakma Script from one Ven. Jyotipal Mahathero while serving him when he happened to spend one rainy retreat at our village temple at Tuichawng while on his way to Arunachal from Tintilla temple. I was helped by Ranjanya *Vaitdyo* of Golasury who is a brother-in-law in relation;

Smt. Sujata Chakma of Bagan Para, who handed me over her brother's books; Ravana Chakma of Kamalanagar-III, Shri Mansukh Chakma, a *Vaitdyo* of Kamalanagar-II, Kisto Ranjan Chakma of Kamalanagar-II, a cousin in relation who allowed me to copy and also help copy some of their books; Indrajit Chakma of Tuichawng, my youngest maternal uncle; Bharat Chandra Chakma of Tuichawng, an uncle in relation; Ashwini Kumar Chakma alias Durullya, a *Vaitdya* from Tuichawng; my second oldest brother Amullya Dhan Chakma, etc., during my research on these books.

At the beginning, I started writing some songs, a play and started working on Chakma script. In 1988, I published a Chakma Primer named *Chāngmhā Haragar Pogon Pādā* in cyclostyle with the assistance of Shri Triptendu Bikash Chakma. I revised and renamed it in 1994 as Chāngmhā Pattham Paidhyā and republished it with the help of Triptendu Bikash Chakma. This primer was accepted by Shri Rasik Mohan Chakma, the then Executive Member in-charge of Education, CADC as a text book in the CADC primary schools from 1995 to 2007 school session. I also conducted Chakma proficiency training to some teachers in 1995 and later years with other colleagues. In 1999, I again edited Chāngmhā Dwi Paidhyā which was printed in Lithography from Kolkata and was taught in the Middle schools from 1999 to 2007. A committee named Chakma Script and Language Development Committee was formed in 1995 under my chair and we development new textbook series of the beginners and printed it from Silchar with the Chakma software developed by Sujoy Chakma in 2008. We also imparted training on Chakma Script at Pecharthal, North Tripura in 2008.

I started collecting information and records from 1987 and started to read available books on Chakmas. I also started collecting information on traditional healing system like mantra, jādu, Tonā. Chāllān, Khāng, Tābit, Āng, Tāllik, Pujā, Dāli, process of preparation and application of medicines. I acquired information on myths and traditional beliefs and of worship and appeasement of different deities. The present accommodates analytical information about traditional cultural rites, games and sports, folklore, literature songs, lullabies, food habits, fishing, hunting, Jhum cultivation, weaving, etc., collected in course of my encounter with my fellow natives. So this book is no doubt the assimilation of information collected during my service period in CADC on the Chakma people.

I am to a great extent indebted to my mother Smt. Chigoni alias Vidyadhari Chakma who helped me in every possible way on every subject. She explained me about Jhum cultivation, weaving, child delivery, bringing up, marriage, games and sports, rites and festivals. She also informed me about the incidents she faced and heard. I am also indebted by Ranjanya Vaitdya and Ashwini Kumar Vaitdya for teaching me about the myths and beliefs. I am also indebted to Sarbashree Ravana Vaitdya, Mansukh Vaitdya, Kisto Ranjan Vaitdya, Indrajit Chakma—my maternal uncle, Bharat Chandra Vaitdyo—an uncle, Amulya Dhan Chakma—my elder brother and Smt. Sujata Chakma for not only providing me their *Vaitdyali* books but allowing me to copy and help copy the books. I also extend my gratitude to Advocate Shri Supreme Chakma, a related grand-nephew who helped me to edit the Customary Law section.

I also extend my deepest gratitude to Dr. Susanta Kumar Bardhan, Associate Professor of English, Suri Vidyasagar College, Bardawan University, West Bengal and former Lecturer in English and i/c Principal of Kamalanagar College, Mizoram, for agreeing to edit the present book. I will remain forever indebted to him for his extended help and support.

I express my sincere gratitude to Mr. R.M. Chakma, Hon'ble CEM, CADC, and Dr. B.D. Chakma, Hon'ble MLA, Mizoram Assembly, for their kind messages.

Last but not the least, I should mention the patience and tolerance of my wife Smt. Guri Milya alias Kripa Laxmi Chakma who silently tolerated me all these long years even when I could not even assist or help her in household and family related matters. When she needed my assistance the most, I kept myself busy with scattered papers and books. I should also mention my daughters Mini and Tutti who sometimes helped me in writing, arranging and also collection and collation of records. I express my sincere thanks to the artist Mr. Tejodeep Chakma of Gandachhera, Dholai, Tripura for the Cover Design of the present book. I also express my sincere thanks to Mr. Satyendra Jain and his team of Yking Books for publishing this book with care.

Lakshmi Bhusan Chakma

March, 2022

Editor's Note

My period of service at Kamalanagar College, Mizoram from 1994-1999 in the capacity of Lecturer in English and i/c Principal was made exciting, challenging and enriching by some CADC Officers and native speakers of Chakma. One of them is Mr. Lakshmi Bhusan Chakma (popularly known LB) who is an out-and-out academician highly conscious of and concerned about his own tribal community. I used to spend so many evenings with him to discuss the linguistic and cultural nitigrities of the Chakmas. These interactions helped me complete my M.Phil. and Ph.D. on the Chakma language (Phonology and Morphology). Though I left Kamalanagar long back in 1999, I have been maintaining sound connection with so many persons including LB sir. When I came to know that LB has written several chapters on anthropological, social and cultural aspects of the Chakmas, I immediately inspired him to develop those into a book. I should thank him for keeping faith in me and asking me to edit the entire work. Though, it initially seemed to be a challenging job, we have materialised our dream. The present book is a rich reservoir of socio-cultural, linguistic and socio-political aspects of the Chakma tribe. The readers and scholars are expected to be benefited from this treasure house on Chakmas of South-East Asia.

Susanta Kumar Bardhan

Contents

	Preface	xi
	Editor's Note	xv
1.	The Chakma Tribe: Introduction	1
2.	Bijak or History of the Chakmas	31
3.	Social System	51
4.	Jhum Cultivation	75
5.	Chakma Script	79
6.	Religious Belief of The Chakmas	94
7.	Myths and Traditional Beliefs of the Chakmas	100
8.	Vaitdyali and System of Treatment of the Chakmas	108
9.	Traditional Customary Laws of the Chakmas	136
10.	Food and its Preparation	200
11.	Games and Sports of the Chakmas	208
12.	Rites and Festivals of the Chakmas	214
13.	Literature	244
14.	Folklore	270
15.	Bein and Weaving Process	301
16.	Wine and Alcoholic Drinks	306
17.	Hunting and Fishing Equipment	308
18.	The Chakmas of Mizoram	312
	Appendix: Picture	334
	Index	355

1

The Chakma Tribe: Introduction

The Chakmas are one of the hill tribes living in the region lying between 21 to 29 degree north latitude and 88 to 92 degree east longitude. They are known as *'Thet'*, *'Thetkama'*, *'Sakkama'*, *'Tsakma'*, *'Tsak'*, *'Thek'* to the Burmese. The Chakmas in Burma are known as 'Daingnet' to the Bamar and Rakhains. Howerver, the Daingnet Chakmas of Burma believe that the name 'Chakma' has actually derived from the word 'Sakka of Sakkya' meaning 'able' and 'Ma' meaning 'people'. They are also called under various names by the neighbouring tribes e.g.- 'the Tripuris call them *'Chhakhma'*, the Bangladesh Tripuris call them *'Chongma'* or '*Kurumu*', the Marmas and Maghs call them *'Sahk'* or *'Thek'* (pronunced 'Sek', the Sakyas), the Mizos call them *'Takam'* (derived from the word *Tui Kham'*– *Tui*= Water, *Kham*=near, meaning the people who live near water sources), the Lakher or Maras call them *'Tuichek'* (Chek or Chak/Sak people who live near water sources), the Pangkwa tribe of Bangladesh call them *'Aicheng'*, the Tongchongyas call them *'Ānokyā Chāngmhā'* (western Chakmas since Chittagong is west to Burma) and the Bengalees of Chittagong call them *'Chāmmwa'*. However, they identify themselves as *'Chāngmhā'*[1]. Major Lewin groups them with the *Khyongthas* or the tribe who live along the river courses.[2]

The main habitation of the Chakmas is in the Chittagong Hills Tracts of Bangladesh, Lawngtlai, Lunglei and Mammit districts in the Indian states of Mizoram, North and Southern districts of Tripura, Tirap, Changlang, Subansiri and Lohit districts of Arunachal Pradesh and some in the Hailakandi and Karbi Anglong districts in the Indian state of Assam and a group in the Chin Province and Arakan Province in Myanmar. Habitation of the Chakmas in Myanmar (Burma) is said to be in the northern part of Rakhine state at Bhutidaung, Mrauk U and eastern bank of the river Lembre at Sittwe and the river Kaladan. A Chakma village is named Naukya is situated at 6 miles from Mrauk U town and are known as 'Daingnet'. 'The total Chakma population is estimated to be around 5,50,000. The majority of the Chakma population are in the Chittagong hill Tracts of Bangladesh. About 2,39,417[3] in 1991 Census are residing in Chittagong Hill Tracts, around 15,000 in Assam, 64,293[4] in Tripura, 71,2835 in Mizoram, around 42,333[6] in Arunachal Pradesh, and around 80,000 in Arakan[7]. The Chakmas have their own script, culture, folklore, traditions and literature. They have own food habits, games and sports and medical system. They

have a history of origin, ascent, and tradition with distinct culture, language and script, song, folklore, games and sports. The Chakma women weave their own clothes in their traditional feather weight handlooms called Bein. The clothes are artistically designed by weaving flower patterns from the traditional flower design called *Ālām*.

Prior to the British rule in Indian sub-continent, the mainstream Chakmas had their own kingdom at the Chittagong Hill Tracts, now in Bangladesh with own system of administration and justice. As per Harry Barrylast, the Chief of the Chittagong district, the Chakma kingdom was extended as follows in 1763 during the reign of Chakma king Sher Must Khan:

North	:	Feni river
South	:	Sangu river
East	:	Kuki kingdom
West	:	Nizampur road (presently Dacca trunk road)[8]

The Chakmas had to pay only business tax in the form of eleven mounds of cotton annually to the Moghul as per business treaty signed in 1715. Though, the East India Company took over the administrative powers of the Moghul in 1757 and business treaty also transferred to them, they remained peaceful and did not interfere with the Chakma until 1777. The Chakma kingdom was then known as *Cotton Mahal*. In 1777, they demanded more cotton. On the denial to pay more cotton by the Chakma king, the British led two expeditions under Mr. Lene in 1777 and Mr. Turman in 1780. But the expeditions were not successful. The Chakma Commander Ronu Khan attacked them at every opportunity with the assistance of the Kukis and forced them to back. The British blocked all supplies to the hills and blocked the markets to force surrender. As a result, the common subjects suffered miserably. When the suffering went beyond tolerance, the Chakma king Raja Dharam Bask Khan surrendered before Governor General Warren Hasting at Calcutta in 1815 and signed an agreement to pay more tax in the form of 501 mounds of cotton. In 1791, they made to pay Rs. 1815 in lieu of cotton. It was again refixed at Rs. 2822 in 1832 and Rs. 2584 in 1837.

The British did not interfere with the internal affairs of the Chakma kingdom up to 1861, the year they built an administrative office at Chandraghona. In 1866, Capt. Tom Herbert Lewin was transferred to Chittagong Hill Tracts. From the year of his transfer, the powers and boundary of the Chakma kingdom started to decrease day-by-day. Twenty-six places were exceeded to Chittagong plain district and later the kingdom was transformed into a mere circle, dividing it into three circles—Chakma, Maung and Bomang circle. Many of the power and functions of the king were striped and the king was reduced to a mere 'Chief'. And in 1891, the present Demagiri area of Indian state of Mizoram was also transferred to Assam. As a result, the Chakma kingdom had to forgo its land and subjects beyond the river of Thega and Sazek. Such a treatment on the part of Capt. Lewin is said to be due to personal misunderstanding between Capt. Lewin and Chakma Rani Kalindi.

In 1947, during India's Independendence, the Chakmas wanted to remain with India as they did not feel safe under Islamic sovereignty since the division was based on religious differences. But the Chairman of Bengal Boundary Commission on 16th August 1947 declared the annexation of CHT in the Islamic Sovereign of Pakistan. 98 per cent of the ethnic people were thunder struck and there was wide spread resentment. Some people under the leadership of Sneha Kumar Chakma even unfurled the Indian tri-colour at the Deputy Commissioners' office of Rangamati. That remained there for three days. As a result, they had to flee to India.

The present Chakma people of Arunachal who were uprooted from the then East Pakistan took shelter in India in 1964 after their lands and houses were drowned by the Kaptai Hydel Project Dam which the Govt. of Pakistan constructed with the American fund without providing adequate compensation to the affected people. The Chakmas of Tripura have been residing there since British rule and also some of them took shelter in fear of refurcation from Pakistan's Govt. The Chakmas of Mizoram have been residing there since British period and before that. The Chakmas of Assam have shifted there mostly from Tripura in search of fertile jungle for jum cultivation. And the Chakmas of Myanmar are the descendents of those who could not escape to *Anok* (west) i.e., Chittagong after the Chakma kingdom had fallen in 1333. They are the Doinakyas, the badly defeated people as in Burmese *Doina* means *the badly defeated.*

Physical Features: H.H. Risely classified the Chakmas as Lohitic tribe. Major Tom Herbert Lewin grouped them with the *Khyongthas* meaning son of the river or the tribe who live along the river courses. Anthropologically, the Chakmas belong to the people of South. East Asia. They belong to the Tibeto-Burman group of people. Dr. Hutton and H.H. Risely classified them as Mongoloid. Mr. Hutchinson in his book 'Chittagong Hills Tracts' observed, 'the Chakmas are of medium stature and thick set built with fair complexion and a cheerful honest looking face. Physically they are finer specimen of manhood than the *Magh* (now Marmas/Arakanese). They possess none of the hereditary laziness of the latter, and although their independence will prevent them from working as a manial of others. Yet, they work hard to further their own interest. They possess a memory to grasp detail quickly and appreciate the advantages achieved by their industry. They are stolid, argumentative and stubborn, but on the whole truthful'[9].

Significance of the Term 'Chakma': The ethnological term 'Chakma' is of recent origin applied by the British writers to a community living in CHT. The word 'Chakma' is a generic term given to a predominant hill tribe of Chittagong Hill Tracts in the corridor link of Burma by the British administrators and scholars who ruled over and reached on these tracts of hills from the 18th century to 20th century[10]. The genetic term 'Chakma' given to the predominant hill tribes of Chittagong by the British administrators and scholars, who ruled over and researched on the tract of hills from eighteenth century is not *in toto* with the self identification of the tribe. Capt. T.H. Lewin states that the name of 'Chukma' is given to this tribe in general by the inhabitants of Chittagong District and the largest and dominant section of the tribe recognises this as its rightful appellation[11]. The tribe still identify themselves as *'Chāngmhā'* and not *Chakma* or *Chukma.* Different tribes and people call them in various names. For example *Thek, Tsak, Tsek* or *Tsakma* and *Khy chaw* or *Khyong sa* or *Khyong tha* by the Burmese and Arakanese; *Chammwa* or *Jummwa* by the plain people of Chittagong, *'Tākām'*, *Tui Thek*, or *Tui Sāk* by the Kukis. Though Maj. Lewin in the 'Wild Races of South East Asia' stated that—"The name *Chukma* is given to this tribe in general by the inhabitants of Chittagong District and the largest and dominant section of the tribe recognises this as its right appellation". It is not correct. Some Bengali educated persons might have agreed to it. The Burmese call the Chakmas as Tsak (Sak) or Thet (Chek) and the name Chakma derived from it.[12] Prof. K.P. Nath opines that the ancestors of the Chakma were known as Sakyamong, a word which by way of varying pronunciation over hundreds of years became Chakma (Sakyamong>Sakyama>Sakma> Chakma)[12]. Actually, Mong means a king and Sakyamong is Sakya king. The name Chakma originated from Champanago or Champaknagar, the ancient habitation of the Chakmas.[13] According to C.R. Chakma, "the name Chakma derived from Chatuma, one of the ten clans of the Sakyas".[14] The writers differe in their opinions about the term 'Chakma' as shown below:

(a) Capt. T.H. Lewin states that the name of 'Chukma' is given to this tribe in general by the inhabitants of Chittagong District and the largest and dominant section of the tribe recognises this as its rightful appellation.

(b) Abdus Sattar: 'Chakma' was derived from the Muslim title 'Shaikh' or 'shaikh' as the Muslims had trade with Chittagong from Iran, Arab and Turkistan, etc.

(c) Pran Hari Talukdar—'Chakma' has been derived from the Sakya kingdom of Siam which was established by Shyamala. From Siama > Sama > Chama > Chamang> Changmang and the present Chakma was originated.

(d) Raja Bhuban Mohan Roy—The Burmese call the Sakyas as *Tsak*, *Tsek* or *Thek*. The king of Sakyas were called *Tsāk māng*. From *Tsak*, *Tsek*, *Thek māng* to *Chākmang* and *Chākma*.

(e) S.P. Talukdar—*Khyengtha* signifies the people or nation living near water. In Burmese, the pronunciation of *Khy-chaw*, i.e., *Khyeng tha- Chawengtha* and Chākma.

(f) Karna Talukdar—After Vijoygiri had conquered the Axa or Waxa kingdom of present Burma, he coronated himself on a white elephant. They also used to ride on elephants. In Burmese 'Chang' means elephant and 'mang' means king. So, from *Changmang* to *Chakma*.

(g) The Burmese call the Chakmas as Tsak (Sak) or Thet (Chek) and the name Chakma derived from it[15].

(h) Prof. K.P. Nath opines that the ancestor of the Chakma were known as Sakyamong, a word which by way of varying pronunciation over hundreds of years became Chakma (Sakyamong>Sakyama>Sakma>Chakma)[16]. Actually, Sakya is Sakya people and Mong means a king. So Sakyamong is Sakya king. The name Chakma originated from Champanago or Champaknagar, the ancient habitation of the Chakmas[17].

(i) According to C.R. Chakma, "the name Chakma derived from *Chatuma*, one of the ten clan of the Sakyas"[18].

(j) The Chakmas are also known differently by different people. Taranath calls them Cakma or Ca-ga-ma[19], Tsakma[20].

(k) Tui-Thek by the Kukis[21] which means *Chek* people who live near wa*ter (Tui), Thek* (pronounced *Sek/Sak*) people who live near water.

(l) Tākām or Tikām by the modern Mizos[22].

(m) He word came from TuiKhām>Tikhām>Tākām. (Tui= water, Khām-near) i.e., People who live near water or *Kurum* by the Tripuris[23] and these terms apply to the Chakma people only.

(n) From the *Bijak*, the only historical record of the Chakmas, among the Chakma kings, we find two kings pronouncing *'Chāk'* namely *Srittoma Tsāk* and *Sākālia* whose coronation was held on the back of elephant. The first was coronated by himself and the second was carried by the royal white elephant on its back when there was no heir on the throne.

Notice that the Chakmas identify themselves as *'Changmha'* and not Chukma or Chakma. The Maghs calls them Changmang, Sang means elephant and Mang means king and Changmang means king with elephant[24]. It is said that the first Chakma king Vijoygiri coronated himself riding on an elephant as per the Sakyan tradition. (As per Sakyan tradition. When there is no heir to

the throne, the royal elephant is released and the person whom the elephant takes on its back is made the king. It is said that after the death of Suddho Dhana, the father of Gautama Buddha, as had no heir since his son Siddhartha and grand son denounced family life, the royal elephant was released and the elephant took Mahanama on its back and Mahanama became the king of Kapilavastu). In Burmese Chang means elephant and Mang means king. Therefore, Changmang means the king with elephant.[25] Raja Bhuban Mohan Roy writes that the Maghs calls the Chakmas as Chak/Chek denoting the Sakya people and the Sakya kings are known as Chakmang and from Chakmang, Chakma has originated[26].

Now it can be claimed that the name Chakma has derived from the word Sakya with varying pronunciations and spellings in course of time. There is no doubt that the name and spelling 'Chakma' were given by the British writers from the original word 'Sakma'(Sak=Sakya, Ma/mi= people/men) to Chakma. But similar term with different spelling had in existence before the annexation of CHT by the British. For example, *Jao de Barros*, a Portuguese drew a map of Bengal *'Descripcao do Reino de Bengala'* in 1550 AD where he has shown an area named *'Chacomas'*. Similarly, in 1608, Taranath also mentioned a Buddhist community namely *'Cak-ma'* or *'Ca-ga-ma'*. Thus, the name Chakma was in existence before the British came into CHT. It is actually derived from the word 'Sakya' it confirms their traditional believe that they are a group of the Sakya clan of Gautama Buddha fame. Besides, it might also be that the Chakma kings used to coronate riding on elephant's back and thereafter they wereo known as *Chāngmāng* and the people of the *Chāngmāng* came to known as *Chāngmā/Chāngmhā*.

The present author opines that the term *'Chākma'* has derived from the name of the kings named 'Chak' and ma means men or people. Further as stated by Raja Bhuban Mohan Roy, the Burmese and Arakanese used to call the Sakyas as *'Tsak, Tsek* or *Thek* (pronounced *Tsek/Tsak*). Hence *'Tsak, Tsek* or *Thek* later changed into *Sek, Chek* or *Chak* and people of *Tsak, Tsek, Thek. Tsek, Thek* and *Chāk* were later came to be known as; *Chakma'* since 'ma,' 'mi' denotes men or people. As regard the self-identification, It might be the fact that the Chakma kings used to coronate riding on elephant back and thereafter they wereo known as Chāngmāng (elephant king) and the people of the Changmang came to be known as *Chāngmā/Chāngmhā* (*Chāng*= elephant, Mā=men or people) denoting people of the elephant riding king. The Chakmas are also known differently by different people. Taranath called them Cak-ma or Ca-ga-ma[27], Tsakma[28], Tui-Thek by the Kukis[29] which means Chek people who live near water (Tui), Thek (Sek/Sak) people who live near water. *Tākām* or *Tikām* by the modern Mizos[30]. The word came from TuiKhām>Tikhām>Tākām. (Tui= water, Khām= near) i.e., people who live near water or Kurum by the Tripuris[31] and these terms apply to the Chakma people only.

Origin: The origin of the Chakmas is in mystery. The contemporary historians are also silent about the existence of the Chakmas. The only records found on the subject are the Bijaks of (1) Madhav Chandra Chakma (Sri Sri Rajnama), (2) Raja Bhuban Mohan Roy (Chakma Raj Vamsher Itihas), (3) Karna Talukdar (Raj Vamshavali), (4) Biraj Mohan Dewan (Chakma Jatir Itibritta), (5) Punya Dhan Chakma (Chakma Itihas), etc. These also do not tally each other and like fairy tales as they lack chronology. The list of chronology of kings varied as to who succeeded whom and also some kings are missing from some *Bijak*. In the *Bijak* of Raja Bhuban Mohan Roy, a total twenty kings are missing whereas other *Bijaks* have confirmed existence. There is no trace of historical evidence on the existence of the Chakmas before the 10th century A.D. In the Burmese and Arakanese history, existence of the Chakmas as 'Thek' and 'Thet' are traced. The accounts of Hutchinson, Capt. Lewin and others are found to be wrong on the origin of the Chakmas. It

seems that their accounts are based on hearsays, as the Hindus tried to show them as Hindu and the Mohamedans as Muslim and they depended on them.

The reasons for the inavailablity of historical records on the Chakma, must be attributed to the nomadic habit of tribal people and also the struggle faced by them for their survival. Their frequent battle with other tribes or nations and sometimes fleeing for life after defeat was also one of the causes. They could not carry all their belongings and evidently historical records. The records had to be retrieved from their memory. Further, the earlier mode of preservation of records was not proper. It was usually destroyed by motes, white ants and cockroaches as they were written on palm leaves.

Traditional Belief on the Origin: The Chakmas traditionally believe that they belong to the sun race and *khattias*. They also believe that they belong to the Sakya Clan of Gautama Buddha fame. The traditional belief has been transmitted from peson to person and father to son.

Original Group of Chakmas: As per traditional belief and *Bijak* and also as sung by the *Geingkhulees*, the traditional ballad poet singers, the ancestral group of the Chakmas remained at Champaknagar. There is no link or trace with that ancestral group. It is also believed that they used to wear *Poidyā* (holy thread *Janayu*) as a sign of *Khattyas*. The *Radha Mohn—Dhan Pudi Pālhā* as sung by the *Gengkhulees* in describing the conquered kingdoms, runs as under:

Chajher Gabhure Ba Kādhee
Sidhugo manuchsun a jadi
Chumo Kabinei Panhi Khei
Tarhar Karhatthun Poidya nei
Dudhe Khādhee Sijhedang
Poidya barhat gurhi amhi beredang.

(The young fellow trims *Ba Kādhee* (a chip to make a stick to fasten the rafter of thread of a bein, a handloom)

The people over there are alien
We drank water in bamboo cylinder
None of them wore *Poidyā* (secret thread of Brahmin and *Khattriyas*)
We cooked food in milk
We roamed wearing *Poidyā* on our shoulder.

Note: The first, third and fifth lines are only to form rhythm and it does not necessarily have any relation with the main theme. It is the typical form of composition of songs. It describes only the things prevalent in the society or of any events. The Chakmas were *Khattyas* and used milk. They also had handlooms.

Society: The social structure of the Chakmas is based on family and village administration. Earlier a village was consisted of only one group of people, who were inter-related by blood and the most influential person of that group was choosen as their leader. The group leader was sometimes hereditary and he was called *Sardar* or *Amu* or *Roaza*. A group of people are collectively called a *Gozā* (which was derived from the Arakanese word '*Gong Sa. Gong* = Leader, *Sā* = Son, Men or people which means men of a group leder). In the Chakma society, the king was the supreme head. Under him there were group leaders called *Sardārs, Āmus, Roājās*. During

the Moghul Period these group leaders were known as *Dewāns*. During British period, they were known as *Talukdars* and Headman. Under them there were *Kheejhās*, and in the later period the *Kārbāris*. These *Kheejās* were sometimes appointed directly by the king and 'when the *gozā* is a large one, the *Sardār/Roazā* or *Dewān* appoints several subordinates under him to assist him in the administration these officers are called "*Khejas*".[32] A family is headed by the eldest male members of the family, under the head of a family, the eldest son and the other sons, according to generation and age. It is therefore rightly said that A *Bar Jan* (an elder) has got the right to inflict three slaps on the younger without any question or trial. The foundation of the Chakma society is based on the obedience of the elders. Here the son has to obey the 'fathers', the fathers had to obey the *Kheejā/Kārbāris*, the *Kārbāris* the *Dewān* or *Sardār* and the *Sardārs* or *Dewans*, the king which was binding and concrete. Being closely related, they would join and help each other in every happiness and sorrow. Apart from the above, the people who are respected in a village are *Kārbāris*, monks and *Vāitdyas*[33].

Social Characteristic: The simple and peace loving Chakmas believe in Buddhism. But sometimes appease other deities and spirits as per traditional believes stated in Srichti Pattham and various Pujo Bijoks and they believe in the hold of gods and spirits for their prosperity, every illness, sufferings and misfortune, which hint them at *Animism*. For example, if it is water born disease, they will appease Gonga Ma (the water goddess), for rheumatism and other circulatory disease, they will appease the Dein (witches), if it is a muscle related disease, they will appease the Bhoot (ghost), if it is mental illness, they will appease the Pari (fairies) and if it is on air circulation, they will appease the Dyo (male fairy), etc. They believe in the existence of many spirits who cause harm to a human beings on offending them and also believe the existence of spirits on places called Dujho Jāgā (haunted/offensive place) and they will perform Duch Mārā ritual to inactivate the hold.

The Chakma social system runs from the father's line. Their habits and customs are to some extend conservative. That's why it is believed, they have not assimilation with other tribes, though they lived in Burma and Arakan for seven centuries as per the *Bijak* and with the Bengalees of Chittagong for about six centuries. For their conservative believes, they did not come under the influence of Christian Missionaries though other tribes like the Mizos, Nagas, Garo, Khashis, etc., had embraced Christianity. Even being Buddhists, Chakmas have not given up the traditional beliefs and till today. They, practice some rites which are not Buddhistic but of old Hindu religion.

Exogamous Division: The Chakmas are divided into groups called Gozās and genus called gutthi. As per Shri Ashok Dewan the word *'Gozā'* might has come from the Arakanese word *Gongsā* (*Gong* = leader, *Sā* = son/men/people) meaning people of a leader. And this *'Gong Sā'* came to the Chakmas as *Goza*. (Since as per Chakma rules of pronunciation, the middle and last letters of a word transform differently on certain letters if it is without *amāchjyā* (halt or break/ vowel deleter sign) e.g. K as G, Kh as Gh, Ch as J, Chh as Jh, T as D, P as B, and S as Jha, Za.) The introduction of a *Gozā* and *Gutthi* is based on some famous personalities, titles, feats or of any place of habitations or any incident of the group. It is said that the *Gozā* system was first introduced by king Manikgiri or Merākyā, the eldest son of king *Moinjhyāng* who was forced to flee from *Moisāgiri* to *Chādigāng* in the fourteenth century after the downfall of Chakma kingdom in 1333 A.D. It is said that the *Subedār* of Bengal, Jallal Uddin, son of Raja Ganesh, permitted him to settle in twelve villages near Kadalpur when they fled to Bengal after the atrocities of the Maghs went beyond endurance. And those twelve villages were kept under

twelve *sardārs* and the people were known under twelve different names of Sardars or *Gozā* leaders. At the increase of population other Gozās sprung up in the later period. At present there are more than forty *Gozās* among the main stream *Ānakyā Chākmās*, twelve *Gosās* each among the *Tangchangya Chākmās* and the *Doinākyā* or *Daingnet Chākmās*. The *Gozā* and *Gutthi* system of the Chakmas comes from the father's line and the women losses their *Gozā* and *Gutthi* after marriage and their children will belong to the *Gozā* and *Gutthi* of the father or husband.

Among the Chakmas, in the beginning, the *Gozā* was the unit of an organisation for certain purposes. During the reign of the Chakma kings and each *Gozā* was presided over by a leader who was known as *Sardār, Āmhu, Mhulheema, Chege, Dhāveng* and in the later period by *Dewān*, during Moghul period and *Tālukdār* and *Headman* during British period. These *Sardārs, Āmus, Mhulhemās, Cheges, Dhāvengs, Dewāns* and *Tālukdars* were sometimes a minister, an ambassador, a commander, a revenue collector or an official of the Raja. They represented the leading families of the *Gozās*. They collected taxes and revenues and keeping some portion for themselves paid the remainder with a yearly offering of *Ākcholi* to the king on the day of *Punnhyā* which was held around *Bizu* festival. An *Āk Choli* consisted of one bamboo cylinder of strong wine, one grown up cock and one *Arhi* (about 14/16 *ser* of rice)[34]. They also supplied labourers and soldiers from their *Gozā* when the king requisitioned them. They were later entitled to enjoy the share of *Rān* (hunch) of a hunted animal on behalf of the Raja if the capital is away. They were empowered to try cases of petty nature and order punishment, except the capital punishment. They generally tried the cases of disputes and of matrimonial and sexual one. If no solution is reached in their courts, it was referred to the king. The king tried such cases in presene of other *Sardārs or* heads of *Gozās*. At present the Chakmas are divided into three sub-tribes, the *Chākmās*, the *Tongchangyās* and the *Doinākyās* or *Daingnets*. The mainstream Chakmas are sometimes called *Ānakyā Chākmā* as *Chādigāng* (Chittagong) was sometimes known as *Ānok*, meaning the west, since it is situated in the west of Ārākān. The *Tangchangyās* are those people who came toward *Chādigāng* to live with the main stream Chakmas and whose settlement was on the bank of Toimurhee or *Taingāng* {the river with abundance of *Tain* (items like meat, fish, vegetable, fruits, etc.)}. The *Doinākyās* are those people who were strewn and settled in different places by the *Magh king* after the downfall of the Chakma kingdom in Arakan. The meaning of *Daināk* is said to be the warriors who fought with a shield, (2) the badly defeated people and (3) the southerner. This sub-division is of near past and the earlier groups as stated in the *Bijak* who were cut off from *Kalāpnagar, Sudhanyavati, Champaknagar* of Irrawaqdi, *Champaknagar* of *Kālābāghā* as stated in the *Bijak* are unknown till date. According to the *Bijak*, the Tangchangyas and Daingnets were cut off from the main stream Chakmas after only 1333 A.D. when the Chakma king Arunjuk or *Yongja* was defeated badly by the Aracanese king named, Mengdi, through deceitful means. The *Daingnets* are the descendents of 10,000 captives settled at Yangkhang. The *Tangchangyās* are the followers of the younger prince Satrujit or *Sajui* who were settled at Kongza. The present Chakma are the followers of the eldest prince Surjyojit who were settled at Kyudeja province by the Arakanese king, and who later fled from Kyudeja and established a new kingdom at Mongjambroo. It is also believed that the followers of middle prince Chandrajit have assimilated with the Burmese. The Daingnets are the southerner since in Chakma *Daghin* means south and *Daghinākya>Dainākya*. The Tangchangyas are said to be the Second group who were left behind by the main stream Chakmas while fleeing to *Ānak*, i.e., *Chādigāng*. It is said that while fleeing to Chittagong, the first group cut plantain plants in the way and on reaching at *Toimurhee or Toingāng* the second group found the shoots sprouted up from the

plantain stems and thinking that the first group had left them far behind, decided to settle at Toinmurhwa or *Toingāng* and from *Taingāng>Taingāngyā>Tangtongyā* to present *Tangjangyā* or *Tongchangyā* meaning the settler of *Taingāng*. The Chakmas, Doinaks, and Tangchangyas are again divided into *Gozās* and *Gutthis*.

Gozā actually means a group of people of a certain locality or under certain group leader. The Chakma king ruled his kingdom by dividing his kingdom into parts and keeping them under certain group leaders known as *Sardār, Roāzā, Āmhu and later Dewān*. The people of a group were known as *Gozā*. Based on necessity, the leaders supplied soldier, labours revenue, etc., to the king. For his own immediate need the king used to keep his own group. The *Goza* system in Chakma kingdom was actually introduced in the 14th century during the reign of *Merākās* or *Merākkyā* when they settled at the *Ālikadam* region of Chittagong at *Purpāshā, Sukkara, Sadaha, Shankhashālā, Kaisha*, etc., places. He placed these settlements under certain group leader or Sardar and the people were known by Goza[35]. The word *Gozā* had come from the Arakanese word *Gong*= leader, *Sa*=son or people and *Gong Sa* means people of a leader or Sardar[36]. As per Chakma rule of pronunciation the letters K, Kh, Ch, Chh, T, Th, P, Ph, S, etc., without machchya or vowel killer sign at the second or other places transforms into G, Gh, J, Jh, D, Dh, B, Bh and hence *Gong Sa* became *Goza*. At the increase of population some sub-group sprang up under certain leader and who are related by blood and were known as gutthi. At the initial stage only twelve Gozas existed in the names of the leaders of a group or residential areas of the groups namely: (1) Phaksa, (2) Boga, (3) Dhamei, (4) Larmmha, (5) Baburo, (6) Mhulheemha, (7) Barbwa, (8) Kurhokuttya, (9) Toinnya, (10) Chege, (11) Kambhe and (12) Wangjha[37]. The other gozas sprang up from these main twelve Gozās at the increase of population when the king was pleased to offer a new area for certain act, fleat or ommission. For example, the sister of Raja Toinsureswari married a *Lakchar* (soldier) and her children became *Lakchara Gozā*. Their forefathers were from *Rāngi Gozā*. *Gozā* is subdivided into sub-clans which are in Chakma called *Guthis*. At present there are more than forty Gozās divided in several *Guthis* as given below:

1. ***Ānghu Gozā**: (1) Dhurjya, (2) Goda, (3) Hoia, (4) Illakha, (5) Kāngārhā, (6) Magha, (7) Sigiryā Puno, (8) Tālukdār, (9) Khellya.* (This *Gozā* was introduced from the name of their leader Bārha Āngullyā[38] who had twelve fingers).
2. ***Bāburo Gozā:** (1) Gajāllyā, (2) Māneiā, (3) Lwhakatdhā, (4) Bhagatap, (5) Bhejheiā, (6) Bāburo.* (One person named *Nuiyā* whose mother was a *Dhāmei Gozā* and father from *Borbwa Gozā* became a novice and lived with the *Larmmhā Gozā* people. Later, he abandoned noviceship and married the daughter of the *Sardār* of *Lārmmhā*. He was also given half of the land on which his son later became a *sardār*. His sons were teased as *Bāp-Borbwa*. And from *Bāp-Borbwa* it became *'Bāburo'*[39]).
3. ***Bangshā/Bungshā Gozā**: (1) Chagadā/Charkadā, (2) Kālā Kāngārhā, (3) Kangārhā, (4) Moichcharā/Mokchara/Moch Charā, (5) Phema, (6) Pungjhā, (7) Rāngā Kāngārhā, (8) Settyā, (9) Rajha.* (They are a part of *Wāngjhā Gozā*[40]).
4. ***Bar Chege Gozā:** (1) Cheli Puno, (2) Dārhi Rāngā, (3) Khāttyāla/Khāttyālo/ Khāchyāla, (4) Kumajha, (5) Lwha Katdhā, (6) Undurtalā/Indurtālā, (7) Pungjhā* and *(8) Indur talā.* (Raja Toinsureswari had two sons named Toin Chek and Ran Chek. The elder son of Ram Tongjhā/Ran Chege was a minister called *Bar Chege* and his followers are known as *Bar Chege Gozā*. From them *Bar Chege* and Chege was introduced[41]).

5. ***Bogā Gozā*****:** *(1) Bhele, (2) Bhwa, (3) Dhurjyā, (4) Kāttwa, (5) Mulikhājā, (6) Nāduktuk/Nāduktwa, (7) Ninandyā, (8) Puk/Pwa Kāmāchchyā, (9) Rāmdāligā/Rāndālikā, (10) Kāttwā* and *(11) Pwa kāmāchchyā.* (Dhurjya is said to be the first leader of this *gozā* and they lived at *Bākkhāli*. He is said to be very tall and fair complexioned with a stretched neck looking like a heron. In *Chāngmhā*, a heron is called *Bogā* and so his people were known as *Bogā Gozā*. They once lived at *Bāk Khali* (now in Chittagong district)[42].

6. ***Borbwa/Baruā Gozā*****:-** *(1) Āghunopuno, (2) Bādāli, (3) Bengha, (4) Bhagatap, (5) Bheeduli, (6) Bhadha, (7) Bhongyā, (8) Bhudho, (9) Bileighu (10) Bab, (11) Byatra, (12) Chārjyā, (13) Dāllwa, (14) Dhurjyā, (15) Dajhā, (16) Gajāla, (17) Hādārā, (18) Hongyā, (19) Jāllyā, (20) Kālāpā, (21) Kālha, (22) Kāngsiri/Kāngsuri, (23) Kanghā, (24) Kuju Chha, (25) Kujumho, (26) Kurjyā, (27) Magha/Maghā, (28) Mhulheemā, (29) Molly, (30) Nāduktuk/Nāduktwa, (31) Pāgālā, (32) Phejherā, (33) Pharhā, (34) Pubhāng, (35) Poiābha/Poiyāng, (36) Sādhangsā, (37) Selochsyā, (38) Shāllyā/Sollyā, (39) Tibiryā, (40) Tabhā, (41) Talā Pādal, (42) Maneia, Kabā or Kabā Kheye* (They are said to have been seperated for eating crow. The Chakma king *Bāngāli Sardār* said to have married off two of his sons Mādāliā and Rām Tongjhā with the princess of *Pāgān/Magh*. The Pāgān/Magh king gave two groups of people as a dowry to his daughters to look after them. Since they came from outside, they were known as *Bārbhwa* (outsider) and they worked in the royal palace[43]. At the death of the first prince Madalia, the first group of *Bārbhwas* lost royal patronage and went out of royal palace and became *Bengali Baruas*. When the second prince became king, the second group got royal patronage and became guard and keeper of the royal palace. Later, one of the *Bārbhwa*, the son of second *Ran Pāgālā* married the daughter of king Jonu, Rajembi and ascended the throne after the death of Raja Jonu as Raja Jonu had no son. Earlier only the *Bārbhwas* used to work in the royal palace and later, on necessity 150 families were inducted from other gozas to work in the royal palace. The *Bārbhwas* later changed into *Borbwa*).

7. ***Bungo Gozā*** **(Bar):** *(1) Āmhu, (2) Bādāli, (3) Borhoiyhā/Boroiyā, (4) Jādi, (5) Kāmāchchyā, (6) Kenho, (7) Selochsyā, (8) Pārbwa, (9) Pirhyā Bhāngā, (10) Choroiyhā/Sāroiyā, (11) Serheiyhā, (12) Uju.* (The initiator of this *gozā* was known as *Bung Chege*. The leader of this group *Bungo Dhāveng* had a big Bung (back muscle) and hence his people were known as *Bungo Gozā*[44]).

8. ***Bungo Gozā (Guro):*** (From *Bung Nāmāsā* the *Guro Bung* was introduced. The forefather of *Bungo Gozā* was *Bung Chege*. His son was *Bung Tongjhā* and his sons were *Bung Dhaveng* and *Dachbingya Dhaveng*. From *Bung Dhaveng (Bung Namasa) Guro Bung* was introduced.)

9. ***Chādaga Gozā/Chādanga Gozā****: (1) Sardār, (2) Shettyā, (3) Rwachiri, (4) Kurho Pāgālā.*

10. ***Shārjya Gozā:*** *(1) Bar Shārjya, (2) Māchsyang Shārjya, (3) Chigon Shārjya.*

11. ***Chachthā Gozā***[45]**:**

12. ***Chege Gozā:-*** *(1) Bāngāllyā, (2) Bānnyā Bāp, (3) Betkābā, (4) Bhalā, (5) Bhurumā/Burhum, (6) Bhwa Chege, (7) Balhā, (8) Chaidani, (9) Bugullyā, (10) Chhāne, (11) Dhāvānā, (12) Dajhā, (13) G Gadā, (14) Kakkenghā, (15) Kāngārhā, (16)*

Khyāngchege, (17) Lulang, (18) Magha, (19) Nināngngyā, (20) Pirhyā bhāng, (21) Roa Chege, (22) Sama. (King Rām Tongjhā had four sons named Tain Chege, Bung Chege, Rāngā Kāur, Kālā Kāur. Tain Chege was a minister Raja Toinsureswari had two sons named Toin Chege and Ran Chege. From them Bar Chege and Chege was introduced. The son of Rām Tongjhā, Toin Chege was a minister and his men are known as Chege Gozā.)

13. ***Chekkovā Gozā:*** *(1) Bhiduli, (2) Gajāl. (3) Pirhābhāngā, (4) Wāngjhā, (5) Mendar.* (They got seperated from Bogā gozā[46]).

14. ***Dhāchchyā Gozā/Dārjhyā/:*** *- (1) Bar Phugirā, (2) Guro/Chigon Phugirā, (3) Kāttwa. (4) Komreng, (5) Nāduktwa/ Nāduktuk.* (The leader of this group used to tuck the feather of a black bird named *Biraich* (spoon tail) which looked like mustache. In Chāngmhā a mustache is called Dārhi and from *Dārhi* to *Dārjhyā* (man with mustach). They got seperated from *Bogā Gozā*).

15. ***Dhāmāi/Dhāveng Gozā:-*** *(1) Āghunhipuno/Agunhikonā, (2) Bāk Ojhā, (3) Bānyā Bāp, (4) Boh Bāp, (5) Chāonyā/ Chāttonnyā, (6) Gāngwā, (7) Hādhee, (8) Hāghārhā, (9) Kāngārhā, (10) Kāngho, (11) Kāngkhāng, (12) Karenggiri/Kochchyenggiri/Korenggiri, /Kuchcyāngguri, (13) Nāduktuk, (14) Pirhā Bhāngā, (15) Rākkābā/Rakkwa Bap, (16) Rojegha, (17) Sākkyā, (18) Sāksu, (19) Sākkua/Sākwa, (20) Sāngājhā, (21) Sureswari/ Surochurhi, (22) Tadegā, (23) Udo, (24) Udho Cheda.* (The sons of Pirhyā Bhāngā were Guja Dhāveng and Mejā Dhāveng[47] who became the sardār of this group. He was also a Dhāveng, an ambassador of the king. So, his men were known as Dhāvenga Gozā).

16. ***Hāiyā Gozā:*** (1) *Dhurjyā*, (2) *Jāllyā*, (3) *Kurjyā*, (4) *Mhulheemā*, (5) *Pirhā Bhāngā*, (6) Poiabo/*Poiyābha*, (7) *Sollyā*, (8) *Tālukdār*. (They got seperated from Tonnyā Gozā[48]).

17. ***Hedagā Gozā:***

18. ***Kāmbhei/Kambhe Gozā, Bar****: (1) Chagadā/Chakardā, (2) Dheyā, (3) Jānghi. (4) Kālā Panjānghee, (5) Kabā Kheye, (6) Lwha Pāttwā, (7) Magh/Magha, (8) Mendar, (9) Moich Charā, (10) Nhādengyā, (11) Ohngyā.* (The palanquin carriers were knwn as *Kārbhwa*. When they formed a seperate group they are known as *Kāmbhe*. The originator of this gozā did some pleasing act and so the king named him *Kāmmhei/ Kārbhwa/Kārmmi* Chege. *Kārbwa Chege* had three sons- *Dheya, Nhādengyā* and *Ohngyā.* They got seperated from the *Tangchangyas* while living at *Nāgāthek*. Some even opined that one Magh named *Kāmhui* married a Chakma girl who was very active and an active person in Changmha is called Kāmmwa. So, the word *Kammwa* changed into *Kāmmhwa>Kāmmhei*[49]).

19. ***Kāmbhe, Gozā, Guro:*** *(1) Bhudo, (2) Chagadā. (3) Kālā Penjānghi, (4) Mendar, (5) Moichcharā, (6) Kabā Kheyā.*

20. ***Khyāngyā/Khyangjoy/Khengye Gozā****:-(1) Bāngāl, (2) Chaidini, (3) Dajhā, (4) Kaballyā, (5) Chāgoi, (6) Nābidyā, (7) Byangkābā/Tibiryā, (8) Sema, (9) Gorkhali, (10) Beddu*[50]*, (11) Chānoi*[51]*, (12) Samsardār*[52]*, (13) Kāgunikāl*[53]*, (14) Retkābā*[54]*.* (It is said that one Parchaiyā son of Chaidini Tongjhā was a noble of the king's court during the reign of Sher Daulat Khān (1776-82)[55]. He was very dear to the king and was a learned man, proficient in medicine and magic. He defeated one *Khyang* in *Tumbru Khārā* (magic competition). So, the king named him *Burho Khyangjoy* (Old defeater of Khyāng) and gave him a separate Dewani[56] and they were named *Khyāngjoy Gozā* and it changed

in to Khyāngyā. The story about *Bāngāla gutthi* is that one *Dhanu Khān* or *Dhungha*, a Bengalee hindu businessman came to the village of *Khyāngjoy* people with a *Bhārattyā* (big boat) full of goods to sale and fell in love with a Khyāngjoy girl and married. He did not go back to his village and his children became Chakma[57]. The story about *Kabāllyā* gutthi is that, the daughter of *Khyāngjoy Dewan* was married to the son of *Kāllyā Tālukdār* of *Phāksā Gozā*. After getting two sons, the son of Kāllyā Tālukdār expired and his wife returned to her father. As a traditional rule one cannot change the gutthi, so the children remained Kabāllyā gutthi of Kāllyā Tālukdār[58] but became Khyāngjoy Gozā since they were living under Khyāngjoy. As regard Byang Kābā/Tibiryā gutthi, it is said that, once the Chakma king married off his prince with a Tripuri Princess. The Tripura king gave some subjects as a dowry present to work for the Tripuri princess and they are known as ***Rajarha Tibiryā***. One of the Tibiryā woman was very beautiful but her husband died after getting to a son. The king had affair with her and made her pregnant and gave birth to another son. When the queen learnt about it, she asked her men to execute the Tripuri woman with her sons. The executors could not slay her looking at her beauty and the innocent children and sent them to Khyāngjoy village. There she brought up her sons by doing others manniel and making *Byong* (weaving reeds). The son of the Tripuri man said to be black complexioned and robust and the son by the king is said to be fair complexioned and lean and thin. So, people used to tease them calling '*Phullyā Kugur*' (swollen dog) and '*Kedi Kugur*' (thin and small dog). So, they are known as *Byangkābā Tibiryā gutthi*[59]. Sema is said to be younger brother of Chaidini. In the Semo gutthi, the younger is always bigger than the elder like a *Sem* (banana shoot)and if the younger is small he becomes very small[60]).

21. ***Khyāng Chege Gozā:*** *(1) Cho-ājā, (2) Kāgunikāl, (3) Betkābā/Retkābā, (4) Sama, (5) Choidini, (6) Chānoi, (7) Dojhā, (8) Kabāllyā, (9) Saddār.* (It is also said that one *Khyang* was adopted by the *Chege Gozā* head and later inherited a portion of Chege Tāluk and known as *Khyeng Chege*[61]).
22. ***Kinghā Gozā:***
23. ***Kudugo Gozā:*** *(1) Bhulo, (2) Kālābāghā,* (3) *Kālha,* (4) *Khajhālha,* (5) *Kāngārhā,* (6) *Pijor Bhāngā, (7) Pirhyā Bhāngā.* (During the reign of Serjjan Khan one Presu from Mātāmuhri area went to ask for a seperate Dewani He was a strong man and unmarried. His hair was big like the quill of a porcupine. So, he was named *Kuduk Presu*. He pleased the king by running on a slippery stream and was granted a Dewani and his men were known a *Kudugo gozā*).
24. ***Kurhokhuttya Gozā/Narhan[62]:*** *(1) Āgunho Puno, (2) Āina, (3) Āma, (4) Amari, (5) Āmu, (6) Bādāli, (7) Bhadhang, (8) Bholā/Bhulo, (9) Bhudho, (10) Bhung, (11) Bhut/ Bhudho, (12) Chorhoi, (13) Debān, (14) Jādhee, (15) Jādi, (16) Kabā/Kāuā/Kabā, (17) Kāngārhā, (18) Kāttwā, (19) Kugi, (20) Kurjyā, (21) Kyakdharā, (22) Lorkhochjyā, (23) Lwha Pāttwa, (24) Lwha, (25) Mendar, (26) Nārhān, (27) Nendāp, (28) Nwa Dāghi, (29) Pajā, (30) Pārbwa, (31) Pejāng, (32) Penjānghi, (33) Pirhā Bhāngā, (34) Puno, (35) Rājākābā, (36) Sāngādā, (37) Saraiyā/Sāroiā, (38) Surechsuri/Sureswari/ Surochurhi, (39) Tadegā, (40) Thadeyhā/Thodheya, (41) Chāksu, (42) Ogoreng.* (The leader of this group was named Nendap. Once he lived at Kurho Ānguttya chhara[63], a tributary of Mātāmuhri. Some even say it as a tributary of Maichkhali. They are also said to have slaughtered and cleaned chicken in the royal palace on a festival and hence

Kurho Kuttya (chicken cutter). When person of this group went to Tripura, the king of Tripura named him Nārhān, meaning a commander. Nwadāghi came into existence after Gujang Chakma was made a Dewan after Raja Dharam Bux married his daughter Kalabi (Kalindi)).

25. ***Lakchara Gozā:*** *(1) Wangjhā* (after Kamal Wangjhā Talukdar), *(2) Gajāl, (3) Pirhyā bhāngā, (4) Nārhān, (5) Bhidhuli.* (The sister of Toinsureswari, *Bherali* married a soldier who belonged to *Rāngi Gozā* and he was made a leader of a group and so her children and people were known as *Lakchara Gozā*. The leader of this group was named Nendāp. When a person of this group went to Tripura, the king of Tripura named him *Nārhān*, meaning a commander. It is also said that during the reign of *Mhulheemā Tongjhā*, Dhungi was his commander. A commander was known as Lakchar. From Dhungi Lakchar to *Lakchara Gozā*[64]).

26. ***Lārmmāa Gozā:*** *(1) Āghun, (2) Babā, (3) Bar Shārjya, (4) Bhabā, (5) Bogā, (6) Chārhi, (7) Chigon/Guro Shārjya, (8) Ghun, (9) Jāllyā, (10) Lwha Pāttwa, (11) Māchsyāng Shārjya, (12) Majā, (13) Pedāng Chari, (14) Pedāng, (15) Phagirā, (16) Pirhyā Bhāngā, (17) Rājā Kābā, (18) Samāchjhyā, (19) Sāngojha, (20) Sāt Bheye, (21) Sollyā, (22) Tadegā, (24) Tālukdār, (25) Tabha.* (The leader of this group was named Larmma[65] and hence his men were known as *Larmma Gozā*. One Larmmha from the *Pirhābhāngā gutthi* used to live at Lāmhā[66]).

27. ***Lebhā Gozā:*** *(1) Subak, (2) Lwha Pāttwa, (3) Tālukdār.* Their original habitation was at Kajaichhari of *Kachukhāli Mouza*. (The leader of this group used to stammer. Stammering in Chāngmhā is known as *Lebhā* and hence his men were known as *Lebhā Gozā*).

28. ***Mhulheemhā Gozā:*** *(1) Ānandyā, (2) Bādāli, (3) Bāmhon Chege, (4) Chādang, (5) Dhābhānā, (6) Ijyā Pajā, (7) Karammyā, (8) Kārbhwa, (9) Khāng Khāng Thāng, (10) Kalā, (11) Māmia, (12) Midhyā, (13) Naānnyā, (14) Pajā, (15) Rāngā Chhilonnyā/ Silhummhyā, (16) Sākwa, (17) Sebārjyā, (18) Shelochchyā. (19) Shelpādā, (20) Singhasarba, (21) Sollyā.* (The first leader of these people was named *Mhulheemha Tongjhā* and lived on the bank of Mātāmuhri. So, the name was given after the leader. They lived on the bank of Mahuri[67]).

29. ***Mhulheemhā Chege Gozā:*** *(1) Ānandyā, (2) Bādāli, (3) Bāman Chege, (4) Chābāchchyā, (5) Chādanga, (6) Chagadā, (7) Chāgoi, (8) Chawā, (9) Chebārojhi, (10) Dhābānā, (11) Ijyāpajā, (12) Kāntāng, (13) Karamyā, (14) Khor-Khochsyā, (15) Kalā, (16) Korbo, (17) Māneiā, (18) Midhyā, (19) Mok Charā, (20) Pajā, (21) Rāngā Silummyā, (22) Rānghā, (23) Sākkyā, (24) Sakwa, (25) Selochsyā, (26) Shāllyā, (27) Shelpādā, (28) Sigirā Puno, (29) Singhasarba, (30) Sukkhyā.* (This *Tāluk* was created with portion of Muleema Tāluk and Chege Tāluk).

30. ***Nārhān (Kurho khuttyā Gozā:*** *(1) Nendāp, (2) Sureswari, (3) Tateyā, (4) Āgunho Puno, (5) Pojā, (6) Kāubā, (7) Bhadang, (8) Bhut, (9) Kyok Dharām, (10) Amari.*

31. ***Nua Teyhe Gozā:***

32. ***Pādugo Goza:***

33. ***Pedangchhari (Tonnya) Gozā:*** *(1) Kurjyā, (2) Mhulheemā, (3) Pennhyāng, (4) Poiyābha/ Poijāgha, (5) Muliā.* (Once some people of this group fell from the *Pejāng* (extention

of a house) and hence *Pejāng chhinhi* (extension torn) to *Pedāngsiri*. Some people opine that their habitation was at Pennyāngsuri and hence Pennyāngsuri to *Pedāng siri*).

34. ***Phāksā Gozā, Bar:*** *(1) Bālogā/ Beloga, (2) Balsā, (3) Bānnyā Chha, (4) Bar Kurjyā, (5) Baraih Bejā/ Borhoi Beja/Borhoi Biji, (6) Bhurung, (7) Chamuchjyā/Chamujyā, (8) Chelā, (9) Chigon/Guro Kurjyā, (10) Chilā, (11) Kabāllyā, (12) Kāllyā, (13) Kāngho, (14) Kerenghā, (15) Kalā Sem, (16) Lulong, (17) Magha, (18) Modi/Moti, (19) Nābāligā, (20) Sigirā Puno, (21) Thudho, (22) Tin Bhedhā, (23) Bar Kurjya.* They lived at Phachsyakhali[68].

35. ***Phaksa Gozā, Guro:***

36. ***Phedungsa Tonnya Gozā:*** *(1) Kāch Mānik, (2) Kālā Mānik/Kāch mānik, (3) Kālā Pilyābāp, (4) Kabāllyā, (5) Mhulheemā, (6) Muleiā, (7) Pungjha, (8) Undurtalā/ Indurtala, (9) Muliā,* (10) *Kabāllyā.*

37. ***Phema Gozā:*** *Kālāpilābāp, Kunghu, Kāch Mānik, Muleyā.* They have assimilated to *Bangshā Gozā*[69].

38. ***Pomhā Gozā:*** *(1) Jāndar, (2) Guiyā and (3) Thudo.*

39. ***Pungho/Pumhā/Pamhā Gozā:*** *(1) Guiyā, (2) Jhāndar, (3) Thudho.* (One Pachchha was a warrior who fought with Pow (bow). From Bowma (man with bow) to Poma/Puma[70]. He was awarded the title *Khijhā* and later gained separate dewani and his men were known as *Puma/Pungho Gozā*).

40. ***Pwa Goza:*** *(1) Kājarā, (2) Kākkhinā, (3) Kāngkengā, (4) Kāttwā, (5) Kāyal, (6) Khojāl, (7) Kolliyā, (8) Lāngdhā, (9) Phāttwā.* (The leader of this Gozā was small in size like a boy so *Pwa Gozā*[71]. Some people say that when grown up were at jum the Kuki attacked their village. The boys of the village chased the Kuki with their catapult. So they were known as *'Pwa Gozā'*).

41. ***Rāngi Gozā:*** *(1) Bennhyā, (2) Bhudho, (3) Bhelo/Bhelhe, (4) Bhengeye, (5) Bung, (6) Bung-Chege, (7) Chege, (8) Kāl, (9) Lwha Pāttwā, (10) Bhudo* or *Mendar, (11) Nwa-Jhāndar, (12) Pirha Bhāngā, (13) Tālukdār* or *Chege, (14) Kālha.* (This *Gozā* was infroduce after *Rāngi Phaneswari*. He was the son of Dachbingyā Dhaveng son of Bung Chege. The followers of Rāngi Panesuri are known as Rangi Gozā. After Rangi Phaneswari was awarded Talukdarishiip, Rangi Gozā was introduced).

42. ***Sekkabā Gozā:*** *(1) Bhiduli, (2) Wāngjhā, (3) Gajāla, (4) Pirhyā Bhāng* and *(5) Mendar.*

43. ***Teiyāa Gozā:*** A portion from Toinnya Taluk was awarded to Teyha[72].

44. ***Tadek Gozā:***

45. ***Tonnyā Gozā:*** *(1) Dāmmwa, (2) Dhurjyā, (3) Kāngārhā, (4) Kuiyā Bāp, (5) Kumajhja, (6) Kurjyā, (7) Mhulheemā, (8) Muleiā/Mulia, (9) Poijāgha/Poiyābha, (10) Pungjhā, (11) Shettyā, (12) Uchsyā, (13) Kuchcho.* (The first leader of this group was *Kurjyā*. Later one of their leader Toin Sureswari who was a minister married a princess became king and the people were known as Toinnyā. They also lived on the bank of Tinmurhee. They are divided into Bar Tonnya, Pheedungsa Tonnya and Pedanshree Tonnya[73]).

46. ***Uchchari Gozā:*** *Āgunhopuno.* (A man used to hunt animals. As he was doing the job of Asur (demon as killing/hunting is not regarded as devine but the job of a demon) was

named Asur. He used to present such prey to the king Dharam Bux Khan and gained *Khisaship*. Later, he gained a separate Tāluk and his men were known as Asuri>Uchchari Gozā).

47. ***Wāngjhā Gozā:*** *(1) Rāngā Kāngārhā, (2) Kāngārhā, (3) Shettyā, (4) Pungjhā, (5) Kālā Kāngārh, (6) Chagad, (7) Mok Charā.* (King Rām Tongjhā alias Moinsāng had eleven sons. Out of them two were named Ranga /Kumar/Kunwar/Kaur and Kala Kumar/ Kunwar/Kaur. The descendent of Ranga Kunwar/Kaur and Kala Kaur/Kunwar were named as Gabhur Wangjha and Burho Wangjha. The followers of Burho Wangjha and Gabhur Wangjha, the sons of Kala Kaur are known as Wangjha Gozā. This Gozā was introduced by Burho Wangjha and Gabhur Wangjha. They lived at Wāngjhā).

Tangjangyas: Among the *Tongchangyā* Chakmas, and the *Daingnet* Chakmas it is said to exist only twelve *Gozās* each which are said be same and they are: *(1) Ānghu, (2) Dhonnya-Bagā, Bangaillya, Bhundugo, Chhāgal, Lājeye, Hangha, Kālā Hāngsā, Kālā Mhojha, Khojoi, Meja, Phasui, Phijho, Rāngā, Hāngsā, Rangaiya, Salega, Tāndap, (3) Elhang, (4) Hongyā, (5) Kārbho-* Bakchara, Bangal, Bola, Bungo, Gojallya, Harbwa, Lapusa, Phrangsa, *(6) Lhābhoisā, (7) Lhāmbāsā/Lhāpoisā, (8) Melhang, (9) Moh or mwa-Dāllwa, Gānnyā, Gunnyā, Hāgā, Kopallya, Kurughā, Lakkyadai, Langadai, Punnya Kuruk, Tarakkyadai, Tasi, Thanung, (10) Monglhā, (11) Wā,* and *(12) Wātong.*

Dainakkyas / Daingnets: As per Bhikkhu Bhaddya, the Dainaks/Daingnet or the Myanmar Chakmas are divided into 8 (eight) Gosās/Gozās and several daghis (gutthis) as given below:

1. ***Doinya Gozā:*** *Kāllyā dāghi, Jandāik dāghi, Udu dāghi, Dāsi daghi, Posoi daghi* and *Taunggā daghi.*
2. ***Kabā Gozā:*** *Tonggāl dāghi, Toksarā daghi, Ara dāghi* and *Kosolnyā dāghi.*
3. ***Labwe Gozā:*** *Wa daghi, Kāilā dāghi, Ālu dāghi, Moilyā dāghi, Lāongyādāghi, Dāonnyā dāghi, Seināla dāghi* and *Dapal dāghi.*
4. ***Longbā Gozā:*** *Pettapwa dāghi* and *Lārmāyhā daghi.*
5. ***Melang Gozā:*** *Ālu dāghi, Āmela dāghi, Kānmalin dāghi* and *Rongdāgaw dāghi.*
6. ***Mong Gozā:*** *Dhāvinnyā dāghi, Dākida dāghi, Garabā Dāghi* and *Posoi dāghi.*
7. ***Monglā Gozā:*** *Daminnyā dāghi, Ngātokkyā dāghi* and *Kwāllyā dāghi.*
8. ***Ongnyo Gozā:*** *Sadepaw dāghi, Kyanggaw dāghi, Kāmela dāghi, Kālo dāghi, Moru dāghi, Rāngāsongdā daghi, Mayzā daghi, Gilā dāghi* and *Sāgola dāghi.*

The following are the *gutthis* among the Chakmas so far collected by the present author:

1. Āgunlhi Puno, 2. Āma, 3. Amari, 4. Āmhu, 5. Ānondyā, 6. Bānnyā, 7. Babā, 8. Bādāli, 9. Bagā, 10. Bāk Ojhā, 11. Balhā, 12. Bāmhon Chege, 13. Bāngāllyā, 14. Bāngālo, 15. Bānnyā Bāp, 16. Bānyā Chha, 17. Bar Charjyā, 18. Bar Kurjyā, 19. Bar Phagirā, 20. Bār Phagirā, 21. Belagā, 22. Bengha, 23. Bhadang, 24. Bhadha, 25. Bhagatap, 26. Bhalā, 27. Bhele, 28. Bhengeyā, 29. Bhidhuli, 30. Bhobhā, 31. Bhongyā, 32. Bhudho, 33. Bhulo, 34. Bhurung, 35. Bhwa Chege, 36. Bhwa, 37. Biatrā, 38. Boh Bāp, 39. Borhoi Bejā, 40. Borhoiyā, 41. Bunga Chege, 42. Burhum, 43. Byāttrā, 44. Byong Kābā, 45. Byongkābā, 46. Chābārchyā, 47. Chābārjyā, 48. Chādanga, 49. Chagadā, 50. Chagadā, 51. Chāgoi, 52. Chaidinhi, 53. Chākko, 54. Chāonyā, 55. Chāttonnyā, 56. Chawā, 57. Chebārajhi, 58. Chege, 59. Chelipuno, 60. Chigon or *Guro Chhārjyā, 61. Chigon* or *Guro Phugirā, 62. Chigon/Guro Kurjyā, 63. Chilā,*

64. Chorhoiā, 65. Chorhoiyā, 66. Dajhā, 67. Dāllwā, 68. Dāmmwā, 69. Dārhi Rāngā, 70. Debān, 71. Dhābānā, 72. Dhurjyā, 73. Gadā, 74. Gajāl, 75. Gajāla, 78. Gajāllyā, 79. Gheelyā chedo dāghi, 80. Guiyā, 81. Guro/Chigon Phogirā, 82. Hādārā, 83. Hādhee, 84. Hāgārhā, 85. Hongiā, 86. Ijyābejā, 87. Ijyāpajā, 88. Jādhee, 89. Jādi, 90. Jāllyā, 81. Jānghi, 92. Jhāndar, 93. Kabā Kheye, 94. Kabā, 95. Kabāllyā, 96. Kākkinhā, 97. Kāl, 98. Kālā Mānik/Kāch Mānik, 99. Kālā Panjānghee, 100. Kālā Pilābāp, 101. Kalā Sem, 102. Kalā, 103. Kālābāghā, 104. Kālāpāh, 105. Kālā Kāngārhā, 106. Kālha, 107. Kāllhyā, 108. Kāngārhā, 109. Kanghā, 110. Kāngho, 111. Kāngsurhi, 112. Kāntāng, 113. Kārbho, 114. Karenggiri, 115. Kārmyā, 116. Kāttwā, 117. Khajālha, 118. Khāntāng, 119. Khātiyāla or *Khāchyāla, 120. Khochchyāng Guri, 121. Khor-Kochchyā, 122. Khyāng Chege, 123. Kollyā, 124. Komreng, 125. Korbhwā, 126. Koyāl, 127. Kuchcyangguri/Khochchyang guri, 128. Kugi, 128. Kuiyā Bāp, 130. Kujumha, 131. Kulo, 132. Kumojha, 133. Kurjyā, 134. Kyokdharā, 135. Lulong, 136. Lwah kotthā, 137. Lwah Pāttwā, 138. Māchsyāng Chhārjya, 139. Maghā, 140. Majā, 141. Māneiā, 142. Mendar, 143. Mhuleemha, 144. Midhyā Nunnyā, 145. Moich Charā, 146. Mok Charā, 147. Mollyā, 148. Muleiyā, 149. Mulikājā, 150. Nābāligā, 151. Nābidā, 152. Nāduktuk, 153. Nārhān, 154. Nendāp, 155. Nināndyā, 156. Nwa Jhāndar, 157. Pāgālā, 158. Pārbwa, 159. Penjānghi, 160. Pennyāhng, 161. Phāttwa, 162. Phejerā, 163. Phorā, 164. Pijor Bhāngā, 165. Pirhā Bhāngā, 166. Poijāgha, 167. Poiyabha, 168. Poiyāng, 169. Pojā, 170. Pubhāng, 171. Puk kāmāchjyā, 172. Pumhā, 173. Pungjhā, 174. Rājā Kābā, 175. Rākkābā, 176. Rākwa Bāp, 177. Rāndāliga, 178. Rāngā Kāngārhā, 178. Rāngā Silummyā, 180. Rāngā, 181. Rāngyā, 182. Roā Chege, 183. Rosiri, 184. Sādhāngsā, 185. Sādhāngsu, 186. Sākkyā, 187. Sāngojha, 188. Sardār, 189. Sāt Bheye, 190. Sechchyā, 191. Sema, 192. Serheiyā, 193. Shāllyā, 194. Shelpādā, 195. Shettyā, 196. Sigirā Puno, 197. Sigirā, 198. Singha sarpa, 199. Sollyā, 200. Sonyā, 201. Sukkhyā, 202. Surhochurhi, 203. Tabhā, 204. Tadegā, 205. Talā Pādal, 206. Tālukdār, 207. Thudho, 208. Tibirā, 209. Tin Bhedā, 210. Uchsyā, 208. Udho Chedhā, 209. Undurtalā, 210. Wāngjhā, 211. Chaksu.*

Note: The readers are requested to kindly supply the names of the *guitthis* not included here.

Observe that the names of many of the *Gozās* and *Gutthis* are of similar type as found among the Rais, Limboos and Tibetans recording curious adventures, personal peculiarities, place of habitations and territorial names like rivers, hills, etc. The *Gozā* and *Gutthis* descend in male line and the rule of exagomy is unilateral.

In the above list of *Gutthis*, we find many *Gutthis* of other *Gozā* in the *Borbuā Gozā, Mhuleemā Gozā, Kurho Khuttyā Gozā, Dhāmei Gozā* and other *Gozās*. It is due to split of one goza people into many and for the preference of power by the people of other *Gozās* since the heads of these *Gozās* were once powerful persons, e.g., Queen Kalindi belonged to *Kurhokhuttyā Gozā* and so many people from other *Gozās* enlisted themselves under *Kurhokhuttyā*. Likewise, the husband of Kalindi Rani, Raja Dharam Bux Khan belonged to *Mhuleemā Gozā*. Before him the Chakma kings were from *Borbwā Gozā, Tonyā Gozā*, etc., *Dhurjyā, Kurjyā, Dhāvānā, Pirhā Bhāngā* and *Bungo* were also influential nobles. We also find that, the people of *Bādāli Gutthi* are found in four *Gozās*. The original *Bādāli Gutthi* people are said to belong to *Bungo Gozā*. Some of them enlisted in *Mhulheema Gozā* and *Kurho Khuttyā Gozā* to get royal patronage when the king and queen were from *Mhuleema Gozā* and *Kurho Khuttyā Gozā*. Some of them enlisted in *Borbwo Gozā* to get tax exemption. It is said that once a *Vaitdya* cured a member of the royal family and the king was very pleased and asked him to ask for a favour. The *Vaitdya* reportedly asked for exemption of taxes for his *Gozā* people and which was granted. The *Vaitdya* belonged to *Borbwo Gozā*. So many people from other *Gozās* enlisted themselves in *Borbwo Gozā* to avoid

taxes. It is also said that most of the *Dajha gutthi* people from *Khyāngyā/Khyāngjay Gozā* have entered *Borbwa Gozā* and now identify themselves as *Borbwa Gozā*. The *Borbwo Gozā* people are therefore teased till date as ***'Khāzānā Māp Peyāa Borbwa Gozā'*** (tax pardoned *Borbwa Gozā*). However, even after enlistment in other *Gozās*, they could not change the names of their *Gutthis* for the prevalence of *Bhāt Dyā* and *Bur Pārā* rituals. Since, while performing that rite, a *Dhāmāsik* required to be made and during the performance of the rite, the names of deseased relatives had to be read out and so nobody changes their *Gutthi* names. In a *Bāghe Kheiye Burpārā* performed after attack by a tiger, the custom is, the entire people of a *Gutthi* should perform the *Burpārā* rite so that a tiger never attack them in future. Hence, though one might have changed his *Gozā*, he cannot change the name of his *gutthi*. Further the changing of *Gozā* means shifting from one leader's area to another's. At the beginning of the *Bhāt Dyā* rite, the *Rari/Luri/Rauli* chant discourses from the *Āghar Tārās*. On hearing the chantings, the reborn people are said to get hypnotised and lose their senses. And the volunteers go to them and enquire as to who he/she was in the previous life by reading the names of the dead people from the *Dhāmāsik*. On hearing the right name, they get back some of the senses and demand for the things which were dear to them or which they could not fulfil in the previous life. On getting that thing they get back to their senses. If the demanded item is not supplied, they do not come to sense and in that case the relatives of previous life had to come to the hypnotised person and ask for forgiveness for the inability to provide. If forgiven, it is alright and sense come back, if not, such a person remains half sensed for the rest of life. It is also assumed that, it was due to the shifting of people from one leader to other in search of fertile jhum land that change of *Gozā* had occurred. A person who shifts from one *Gozā* area to other *Gozā* area is called *Parbwa*.

Titles: The Chakmas generally use their tribe's name 'Chakma' as their title. Chakma is a given name and they identify themselves as Changmha. In Burma, the Chakmas are known as Tsak or Thek (pronounced Sak/Sek) since the Chakmas are believed to be descendents of the Sakyas. So, Chakma means the Sakya people (Sak/Tsak/Thek = Sakya, Mi/Ma = People) whereas, the Chakmas identify themselves as Changmha meaning people of king who crowned himself on the back of an elephant. As per the Sakya tradition, when a king ascend the throne he had to ride on an elephant, or when there is no heir for the throne the Sakyas used to set the royal elephant free and who ever is taken on the back by the royal elephant was made the king. It is also said that after the death of Suddha Dhana, the father of Gautama, there was no heir for the throne of Kapilavastu. Since his son Gautama became the Buddha, and his grandson Rahula also became a monk. So, the royal elephant was set free and the elephant picked up Mohanama and he became the king of Kapilavastu.

As per Bijak, Vijoygiri, the first Chakma king in Burma, crowned himself at the newly conquered land in Burma by riding on an elephant named Dhavalgiri. So he was known as Changmang (Chang=elephant, mang=king) and the people of Changmang identified themselves as Changmha (chang=elephant, mi/ma/mha=people) meaning people of the king who crowned on an elephant and in short 'People of Elephant'.

Before 1737 *Anghus, Roaza, Mhulheemā, Dhāmei, Chege,* and *Sardārs,* were the leaders of the Chakma Society and were heads of a *Gozā*. The *Dhamei*, the ambassador, *Chege* the minister and *Kheejā*, a learned elder of a village appointed by the *Dewān*, the group leader or the head of the *Gozā* of a large population to assist him and recognised by the king. During the Moghul period in 1738 the titles of *Anghu, Tongjha, Sardār, Roaza, Mhulheemā, Chege, Dhāmei,* were abolished and the post of *Dewān* was introduced. The structure of administration was

king>*Dewān*>*Kheejhā*. The house tax was collected by the *Kheejhā* and deposited to the *Dewān* and the *Dewān* keeping his share deposits it to the king. But during the reign of *Queen Kalindi* (1832 – 73) the post of *Tālukdar* was also introduced abolishing the post of *Dewān in 1860*[74]. She divided the Chakma kingdom into *Human Taluks* and run the administration as Queen>*Tālukdār*>*Kheejhā*. Afterward the British changed the administrative structure in 1890[75] and divided the Chakma kingdom into nine *Mouzas* (circles) and appointed a *Headman* in each circle and the post of *Karbari* was introduced in each village. And the administration was run as King >*Headman*>*Kārbāri*. This system is still prevailing in Bangladesh.

Some people use the titles like *Dewan, Talukdar, Khisha, Karbari, Roy* and now a day *Larma, Fema, Sagei, Sadong, Dhammei,* etc. The titles *Dewān* and *Tālukdār* are feudal titles since once they had certain area and subjects to rule over as stated above. The title of '*dewan*' is said to have been introduced in 1737 and the title of '*Talukdar*' in 1860 during the reign of Kalindi Rani. Before that *Mhuleemā, Dhāmei, Chege,* etc., were the leaders of the society. Earlier the *Khijhās* used to collect taxes. Though, *Dewani* and *Talukdari* system was abolished in 1890 and in their place the title '*Headman*' and *Kārbāri* was introduced, these are being used till date in Chittagong Hills Tracts. The descendents of *Dewāns, Kheejhās* and *Tālukdārs* are still using those titles. Almost every *Gozā* had one *Dewān* and the descendents of that *Dewān* started using it as a title. Likewise, the *Talukdars* were the Tax collectors of a certain area called *Tāluk*. For certain *Tāluk* they were appointed to collect taxes and were known as *Tālukdār*. It was right during feudal time to use it as a title since the son of a *Dewān* or *Tālukdār* used to become *Dewān* or *Tālukdār* of that area. But the *Dewāni* and *Tālukdāri* system have already been abolished and can there be any logic to use these titles? Yes, they can get elated feeling that once their forefathers were certain rulers of the society!

Dewan: It is a feudal title introduced during Moghul period as given to a group lrader or the head of a Gozā. He ruled over certain area of land and people of that land and was responsible to the Raja. But Dewani system was abolished in 1860 and the descendents of those Dewans still use the title though they no longer rule over any Dewani.

Talukdar: It is the title introduced after abolition of Dewani system in 1860. The Chakma kingdom was trifurcated into three circles namely Chakma Circle, Mong Circle and Bomhang Circle. The Chakma Circle was again divided into nine human Taluks abolishing Dewani system and appointed nine Talukdars. The descendents of those Talukdars still use the title 'Talukdar' though they no longer rule over a Taluk.

Kheejhā/khisā: It was the title of the officials appointed by the head of a *Gozā* or *Dewān* to assist him and approved by the Chakma king. It was not actually hereditary. Some people use this title as hereditary, though at present there is no office of *Kheejhā*.

Kārbāri: It is actually the title of a village leader introduced by the British. A *karbari* may either be appointed by the king or by the headman or head of the *Gozā* or may be selected by the villagers, themselves. The word, *Kārbāri* actually means a businessman who performs all the business of a village. He has to settle and try petty cases in the village, look at the community welfare, preserve peace and tranquillity of the village. He is the administrator and judge of the villager and all must obey him in the village. It is not a hereditary title but in some places the son of a *Kārbāri* is choosen as *Kārbāri* after father's death. The choice is better in the sense that the son is expected to know the customary rules better than a common man since he had seen the Kārbari function of his father in his day-to-day life.

Roy: This titleis a feudal one used under *Zamindari system*. The first Chakma ruler who adopted this title was *Sukhdev Roy*, after leasing out the Zamindari from the Moghuls. The title 'Roy' is being used by the present Royal family members of the Chakmas after Raja Harish Chandra and his son Raja Bhuban Mohan Roy were conferred the title '*Roy Bahadur*' by the British. The present Royal family of the Chakmas actually belongs to the *Bangsä/Wängjhä Gozä* and *Kälä Kängärhä Gutthi*. Prior to them Kalindi Rani belonged to *Kurho Khuttyä Gozä* and her husband *Raja Dharam Bux Khan* belonged to *MhuleemäGozä* (Before them the throne was occupied by *Borbwa Gozä* (*Sättwä*, the *Pägälä Räjä*), who was the son of *Burho Borua* and *Rajembi* daughter of Jonu son of Toin Sureswari, *Tonnyä Gozä (Raja Toin Sureswari* and *Raja Jonhu)*. If there is no son to heir the Chakma kingdom it is transferred to the younger prince. If there is no younger prince, it is transferred to the son of first princess. Otherwise, the throne should be occupied by such person who has been taken on the back by the royal elephant released for the purpose. Or the nobles should select one from the contenders. After the death of *Kättwä Räni* the wife of *Sättwä* the *Pägälä Räjä* there was dispute over the throne among the four grandsons of *Kättwä Räni*, sons of Princess *Amangali*, who married twice. First a Tripuri noble and after his death a Chakma noble named *Mhulheemha Tongjha*. *Dhurjyä* and *Kurjyä* were the sons of the Tripuri noble, *Dhävänä* and *Pirhä Bhängä* were sons of *Mhulheemä Tongjhä*. The nobles hatched a plan and marked one seat and called the four contenders early in the morning in a dark room and asked to sit. Dhävänä is said to have sat on the marked seat and he was made the king. From that day, the *Mhulheemäs* ruled the Chakmas till the death of Dharam Bux Khan. Dhavana, Dharammya, Mogollya, Subal Khan, Jallal Khan, Fateh Khan, Serjan Khan, Sher Must Khan, Sukhdev Roy, Sher Daulat Khan, Jan bux Khan, Tabbar Khan, Jabbar Khan and Dharam Bux Khan were all from *Mhulheemä Gozä*. As regards to the present royal family, Dharam Bux Khan had two wives Kalindi and Haribi. Kalindi had no issue and Haribi had one daughter named Chigonbi. Chigonbi was married to Gopinath Dewan, a cousin of Ishan Chandra Dewan and a grand son of renowned Chakma Commandar Ronu Khan. Chigonbi gave birth to seven sons and the eldest was Harish Chandra. Being the grandson of Dharam Bux Khan, he inherited the Chakma kingdom as per tradition after Kalindi Rani.

Larma, Fema, Sagei, Sadong, Bor Chek/Borcheg, Dhammei, etc., are actually the names of *Gozä*, for *Lärmhä Gozä, Phemä Gozä, Chege Gozä, Chädängä Gozä, Bär Chege Gozä, Dhämei Or Dhäbhengä Gozä, etc.*

Kudum (Relationship): According to customs, there are four kinds of relations in the Chakma society: *(a) Garbä Kudum, (b) Khellyä Kudum, (c) Mu Balä Kudum* and *(d) Dharma Kudum*. The relation between aunt and nephew, uncle and niece, father and daughter, mother and son, brother and sister and cousin of same gutthi, wife of younger brothers, husband's elder and older brothers and wifes elder and older sisters are taken as Garbä Kudum by the Chakma society. If any sexual relation is proved with Garbä Kudum, the offenders are liable for heavy punishment and to undergo humiliation with physical and mental punishment called Jhendrä and they are liable to be out casted until the Jhendrä ordeal is undergone. They should be treated like animals. Their heads are roughly shaven, leaves and plants are offered to eat and they had to chew it bleeting like a goat. They had to act like goat. They are asked to carry water, up to thousand pitchers, to the root of a banyan or peepul tree. Chicken cages are hung around their neck and paraded in the street by beating drums or empty tin canester announcing the offences committed. They are not allowed to enter any house and driven away like a goat saying, 'Ghe! Ghee!. They are also awarded corporal punishment of beating with a cane called Kereit. The society never

permit for such a relation to turn into a marriage and are immediately separated. It may also be said that the same generation of the other gutthi, the cousins and the alternate generation are Khellyā Kudum and the other generation is Garbā Kudum.

As the name of a *Gozā* and *Gutthi* descends in the male line, the rule of exogamy also based upon it. A man cannot marry any girl or woman from his *Gutthi*. However, it has been permitted if the relation is of permissible *Khelyā Kudum* after a gap of seven generations. A man cannot marry his related aunts, nieces, but he has to marry a girl who is a far related cousin. He can marry a cousin of his mother's *Gozā* and *Gutthi* and also of other *Gozās* and *Gutthis*. It is said that, earlier the maternal uncle had to seek permission from his marriageable nephew to marry off his daughters to others. Since the nephew had the right to marry his maternal uncle's daughter. It is also reported that the alliance had began from the time of Gautama Siddharta, who married his mother's brother's daughter, Gopa.

A '*Mu Balā Kudum*' does not have any weight' or force but a '*Dharma Kudum*' is more forceful. It is more forceful than a genetic relation. Since the society takes it as '*Jarmatthun Dharma bech*' (adopted relation is more than genetic one).

There is no caste system in the Chakma society and marriage is generally held between *Gozās*. The relation of husband and wife is a concrete one. Separation between husband and wife and divorce is very rare. A man can divorce his wife if she is proved unfaithful, infidel, disobedient and in rare cases suffering from incurable congenial disease. A wife can divorce her husband if he is found torturous, insane, impotent and in rare cases suffering from incurable congenial disease. Polygamy is prevalent in the Chakma society and some are seen to have married three/four wives. In such case permission from first wife and some other condition applies. Poliandry is not heard in the Chakma society except one incident of 'Kur Mwho and Sudhomba', who are reported to have married one woman at Simeisuri in 1973, under CADC. A widow has no bar for remarriage. In the second marriage, the woman is allowed to choose a partner of her liking and the parents or guardians have got no right to oppose her choice if the relation is marriageable one. The relations of the Chakmas are:

1. *Āttyā* – Mother's, father's, uncles', aunties' fathers, called as *Āju* or *Dādu* or *Dādā*.
2. *Barangā* – Mother's, father's, uncles', aunties', mother, adressed as *Nānu* or *Bebhei*.
3. *Bāp* – Father and called as *Bā, Bābhā*.
4. *Mā* – Mother and called as *Mā or Māmhā*.
5. *Jetthā* – Father's elder or older brothers, mothers elder or older sisters' husbands and called as *Jidhu*.
6. *Jedenghā* – Mother's elder or older sisters, wives of father's elder or older brothers and called as *Jedhei*.
7. *Pijvenghā* – Sisters and cousin sisters of father and called as *Pijhyei*.
8. *Pittelhā* – Husbands of father's sisters and cousin sisters called as *Pijhyā*.
9. *Khutto* – Father's younger brother and younger cousin brothers, called as *Kākkā* or *Khurho*.
10. *Khurongā* – Wives of father's younger brothers or cousin brothers, called as *Kākki* or *Khuri*.
11. *Moilyā* – Brothers and cousin brothers of mother, called as *Māmu*.

12. *Molen* – Wives of mother's brothers and mother's cousin brothers, called as *Māmi*.
13. *Moittelhā* – Husbands of mother's younger sisters and younger cousin sisters, called as *Moijhyā*.
14. *Moijyenghā* – Younger sisters and younger cousin sisters of a mother and called as *Mujhee*.
15. *Bhoch* – Wife of elder and older brothers, called as *Bhujhee*.
16. *Bhono Jāmei* – Husbands of sisters and cousin sisters, called as *Bonhoi*. (The younger sisters' husbands are *Guro Bhono Jamei* and the elder or older sister's husbands are *Bar Bhono Jāmei*). The elder and older sisters address the younger sisters' husbands in respected plural form. The younger sisters and brothers call them *Bonhoi*.
17. *Bhei put* – Brother's and cousin brother's sons, called by name or as *Bhei put*.
18. *Bhei Jhee* – Brother's and cousin brothers' daughters, called by name or as *Jhee*.
19. *Bhāghinā* – Sister's sons and cousin sisters' sons, called as *Bhagina/Bhāghen* or by name.
20. *Bhāghini* – Sister's daughters' and cousin sisters' daughters', called as *Bhagen* or by name.
21. *Jāl* - Wives of husband's brothers and husband's cousin brothers, called as of sisters. Elders or olders as *Bei* or *Bebhei* by the younger by name or by the name of elder child like *'Renu Bala Ma* (mother of Renu Bala) by the elders or olders.
22. *Labai-Sajan* – Husbands of sisters and cousin sisters, and called in Plural, the respected form. Some times by the name of elder child. At present the younger address the olders as *Da*.
23. *Sudin* – Wives of same husband. The younger addresses the olders as *Bei* or *Bebhei* and the older, by name or by the name of the elder child.
24. *Tālhoi-Puduro* – Father in law of brothers and brothers of son in law. Son in law brothers' address them as *Tālhoi* and the father-in-law brothers' address as *Putra* or *Put* or by name or in the name of elder child. At present, as *Kākkā* or *Jidhu* by the son in law brothers depending on the age. If his age is more than own father, he will be called as Jidhu and if less, then as *Kākkā*.
25. *Tālonhi: āTalhoi*, called as *Tālonhi* or *Kākki/Khuri/Jedhei*.
26. *Sālā* – Younger brothers and younger cousin brothers of wife, called by name or nickname.
27. *Sālee* – Younger sisters and younger cousin sisters of wife, called by name or nickname.
28. *Samandhee* – Wife's elder or older brothers, called as *Bonhoi* or now as *Dā*.
29. *Jeghat* – Wife's elder or older sisters, called in plural, the respected form.
30. *Bhon Jāmei* – Husbands of younger sisters and young cousin sisters, addressed in plural, the respected form.
31. *Nanan* – Younger sisters, younger cousin sisters of husband, called by name by the name of elder child.

32. *Nansoch* – Elder and older sisters of husband, called as elder sister, *Bei, Bebhei.*
33. *Dyar* – Younger brothers and younger cousin brothers of husband, called by name.
34. *Bhijhur* – Elder and older brothers of husband and called in respected plural form.
35. *Sohr* – Wife's or husband's father and called in respected plural form like "*Bābhādāghi*" or *Udurho*, or *Udurhodāghi*. The uncles of husband or wife are also called *Sohr* like –*Khuttho Sohr* (father-in-laws younger brothers' and younger cousin brothers), *Jetthā Sohr* (father-in-law's elder and older brothers), *Moilyā Sohr* (mother-in-law's brothers and cousin brothers), *Pittelhā Sorh* (father-in-law's sisters' husbands and cousin sisters' husbands), *Moittelā Shohr* (mother-in-law's younger sisters husbands and younger cousin sisters' husbands) and the grand inlaws as *Āttyā Sohr*, etc. Except the *Āttya Sohr*, others are called in plural, the respected form. *Āttyā Sorhr* is usually called as *Āju* which is a very cordial relation. Now a days the *Sohrs* are called as own relative like *Bābhā* (father), *Kākkā* (younger uncle), *Jidhu* (elder or older uncle), *Pijhyā* (wife's father's sisters' husbands), *Moijhyā* (wife's mother's younger sisters' husbands), *Māmu* (wife's maternal uncles), etc.
36. *Surhee* – Mother in law (Wife's and husband's mother) called as *Māmādāghi* or *Mā*. The aunts of husband and wife are also called *Surhee* like *Khurongā Surhee* (Younger uncle-in-law's wife/husband), *Jedenghā Surhee* (Elder or older uncle-in-law's wife/husband), *Molen Surhee* (husband's or wife's mothernal uncle's wife), *Pijenghā Surhee* (father-in-law's sisters' husbands), etc.
37. *Bhei Bo* – Younger brother's wives, called in plural respected form like *Boruno Boghun* (wives of Borun). At present by name as own sister, in the town areas.
38. *Pudo Bo* – Son's wife and called in plural, the respected form. Now by name as own daughter in the town areas.
39. *Bhei pudo Boh* – Brother's son's wives, called in plural respected form.
40. *Bhāginā Bo* – Sister's son's wives, called in respected form, plural. At present, by name in the town areas.
41. *Nādin* – Children of all sons, daughters, nieces, nephews and related nephews and nieces are called *Nadin* (grand children) and called by name or nickname and it is a cordial relation, called *Dā*, or *Dādhā* or *Nādin* or by name or nick name.
42. *Pudin* – Children of a *Nādin* are called *Pudin*, called *Jidhu* or by name.
43. *Sudin* – Children of Pudin.
44. *Udin* – Children of *Sudin*.
45. *Piju* – Father of grandfather, called as *Jidhu*.
46. *Heejhu* – Father of Piju, called as *Aju*.
47. *Bar Bhei* – Elder or older brother, called *Dā* or *Dādhā*.
48. *Guro Bhei/Chigon Bhei*- Younger brother, called by name or by *Khellya Nang* (nick name).
49. *Bar Bhon* – Elder or older sisters of same *gutthi*, called as *Bei, Bebhei* or now a days *Didi*.
50. *Guro Bhon* – Younger sisters of same *gutthi*, called by name or by nick name.

51. *Khuttho Put Bhei* – Cousin brothers through father's younger (cousin) brothers. Called olders as *Da*, younger by name or nick name. Marriagable if not from the same *Gutthi* and if there is a gap of more than five generations.
52. *Jetthā Put Bhei* – Cousin brothers through father's older cousin brothers, called – olders as *Da*, younger by name or nick name. Marriageable, if not from the same *Gutthi* and if there is a gap of more than five generations.
53. *Maijhyānghā Put Bhei* – Cousin brothers through mother's younger sisters and younger cousin sister, called - olders as *Da*, younger by name or nick name. Marriageable, if not from the same *Gutthi* and if there is a gap of more than five generations.
54. *Jedhengha Put Bhei* – Cousin brothers through mother's elder and older cousin sisters, called - olders' as *Da*, younger by name or nick name. Marriageable, if not from the same *Gutthi* and if there is a gap of more than five generations.
55. *Pijhyānghā Put Bhei* – Cousin brithers through father's sisters and cousin sisters, called - olders as *Da*, younger by name or nick name. Marriageable.
56. *Moillyā Put Bhei* – Cousin brothers through mother' brothers, mother's cousin brothers and aunties brothers (wives of faternal uncles' brothers) and aunties cousin brothers, called olders as *Da* and younger by name of nick name.
57. *Khuttho Jhee Bhon* – cousin sisters through father's younger cousin brothers, called olders as *Bei, Di*, younger by name or nick name. Marriageable, if not from the same *gutthi*.
58. *Jetthā Jhee Bhon* – Cousin sisters through father's older cousin brothers, called – olders as *Bei, Di*, younger by name or nick name. Marriageable, if not from the same *gutthi*.
59. *Maijhyānghā Jhee Bhon* – Cousin sisters through mother's younger sisters and younger cousin sister, called olders as *Bei/Di*, younger by name or nick name, Marriageable, if not from the samd *Gutthi*.
60. *Jedhengha Jhee Bhon* – Cousin sisters through mother's elder and older cousin sisters, called - olders as *Bei/Di*, younger by name or nick name. Marriageable, if not from the same *gutthi*.
61. *Pijhyāngha Jhee Bhon* – Cousin sisters through father's sisters and cousin sisters, called olders as *Bei/Di*, youngers by name or nick name, Marriageable.
62. *Moillyā Jhee Bhon* – Cousin sisters through mother' brothers, mother's cousin brothers and aunties brothers (wives of faternal uncles'), called olders as *Bei/Di* and youngers by name of nick name. Marriageable.
63. *Sālā/Samandhi Pwā* – Sons of wife's brothers and cousin brothers. Treated as nephew.
64. *Sālee/Jeghadha Pwā* – sons of wife's sisters are treated as own nephews.
65. *Sālā/Samandhi Jhee* – Daughters of wife's brothers and cousin brothers. Treated as own niece.
66. *Sālee/Jeghadhi Jhee* – Daughters of husband's brothers and cousin brothers. Treated as own niece.

67. *Diyari/Bhijhuree Pwā* – Sons of husband's brothers and cousin brothers. Treated as own nephews.
68. *Diyara Jhee/Bhijhura Jhee* – Daughters of husband's brothers. Treated as own niece.
69. *Nanana/Nanshojha Jhee* – Daughters of husband's sisters and cousin sisters.
70. *Jāla Jhee* – Daughters of husband's sister-in–laws. Treated as own nephews.
71. *Sudhino Pwa* – Son of husband's other wife.
72. Sudhino Jhee – Daughter of husband's other wife.

As per customs, the *Garbā Kudums* who are called in 'plural' form as a mark of respect are: (1) *Sohr* (related father in laws), (2) *Kuthho Sohr, Jetthā Sohr, Pittelhā Sohr, Mottelhā Sohr, Moillyā Sohr* and other *Sohrhi Pallā* (uncles'of wife) and other related uncles' of wife or auntys' husbands, (3) *Surhee* (related mother in laws), (4) *Khurhongā Surhee, Jedenghā Surhee, Pijenghā Surhee, Moijenghā Surhee, Molen Surhee,* (all related aunty in laws) in case of male only, (5) *Bhei Bo* (wives of younger brothers and related younger cousin brothers) (6) *Bhijhur* (elder brothers and related older brothers of husband), (7) *Jeghot* (elder and related older sisters of wife) (8) *Bhei Pudo Bo* (wives of brother's sons and related brothers' sons), (9) *Bhaginā Bo* (wives of sisters' sons and related cousin sisters' sons), and (10) *Any unknown person.*

According to custom, the *Boh's* (daughter in laws, wives of nephews, related nephews; wives of younger brothers and younger cousin brothers), and elder and older sisters of own wife should not be touched even through a stick. They should not be passed even a bamboo pole even while drowning. Earlier there was also one custom that a maternal uncle in law (mother in law's brothers) could not take food until he had seen stars in the sky after seeing the wife of his nephew's. But this custom is not observed now.

An unknown person should be addressed with respect in plural form '*Tumih*'. The addressing of the female line is simple and they can address the in-laws as own mother, sister, aunt, cousin, etc. The Chakmas take the brothers, sisters and cousins as same generation and stage and generally marriage should be held from the same generation from other *Gutthis*. But it should not be from the same *Gutthi* or *Genus* or lineage. Change of generation or stage is not recommended in marriage. However, marriage from the alternate generation of grand generation is not prohibited.

Food Distribution System: On hunting any big jungle animal like *Changarā* (Sambhar), *Huring* (deer), *Ājaba sap* (python), *Jhārbwa sugor* (jungle boar), etc., in the kingdom all the villagers had a share. The *Sigāri/Pallhān*, cannot claim it of his alone. There is a belief that if a big animal is hunted and taken alone by a family is a very bad practice. Such a family will be haunted and harmed by the *Deins* (witches) and it must be distributed at least among people of three *Gutthis*. To get protection from *Dein*, it is customary that one should touch the hunted meat share with burning charcoal and turmeric powder before entry into the house. After hunting a prey, first the skin is removed or burnt and cleaned. It is then cut into pieces. First the *Pallhān/ Sigāri* will get his share of the head and one *Rān* (hunch) called *Pallhānhi Bhāk*, the *Gullet* (helper of hunter), an *Hādā* (front leg) called *Gulleda Bhāk*, a piece of back muscle (*Bungo sach*) for the *Kheejha*[76], the other *Rān* (hunch/hind leg) was reserved for the *Raja* or on his behalf the head of the *Gozā*, the *Dewān* (if the palace is far away from the place of hunting). Otherwise, the hunter was fined Rs. 5/- against hog's leg, Rs. 15/- against a deer's leg, Rs. 25/- against a sambhar's leg and Rs. 50/- against a goyal's leg[77]. If there is no Raja or Dewan nearby, it is mixed with rest meat. The rest of meat was cut into pieces and divided into two equal parts. One part

is divided among every household of the village (including the *Sigari, Gullet* and the helpers) called *(Ghar Bhak)*, the other part is equally divided among the participants who have cut and cleaned the animal (including the *Sigāri* and the *Gullet* called *Miloni Bhāk*). The *Milonee Bhak* or *Ga Bhak* is never denied even to small children, especially a male though his share may be less. It is believed that anyone who deprives a male from *Milonee Bhak* is attacked by tigers. There is also a custom that the owner of instruments for such hunting like gun, net, dao, whelse, etc., whose instrument has been used for the hunt should also be provided a separate share called *Pān* and a *Peduli Mila* (pregnant woman) should get one extra piece of meat. Since, the child in the womb may be a male child and a male cannot be denied his share. Likewise, after the *Jhum* harvest is over and all settled in the village, the head of the village used to visit every houses of the village and survey the yields. If any one got excess yield, he would direct him to pay the excess to the less yielded family who would gladly share it as he knows it that he will also get it one day during his needy hour.

Social System: It is a patriarchal system of society and is based on cooperation and brotherhood. It was of a high degree. No one in the society was made to suffer, if he observed the social customs. All were thought equally and there is no caste system. In those days after the jhum harvest was over and every villagers have settled in the village, the head of the village would visit every houses and survey the yield of paddy. If any family is found to have harvested more than his whole year requirement, he would direct him to give some excess to the one who had harvested less. They have family would gladly share it, as he knows it very well that somtime he may also have less yield and others will also give him. Further, they have blood relation. But the present-day economic condition does not permit to practice those good virtues. A person disobeying a social custom was made 'Jāda bārhā' (out caste) or *Poiyo Bārhā* (beyond the food plate ie social out caste).

The *Kārbāri* or head of the village was assisted by the *Bujhos* (village elders) and *Kheejās* (knowledged persons) who are appointed by the leader of the *Gozā* and approved by the Raja or declared by the Raja, directly), in every matter of the village.

Community Welfare: (a) The community assistance to a needy in the form of *Bal Denā* was a good virtue practised by the Chakmas. At least one able member of a family should participate with working tools to assist others. *Baldenā* may be practised for jhum work who legged behind, for collection of *Dāru* (medicine) from the jungle, calling of a *Vaitdyo* (physician), calling of *Pādhu Ojhā* (delivery maid), *Pirālyā Chogi* (waking up beside a sick), etc. (b) The assistant in the form of *Māleiā* was also practised by the Chakmas. In a *Māleiā*, the needy person will visit every family of the village seeking assistance in certain work like clearance of jungle *Jum Kābā* (Jungle Clearance for Jhumming), *Jum Sulo* (Weeding), *Dhān Dabā* (Harvesting of Paddy) *Dhān Bwhā* (carrying of paddy to village from the jhum hut), *Nah Tānā* (drawing of a dug out boat), etc. On the appointed day at least one able person from a family would go with a *Bhāt Mojā* (rice packet of lunch) and assist him with the work. But the evening meal is offered by the host sometimes with pork and wine. But in case of sick, infirm, widow the evening meal is not compulsory. (c) The practice of looking after a sick like collection of medicine from the jungle, calling of *Vaitdyas*, and waking up whole night beside a sick person by rotation is practised till date in the rural areas. The practice of waking up beside a dead body and attendance in the funeral rites does not warrant any invitation but at least one person from every family must attend such rites. (d) There was also a system called *Pān Bādā Gojhānā*, literally meaning offering of a *Pān Plate* (betel nut and betel leave plate) where for any community assistance the *Kārbāri* was offered one bottled of

wine and *Pān Bādā* (betel nut and betel leaves in a plate). On acceptance of a *Pān Bādā* by the *Kārbāri*, it becomes the duty of the villagers to assist the family in all respect in a rite, wedding, work, etc., including maintenance of peace. (e) There was also a practice called 'Bālā Dhārānā' was a person who has got no work in his jhum or other work may work in other's jhum. But when he has work to do, that person should come to work for him. (f) The custom of offering 'Bhāt Mojā' (rice packet) with meat, fish and good courses to a newly delivered mother by the neighbouring women to gain her health was a very good system.

Lobiyodi (Hospitality): *Lobiyodi* (hospitality) is the most important custom of the Chakma society. It is regarded as the most important and virtuous task. Therefore, while blessing a younger person, the elders bless them "there should be no deart of guests in your house and the handle of your house step should be polished with the touch of guests" at the time of marriage. The custom teaches them to offer the best treatment and food to a guest, even not keeping for the family members. The provisions which are offered to a guest are: first a guest is offered water to wash the feet and seated on a comportable place. If it is hot a hand fan is offered and the cool water *Kutti* (jug) is offered. Afterwards the *Dābā* (hubble-bubble, the tobacco pipe) and betel nut is offered. He is also given company by a member of the family. And before start of lunch or dinner, he is offered *Mat* (wine) or *Kānjee* (rice beer of common rice) or *Jagarhā* (rice beer of sticky rice) as may be desired by rhe guest. Earlier, every household used to prepare and keep *Mat*, *Kānjee* and *Jagarhā* ready. At dinner or lunch at least one chicken dish has to be prepared in honour of a guest along with other available courses like fish, vegetable, etc. Some affluent families even kill pig or goat in addition to chicken and also invites relatives and neighbours for lunch or dinner and a merry feast goes on. To follow the best custom of hospitality, it is said that the Tongchongya Chakmas used to take their food after the guest and on the left-over plate without washing it.

Taxes and Revenues during the British Period: During the British period, the *Dewān* or the *Headman* used to control the land of their area. Without their permission people from other area could not reside or settle in their area or make any cultivation. A person engaged in Jhum cultivation in other leader's or *Dewān's* area was called *Pārkullyā* or *Pārbwo* and he had to pay full tax to his original *Dewān* and half tax to the *Dewān* in whose area he is making Jhum. Every family had to pay six rupees as poll tax called *Jumo Khājānā* and four days *Begār* to the king through the *Dewān*, *Tālukdār or Headman*. In lieu of *Begār*, Rupee one was paid. However, the *Dewān*, *Tālukdār*, *Headman*, *widow*, *sick* and *infirms* were exempted from paying poll tax. But they had to pay *Āk Choli*, the first harvest offering consisting of one *Ārhee* of rice (basket of rice containing about 12/14 Seer), one cock, one bamboo tube or bottle of strong wine called *Dwachuani Mat* and one bamboo tube or bottle of *Jagarhā* (rice beer) to the king. However, the *Kheejhās* and the *Nwa Belakkyās* (newly separated family) had to pay only half of the poll tax. In the later period, poll tax was levied only from the Jhum cultivators. Begar or four days labour or Rupee one in lieu of |*Begar* was enjoyed by the Dewan/Talukdar/Headman as a representative of the king. They also enjoyed one rupee out of four rupees poll tax and 25 acres of serviceable land without any tax.[78]

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2

Bijak or History of the Chakmas

As stated in the previous chapter, the history of the Chakmas is quite obscure as no any authentic record on the history of the Chakmas is available to us. The legend states that they are the descendents of Sakyas of the Lord Buddha fame. It is said that their ancestral homeland was at Kalāp Nagar, situated on the bank of Rohini. From Kalāp nagar king Shyāmala went for expedition to the east and established new kingdom and named it Champā and its capital Champaknagar, after his son Champak Kali. From there king Bimbāsur, a descendent of Shyamala went for expedition towards the south crossing the river Kapilā and Lohitā and named the new land as *Kālābāghā*, after his general *Kālābāghā*. Its capital was also named as Champaknagar, after the old capital. Kālābāghā was made Governor of Kalabagha. After Kālābāghā's death, Regent Vijoygiri, the elder son of king Udaygiri of Champā was made Governor of Kalabagha. On becoming the governor of Kālābāghā, he found the atrocious activities of the Maghs (Arakanese and Burmese) unbearable at the southern region of the kingdom. He made preparation for expedition against the Magh. The Tripura king also had a plan for expedition against the Maghs. On knowing the plan of Vijoygiri, the Tripura king deputed an ambassador to Vijoygiri for a meeting. They both met at Godagodi hills (Devota Murha) and became friends. (It is said that both Vijoygiri and Tripura kings' images were carved over there as a sign of their meeting.)

The Tripura king is said to have offered Vijoygiri his *Husei* or *Usei* troops. This troop is said to have been placed under the command of *Kunjha Dhan*, the second commander of Vijoygiri. Vijoygiri then set off for expedition against the Maghs with seven Chimu of soldiers (about 26000 souls) with four learned men toward the south in about 595A.D. through water route. After six days and six nights they made their first camp on the bank of Thewa, the frontier of Kālābāghā kingdom. It is said that they came by Meghna Darjya (Meghna sea?). Atthe Thewa camp. Vijoygiri remained with Kunjha Dhan and sent forth Radha Mohn, the general. The *Geingkhulee* (ballad) song states,

Nājer Ullājhe Rādhā Mohn, Khoi Gāngat Polākkhi Soinnyogan.

(Radha Mohn danced with joy, the troops reached Khoi Gang (Khewa?)

From Thewa camp Radha Mohn reached Khoi Gang and made camp at Chadigang. From Chadigang, Radha Mohn sent message to Magh king for surrender. But the Magh king did not surrender and Radha Mohn marched forward. The Geingkhulee palha runs as follows:

Jādi Pujat Dilhung Ghee; Magh Desh Kuley Soinyogān Polākkhi.

(Ghee poured in *Jādi Pujo* (worship of stupa); The troops reached Magh country).

Rādhā Mohn's troops and the Magh troops met in a battle at the mouth of Karnafuly on the Edong or Idhong or Kriddong hill and the Maghs were defeated. Rādhā then went forward to Roang country (Arakan). The Pālhā runs as under:

Loinhei Somārey Soinyoghan, Roāngkuley Lumyegi Rādhā Mohn.

(Taking the troops with, Radha Mohn reached Arakan).

He conquered the Mātāmurhee and Toin Murhee in the Roāng valley. At last, they fought a fierce battle at Nāgāthegā (Teknaf) and the Magh king of Roāng was totally defeated. The Pālhā runs:

Kahe Magh Rājā Rādhārey; Reichjyo Gojhei Dyong Tomārhe.

Goirā-Gangā Gorlyung Dān, Tatthun Chāngghe Porān Dān.

Ranat Jidi Bārlhyo Tech, Sitthun Gelhāk Pugor Dech.

(Magh king said to Rādhā, Offering you the kingdom

In the name of Gaya and Ganga, I Pray to spare the life.

Winning battle increased power, Went toward east from there).

In the east, there was Axa or Waxa country. In the way to Axa, they conquered Mongdhu, Bhusitong, Residong, Kālādāng valley and Mayang valley. They also defeated the Khyengs, camped at Jalipāgosya and collected soldiers from the defeated kingdoms. They then attacked the Axas and in the battle Rādhā Mohn was injured and made captive by the Axas.

In the mean time, the other commander of Vijoygiri defeated the Reangs and Mrungs. When the news of Radha Mohns captivity reached to Vijoygiri, he sent the second commander Kunjha Dhan with more soldiers. It is said that Kunjha Dhan reached Radha Mohn after twelve years from the date of Radha Mohn's leaving them. The son of Radha Mohn, Sārā Dhan accompanied Kunjha Dhan for the rescue of Radha Mohn from the Axas. Kunjha Dhan could defeat the Axa king and rescue Radha Mohn. They are said to have collected loots from the defeated kingdoms.

After defeating the Axa kingdom, they defeated other kingdoms on their way back to Kalabagha. They also conquered the Kanchan puri kingdom. The Pālhā runs:

Ebhe Jidilung Kānchan Dech, Phiri Ulla Jebong Pugor Desh.

Puge āghe Raja Kālanjar, Se Mukkhya Rādhā Mohn Dilho Lar. Kālanjar Rājā Ki Gorlyo, Pāttorhi Killā Jugāllyo.

(We have won the Kānchan Desha, Will go back to eastern countries.

There is king Kālanjar in the east, Rādhā Mohn went to that direction.

What king Kalanjar did, Made a rock port.)

King Kālanjar is said to be the king of the Kukis. Rādhā Mohn and Kunjha Dhan attacked the Kuki king Kālanjar and had a fierce battle. After fighting for fifteen days, they could break the rock port and defeat the Kukis by attacking from both sides. Rādhā then sent messenger with

message of victory to Vijoygiri. On getting the message, Vijoygiri went forward up to Chokkaideo of Safrai Valley to meet them. Here Radha Mohn sought permission for return to Champaknagar which was granted. Vijoygiri is also said to have told him about his return after eighteen days after administrators have been appointed for the conquered lands. There he received the news of his father's death and the ascending of throne by his younger brother, Samargiri.

After observing the death rite and mourning for seven days, Vijoygiri decided not to return to Champa and settled in the newly captured kingdoms. But he granted option to his soldiers either to follow him or return to Champa. Some of his solders followed him and he established a new kingdom at Safrai Valley. He was coronated here on a white elephant named *'Dhavalgiri'*. Dhunghi and Sindu were his commanders and Srittoma Sak was his Prime Minister. Radha Mohn and Kunjha Dhan remained at Champaknagar. He also asked his men to marry girls from the defeated tribes and he himself married an *Ari* girl from a noble family. It is said that Samargiri ascended the throne on the advicee of nobles who feared internal disturbance in the kingdom without a king after the death of Udoygiri. Samargiri is also said to have sent a minister to pursue Vijoygiri to return to Champa kingdom with the message of his readiness to hand-over the kingship.

As Vijoygiri had no heir, his Prime Minister Srittoma Sak ascended the throne after his death. Srittoma Sak was a clever king. He made it compulsory for all the young subjects to take military training. He conquered Ratanpur, Choidhong, Killadi and Moinang kingdoms. He is said to have stored the urn of Vijoygiri in a stupa on a hill top and shifted the capital to its foot. During his reign, the Tripura king acquired the province of Kalabagha and as such communication with the people of Kalabagha and old Champaknagar was cut-off. The people of Kalabagha assimilated with them.

During the reign of Manichgiri, the Chakma kingdom became very weak and the Maghs became very atrocious. Manichgiri shifted his capital to new place and named after him as Manichgir. At Manijgir, the Chakmas remained for 34 generations. But in 1333, the Magh king Minthi defeated the Chakma king Arunjug through deceitful means with the help of the Portuguese. They were made captive along with 10,000 soldiers. The descendents of these 10,000 soldiers are said to be the Doinaks. However, the king and his sons were made governor and officer of the Magh king dividing the subjects. The elder prince who was made Governor of Kyodeza, getting chance fled to Mongzambroo and established Chakma kingdom, a new. After the death of Mengdhi or Minthi, his son Karui started to attack the Chakmas of Mongzambroo. When his atrocities remained no bound, the Chakmas fled to Chokkaidu (Chakradaha) on the bank of Kaladan or Kalodin or Kamodini. There also the Magh pursued them and continued atrocities. During that period, the following couplets were composed:

Gharat Gelhey Maghey paih, Jharot gelhey Baghey Paih;

Maghe Na Pelhey Baghey Paih, Baghey Na Pelhey Maghey Paih;

Chala Chala Baap Bhei, Champaknagar Phirhi Jei.

(The Maghs awaits at home, Tigers awaits at jungle;

If the Maghs does not find us the tigers will find us and if not the tigers, the Maghs find us

Fathers and brohers! Let us return to Champaknagar).

During such pitiful condition, the noble advised the king for shifting to other safer place.

But king Moinsang disagreed. The subjects were displeased with him. The following couplet will clear the situation

Elhe Moinsang Lalhach nei, Na Elhe Moinsang Kelhech Nei;

Chala Chala Baap-Bhei, Champak Nagar Phiri Jei.

(We have no longing for his coming with us. We don't regret if he does not come.

Father and brothers, Let's return to Champaknagar).

The subjects also started fleeing from Chokkaidao to Matamurhee, Toinsuri and Bakkhali, etc., places. At last, the nobles consulted the three princes. They then sent minister Toin Sureswari with prince Kamekgiri to Bengal. The then Subedar of Bengal, Jallal Uddin, son of Raja Ganesh permitted them to settle in twelve villages in Chittagong. The prince Manikgiri was made the king and their headquarters was made at Manikpur. Raja Ganesh also assisted with his troops in the shifting from Chokkaidao to Chittagong. During the shifting from Chokkaidao, it is said that a group of earlier left behind Chakmas of Arakan wanted to accompany them. The first group reportedly cut plantain trees in the way and the left behind group saw shoots on it (as plantains grows shoot quickly). The left behind group, thinking the first group has left them far behind decided to settle at Toinmurhee. The people who settled at Toinmurhee were known as Roangya Chakma (as Arakan is known to the Chakmas as Roang) and later as Tongangya, Tongtongya, Tongchangya and present Tangchangya. The people who came to Ali Kadam, Kadamtuli were known as Ānokyā Chākmhā as Chittagong was earlier known as Ānok, meaning west. And they are now the main stream Chakmas. Manikgiri is said to have introduced Gozā system and initially there were only 12 Gozās in that 12 settlements. After the death of Manikgiri, the Commander Toin Sureswari was the leader of the Chakmas and the Nawab of Bengal conferred him Rajaship and he shifted the capital to Alikadam.

During the reign of Sukhdev Roy (the title 'Roy' was conferred by the Nawab of Bengal) the capital was shifted from Ali Kadam to Sukh Vilash. After surrender to the British, Janbux Khan shifted his capital to Rangunia. During the time of Harish Chandra, the headquarters of Chakmas was shifted to Rangamati from Rangunia. After Harish Chandra, his son Bhuban Mohan, Bhuban Mohan's son Nalinakshyo, Nalinakshyo's son Tridib and now Tridib's son Debashish is the present Chief of the Chakmas.

There are some facts on the legends of the Chakmas. The Chakmas and the tribal Nepalis like Rais, Limboos have some similarities like the division of Gozas, drinking and eating habits. River Rohini is at Nepal. There was a small kingdom named Champa at the upper Assam. It is said that the Srihatta district of present Bangladesh is said to be earlier known as Kalabagha.

Now Chakma Bijak or the chronology has been compiled below with reference to the books: (a) *Sri Sri Rajnama* by Madhab Chandra Chakma, (b) *Chakma Rajvamshavalir Itihas* by Raja Bhuban Mohan Roy, (c) *Raj Vamshavali* by Karna Talukdar and Krishna Dev, (d) *Chakma Jati O Chakma Rajvamsher Itihas* by Pranahari Talukdar, (e) *Chakma Jatir Itibritta* by Biraj Mohan Dewan, (f) *Chakma Itihas* by Punya Dhan Chakma (Karbari) and (g) Accounts from Geingkhulee singers.

1. Long long ago, there lived at Kolapnagar, a king named *Sudhanya*; who was a descendent of Abhiratha, a descendent of Puranjit, the founder of Sakya kingdom. Kolapnagar was situated at the foot of Himalaya. (Punya Dhan Chakma stated that

Sudhanya was the son of Sakya Singha, a Sakyan king; Raja Bhuban Mohan Roy also stated that Sudhanya was the son of Sakya, the king of Kolap Nagar). It is said that Sudhanya established the kingdom in the east which was named after him as *Sudhanyavati* or *Sudhammavati*.

2. **Moru Dev:** He was the son of Sudhannya. He ruled peacefully.
3. **Champa Kali:** He was the son of Moru Dev. He was a powerful king and conquered new lands. His minister was Sangkushya. He had two wives and three sons. From his firs queen, he had one son named Guno Dhan who became a sage at his youth. From his second wife, he had two sons, named Ananda Mohan and Langal Dhan. The elder Ananda Mohan became a monk (Raja Bhuban Mohan Roy stated Ananda, the personal server of Buddha) and hence, the younger Langal Dhan ascended the throne. Champak Kali was a pious king.
4. **Langal Dhan:** He had two sons named Kshudrajit or Shudrajit and Samudrajit. Joy Dhan, son of Sangkushya was their minister.
5. **Kshudrajit:** After Langal Dhan his elder son Kshudrajit became the king. But after ruling for sometimes, he got mental shock on the sudden death of his only son. He handed over the kingship to his younger brother Samudrajit and he became a monk. Subal, the son of Joy Dhan was his minister.
6. **Samudrajit:** He ruled the kingdom with the help of his minister, Subal. He is said to have married a tribal queen named Ka Pudi or Kalpavati, a small kingdom of the Himalayas. He was heirless and so after his death, Shyamal, the son of Subal, ascended the throne.
7. **Shyamal:** He was a powerful king and conquered new lands. He shifted his capital to the newly conquered land in the south-east of the kingdom of Kolapnagar. He named the new capital Champak Nagar, after his son Champak Kali.
8. **Champak Kali:** After Shyamal, his son Champak Kali ruled the kingdom. He had two sons, Sandhya Sur and Chandra Sukh.
9. **Sandhya Sur:** He succeded his father Sandhya Sur. After ruling for some years, he became a monk handing over the kingdom to the younger brother Chandra Sukh. He was a pious king and always had discussion on religious matters. After becoming a monk, he is said to have disappeared at meditating in front of the Buddha idol. From that very day, it is said that the name '*Sandhya Muni*' as the other name of the Buddha came to know to the Chakmas. He had only one daughter named Hiran Kumari.
10. **Chandra Sukh:** After getting the charge of Champa kingdom, he ruled it peacefully. He built many temples in his kingdom. Many learned and pious men decorated his court. He had only one son named Sadhenggiri or Sadhangiri, who was born after much penance or Sadhana.
11. **Sadhenggiri:** He was a pious and powerful king. He is still revered and remembered by the Chakmas for his knowledge in Brahma Yoga. It is said that he attained heavenly abode with his worldly body in front of his relatives and subjects on a chariot. An *Agar Tara* named *Sadhenggiri Tara* is said to be based on him and was recited while burning a dead. The Chakmas still use a chariot called Radha Ghar (from Ratha, a chariot to Radha?) and sometimes a four wheeled chariot called Gheela Ghar (Gheela, a wheel) in a funeral of nobles and wealthy person to resemble the ascending of heaven by

Sadenggiri. The chariot is adorned with elephant, four doves at the four corners and one monkey on the flag post. These animals are said have drawn the chariot of Sadhenggiri, to his journey to heaven. He had one son named Dharma Sukh.

12. **Dharma Sukh:** He succeeded his father Sadhenggiri and no event is recorded during his reign. He had one son named Sudhanya-II.
13. **Sudhanya-II:** He succeeded his father Dharma Sukh. No event recorded during his reign. He had one son named Champasur.
14. **Champasur:** He succeded his father Sudhanya-II. He had three sons named Samesur, Devasur and Bimbasur. He sent his younger son Bimbasur to Magadha for learning.
15. **Bimbasur:** He succeeded his father Champasur. He had a son named Bhimanjoy. After ruling for sometimes he died and the kingdom went to his youngest brother Bhimasur. Nothing is recorded on his other brother Devasur.
16. **Bimbasur:** He succeeded his uncle Bimbasur. He had a powerful physique. It is said that he used to hunt rhinoceros, buffallows alone. For having a strong and powerful physique, he was said to have been named so. He had an able general named Kalabagha. Bhimanjoy with the assistance of his able general said to marched southward crossing the river Kapila and Lohita and established a new kingdom named Kalabagha, after the name of his general. Its capital was named Champak Nagar, after the old capital. Kalabagha was made governor of the new land. It is said that once when Bhimanjoy went to hunt in the jungle on a hill, he found a ruin of a temple and found a bright Buddha idol. He also found the precept of not killing any living beings. He then gave up hunting and started a pious life. Later he became a monk giving the kingdom to his son Sangbuddha.
17. **Sangbuddha:** He ruled both Champa and Kalabagha and was succeeded by his son Udaygiri.
18. **Udaygiri:** He had two sons Vijoygiri and Samargiri or Chamakgiri. On the death of Kalabagha, the governor; the elder son Vijoygiri was sent to take his place at Champaknagar of Kalabagha.
19. **Vijoygiri:** Stated above.
21. **Srittoma Sak:** As stated above, Vijoygiri had no heir and so his Prime Minister Srittoma Sak ascende throne after the death of Vijoygiri.
22. **Saralnama or Sarannama:** After the demise of Srittoma Sak, his son Saralnama ascended the throne. He reigned peacefully and no event occurred.
23. **Ulattnama or Ulatnama:** He succeeded his father Saralnama and reigned peacefully. No important event occurred during his reign.
24. **Jamu or Janu:** He succeeded his father Ulatnama and reigned peacefully.
25. **Kamal Janu:** He succeeded his father Janu and no important event occurred during his reign.
26. **Ucchagiri or Unachgiri:** He also succeeded his father Kamal Janu and no important event occurred during his reign.
27. **Monichgiri/Manikgiri/Moichsyagiri:** He succeeded his father Uchchhagiri. His predecessors were very weak to resist any foreign attack. So, to save his subjects from

any attack, he shifted his capital to a safer place in the north. He named his new capital as Manichgir, after himself where he could establish a strong kingdom later on.

28. **Kamal Jug:** He succeeded his father Manikgiri. No event recorded on his reign.
29. **Madan Jug:** He succeeded his elder brother Kamaljug and nothing important happened during his reign.
30. **Jeevanjug:** He succeeded his father Madanjug. No event recorded of his reign.
31. **Ratnagiri:** He succeeded his father. No important event recorded of his reign.
32. **Dhanagiri:** He was the son of Ratnagiri. No event recorded on his reign.
33. **Swarnagiri:** He succeeded his father Dhanagiri. He is said to be a religious minded and practised meditation.
34. **Buddhanggiri:** He succeeded his father Swarnagiri. He appointed a Bengalee as his minister who was later known as Bangali Sardar. With the assistance of his Bengalee minister he conquered the nearby small tribes.
35. **Dharmagiri:** He was the son of Buddhanggiri. He inherited a well administered kingdom. He conquered the Kukis and Khyengs with the help of Bengalee Sardar. The battle is known as Shyakala Juddha occurred in 1075 A.D.
36. **Manorath:** He was the son of Dharmagiri and reigned peacefully for a considerable period.
37. **Arijit:** He succeeded his father Manorath. No even recorded of his reign.
38. **Moimangsha:** He succeeded his father Arijit. No event recorded on his reign.
39. **Kevala:** He succeeded his father Moimangsha. No event recorded on his reign.
40. **Boirindam:** He succeeded his father Kevala.
41. **Gyananu:** He succeeded his father.
43. **Swetabrataor Chotungsa:** He was the only son of Gyananu and succeed his father Gyananu. He died without any heir.
44. **Shakalia:** When the king died without an heir, the ministers after consulting the Commanders released a white elephant with a view to choose a new king. The elephant carried a man named Shakalia and he was made the king. Shakalia also could not leave any heir except a daughter named Manikbi. Manikbi married the commander named Bangali Sardar. He was named so as he got training in Bengal before becoming a Commander.
45. **Bangali Sardar:** After the death of Shakalia, his son-in-law Bangali Sardar ascended the throne. He was a powerful ruler. He fought many battles with the Maghs. When the Magh King Alongsisu could not defeat the Chakma king, he extended friendship with Bangali Sardar. As a token of Friendship, he married off two of his daughters to two sons of Bangali Sardar. The Magh king also said to have presented some subjects with two of his daughters. Those subjects are believed to be the ancestors of the Bengali Boruas and the Borua sept of the Chakmas. They are named so as the Chakmas call the outsider as 'Barbhwa' The Mimagree gotta of the Bengali Boruas are believed to be the descendents of the subjects of the elder princess of the Magh king. It is said that after friendship with the Maghs, the Chakmas led expeditions against the Kukis, Khyengs, Pangkhos and the Banjogis. During the expeditions, a Barbhwa, who was a cook in the

camp showed valour with a shieve and rice stirring stick called *Kadhee* when the kukis came to attack the camp and the Kukis run away. He was therefore named Ran Pagala meaning a battle mad as his act was nothing but madness. He was later promoted to the post of commander.

46. **Manikgiri:** After the death of Bangali Sardar, his son Manikgiri ascended the throne. No important event recorded during his reign.
47. **Madalia:** After Manikgiri, his son Madalia ascended the throne. He could not reign long due to sudden death.
48. **Ramthongjha:** On the death of Madalia, his younger brother Ramthongjha ascended the throne. He also could not reign long.
49. **Kamalchege:** He succeeded his father Ramtongjha. Before becoming a king, he served as a minister. In Chakma, the ministers were called chege. So, he was known as Kamal Chege. He fought with the Maghs.
50. **Ratangiri:** He succeeded his father Kamal Chege. No event recorded.
51. **Kala Tongjha:** He succeeded his father Ratangiri. No event occurred duting his reign.
52. **Chakra Dhan:** He was the son of Kala Tongjha and succeeded him. No event occurred during his reign.
53. **Phela Dhaveng:** He was the son of Chakra Dhan. Before ascending the throne, he served as an ambassador to the Magh kingdom. In Chakma, Dhaveng means an ambassador. So, he was known as Phela Dhaveng. No event recorded on his reign.
54. **Sermattya:** He succeeded his father Phela Dhaveng in 1300 A.D. The Maghs were very powerful during his time. They attacked the Chakma kingdom many times. He somehow resist the attack.
55. **Arunjug or Yongja:** Arunjug succeeded as father Sermottya. He was a powerful ruler. The Chakmas were sometimes powerful in Burma. They ruled there for about 34 generations after the establishment of kingdom by Vijoygiri. Arunjug fought two battles with the Burmese king Minthi or Mengdi. So to get rid off Arunjug, Mengdi hatched a plan with the help of the Portuguese as he did not dare to face him face to face. That trick ultimately caused the downfall of Chakma kingdom from Burma.

    It is said that in 1333 to defeat the Chakma king, the king of Burma, Mengdi (Minthi) in collaboration with his minister Korenggree and Rozangya Chaigrai or Changrai, the commander sent a letter to Arunjug with a proposal of friendship. On receipt of the friendship letter Arunjug was very pleased and rewarded the messenger. He also sent his minister Braja Muni (Brachai) with one big elephant, one golden necklace, two horses and other precious materials to meet the Burmese commander. The Burmese treated Brajamuni very well and sent him back with one girl, stating her to be a princess and sister of Mengdi and with the proposal of marriage with the Chakma king.

    On return of Braja Muni with the girl, the Chakma king was very pleased and sent his nobles to welcome her. As per the conspiracy Sangrai sent Reyong, the governor of Dacca with hundred elephants with the plea of present as dowry with the troops.

    When Arunjug was merry making with the girl in the palace, Reyong suddenly attacked the palace with his troop at midnight. Walter also sealed the back of the palace. After

three days of battle, Arunjug surrendered with three queens, elder prince Surjyojit (Chojui), two daughters, nobles and servants of the palace. At last, the middle prince Chandrajit (Chauproo), and the youngest prince Satrujit (Choutu) were made captive from a hilly town. This incident occurred on 2nd Magh 695 Burmese Era (17th January, 1333). The Chakma capital Moisagiri was devasted into a funeral pyre. It is stated that, the Burmese Commander Rozangya Chaigrai had collected 350 elephants, many horses, 50 goyals, god, silver, other precious materials and 10,000 captives from the Chakma kingdom. On 27th January 1333 A.D. he sent all the captives and loots to the king. The king Mengdi is said to have conferred Maha *Uchchhana*, most learned) title to Rozangya Changrai. He is also said to have presented other priviledges like golden palanquin and riding on elephant, etc. After this deceitful act, king Minthi married the elder princess Chandra Mukhi (Chamikha) and the younger princess was married to Mongzau, the son of Rozangya Changrai.

The Burmese king was also lenient on others and made Arunjug, the governor of Kafa on the Khyakhya tribes of Kamuchha. The elder prince Surjyojit was made governor of Kyudeza or Kyudoza, The middle prince Chandrajit, governor of Mian or Mingdoza and the youngest prince, the revenue officer to collect river polls at Kongza. The 10,000 captives were settled at Engkhong and Yangkhang and their title was changed into Doina or Doinak (meaning badly defeated) and all of them had to live a dependent life.

In 1343, when the king Mingthi went to crush a rebellion in the southern part of Arakan at Limbroo, the elder prince Surjyojit or Chajui fled to upper Burma crossing the hills of Pochchou or Pochhondo with his followers and established a kingdom at Mongzambroo. But this kingdom could not be made as earlier one. The middle prince Chandajit served the Amamroo or Asakroo under Chakkyang king with the title Tardya.

56. **Surjyojit:** At Mongzambroo, Surjyojit died without any heir. Therefore, the nobles invited the youngest prince Satrujit from Arakan to ascent the throne.

57. **Satrujit:** He inherited a very weak kingdom from his brother. He also could not strengthen the kingdom. In the mean time, the old king died at Kamuchha. The middle prince assimilated his followers with the Burmese. Satrujit died leaving his only son Ramthongza.

58. **Ramtongza:** He inherited the weak kingdom from his father Satrujit. He was later known as Moisang or Monsyang meaning Buddhist novice. As he became a Buddhist novice after he failed to protect his subjects from the atrocities of the Maghs (Burmese).

After Mengdis' death, his son Karui ascended the Burmese throne. On becoming king, he started attacking the Chakmas at Mongzambroo. The Chakmas fled to Chokkaidu (Chakradaha) on the bank of Kaladan or Kalodin or Kamodini. During that period the following couplets were composed:

Gharat Gelhey Maghey pāii, Jhārot gelhey Bāghey Pāii;

Maghe Na Pelhey Bāghey Pāii, Bāghey Na Pelhey Maghey Pāii;

Chala Chala Bāp Bhei, Champaknagar Phirhi Jei.

(The Maghs awaits at home, Tigers awaits at jungle;

If the Maghs does not findsus the tigers find us and if not the tigers, the Maghs find us

Fathers and brothers! Let us return to Champaknagar).

During such pitiful condition the noble advised the king for shifting to other safer place. But king Moinsang disagreed. So, the subjects were displeased with him. The following couplets will clear the situation:

Elhe Moinsāng Lālhach Nei, Na Elhe Moinsāng Kelhech Nei;

Chala Chala Bāp-Bhei, Champak Nagar Phiri Jei.

(We have no longing for his coming with us, We have no regret if he does not come Father and brothers, let us return to Champaknagar).

The subjects also started fleeing from Chokkaidao to Matamurhee, Toinsuri and Bakkhali, etc., places. At last, the nobles consulted the three princes and sent minister Toin Sureswari with prince Kamekgiri to Bengal. The then subedar of Bengal, Jallal Uddin, son of Raja Ganesh permitted them to settle in twelve villages in Chittagong. He also assisted with his troops in the shifting from Chokkaidao to Chittagong. During the shifting from Chokkaidao, it is said that a group was left behind at Arakan. The first group reportedly cut plantain trees in the way and the left behind group saw shoots on it (as plantains grows shoot quickly). The left-behind group thinking that the first group has left them far behind decided to settle at Toinmurhee and became known as Roangya Chakma (as Arakan is known to the Chakmas as Roang), later as Tongangya, Tongtongya, Tongchangya (present Tangchangya). The people who came to Ali Kadam, Kadamtuli were known as Anokya Chakma as Chittagong was earlier known as Anok. And they are now the main stream Chakmas.

59. **Manikgiri:** After ascending the throne of Manikpur, Manikgiri could gain some power. During his reign, king Daring of Pegu attacked Arakan and the Arakanese king Kamrui fled away to Tripura. Getting the opportunity, Manikgiri attacked Arakan. But he was not successful. The youngest brother Radangsha also died in the debacle. Manikgiri is said to have introduced the titles *'Roaza'* and *'Sardar'* among the heads of Gozās or septs in the twelve villages. He died without any heir.

60. **Toin Sureswari:** As there was no heir on the throne of Manikpur, the Nawab of Bengal conferred the title of Raja to Toin Sureswari, the minister. He shifted the capital to Ali Kadam. During his reign the Maghs and the Kukis attacked the Chakma kingdom. The Nawab of Bengal helped Toin Sureswari and the attack could be foiled.

61. **Jonu:** After the death of Toin Sureswari, his son ascended the throne in 1516. During his reign, the Arakanese again attacked Bengal and extended their kingdom up to Dacca and Jonu also had to surrender before Chanduiza, the commander of Arakanese troop. In 1517, the king of Arakan, Mondaijgir visited Dacca. So, on 2nd February, 1518 Jonu sent two elephants, painting white to the Arakanese governor of Chittagong, Dhemanggiri for the king through four nobles. But in the meantime, Dhemanggiri was replaced by Chanduiza. On detecting the real colour of the elephants, he got very angry and arrested the four nobles of Jonu. His anger did not subdue though it was explained that it was not meant for deceit but to honour the king since the Arakanese king does not ride on ordinary elephant. On reaching the news to the Arakanese king, he ordered Chanduiza to handover the charge of Chittagong to Dhamanggiri and also report at Dhaka with the Chakma nobles. Chanduiza took the nobles to Dhaka and reported before the king. On

hearing both he rebuked Chanduiza and released the nobles. He conferred the title *Konghlaproo* (kind hearted) to the Chakma king and sent present of valuable dresses. The Chakma king Jonu was also pleased with the treatment of Arakanese king and on 29th January 1520 A.D. gave in marriage of his daughter Sajembi (Sajaiu) with the Arakanese king on his return from Dhaka. As a result, the Magh king (Arakanese) demarcated the Chakma kingdom as stated in the previous chapter and reproduced here:

East : River Ngamre (Naf river)

West : Sita kund

South : Sea

North : Saichal hills.

The second daughter of Jonu was married to Buttusya, the son of Ranpagala-II who was the commander of the Chakma kingdom and also known as Burha\o Borua. With the assistance of both his son in laws (Arakanese king and Chakma Commander), king Jonu became powerful in the later period.

Jonu is said have commanded a troop of 30,000 souls against the Pegu king on the request of Arakanese king. He led the expedition through the Mugdama city on the bank of the river Chanyamrango and Kamel hills. When there was no ration for his troops, he attacked Siamese kingdom and reached Bangkok in 1598. He defeated the Siamese king and captivated his younger brother and handed over to the Arakanese king. He also defeated the Pegu king and brought 33,000 Talaing subjects under Arakanese kingdom with princes and princesses of Pegu. During his reign, Misia a traveller from Venice, Italy visited Chittagong. King Jonu is said to have lived about 122 years.

62. **Sattwa:** He is better known as Pagala Raja. After the death of Jonu, there was no heir as Jonu had no son except two daughters. Therefore, the son of Rajembi and Burha Borua, Sattwa was made king. He was a learned man and had the knowledge of yoga and magic. He could take out the inner parts of the body like liver, intestine, etc., and place it after wash. Moreover, he used to meditate frequently under a mosquito net. When he was meditating, out of curiosity his queen opened the net and saw Sattwa washing his inner organs. On seeing such act, she cried out loudly in fear and Sattwas meditation was disturbed. As a result, Sattwa went mad and started torturing and killing innocent subjects. He is said to have killed all the male members of his ministers and did not allow anybody to go near except his queen. The couplet runs as under:

Muni Rishi Dhyān Garhey, Pāgālā Rājā Chit-Koljyā Khulee Sinān Garhey.

(Meditates like a sage, Pagla Raja washes taking out liver and heart).

It is said that Sattwa had slain one Dachbingya Dhaveng a noble with nine of his sons. Only one son could flee to Kanchanpur, Tripura, where he dug one pond which is still known as Chakma Dighi. He is also said to have carried children on boat, sunk it in the mid Karnafuli and laughed with joy seeing the children sinking. At last, when his atrocities became unbearable, the nobles and the sardars hatched a plan to kill the king. As per plan, some one cried out 'elephant! elephant!' and when Sattwa stretched his head to see the elephant, a man from the Larmha Gozā beheaded him from the back. His descendents are still known as *'Rājākābā' Gutthi'* (slayer of king clan). His two princes Chandan Khan and Ratan Khan were also slain with Sattwa. The queen fled to Tripura

with the help of reliable nobles. There, she married off her daughter to a Tripuri noble who also died soon. The daughter of Pagla Raja was known as Amangali.

In the meantime, there was no one to ascend the throne. The subjects suffered miserably without a ruler. In such miserable condition, the nobles and sardars realised their fault of treating the queen badly without any fault on her part. So, they invited her to rule the kingdom. She came back with her daughter and the followers and took the rein of the kingdom. She was better known as *Kāttwā Rāni*. She gave in marriage Amagali to Mhuleema Tongjha, the sardar of Mhuleema Gozā (sept).

Before going mad, Sattwa had freed the kingdom from the vassalship of Arakan. During his period, the Portuguese came to Chittagong and Sattwa with the help of Sebastian Manrick, the missionary of Dianga attacked the Arakanese governor and looted them. It was during the period of Sattwa that the Chakmas started wet rice cultivation.

63. **Kattwa Rani:** She reigned without any event. After her death, her grandson Dhavana, son of Amangali and Mhuleema Thongjha ascended the throne and the kingship went to *Mhulheema Gozā*.

64. **Dhavana:** There is a story on Dhavanas ascending the throne. It is said that after the death of Kattwa Rani, there was dispute on the claim of the throne. Since the four sons of Amangali–Dhurjya, Kurjya (both son of Tripuri noble), Dhavana, Pirha Bhanga, (both son of Mhulheema Tongjha and one Nendab, a noble were the contenders of the throne. The sardars and the nobles thought of a plan. According to the plan, the nobles placed five seats in the court. Out of which only one was meant for the king and the contenders were asked to sit on it early in the morning and the sardars and nobles watched them. Dhavana could sit on the seat meant for the king and he was coronated.

65. **Dharammya:** After Dhavana, his son Dharammya became the king in 1661 A.D. The Portuguese were strong during his reign and conducted atrocious activities on the Chakmas. Dharammya approached Nawab Shaista Khan for help. But instead, he assisted the Portuguese and the Portuguese attacked the Chakmas. They occupied Ramdurga or Ramu port of the Chakmas in the south and the Chakmas had to flee to safer place. But during rainy season Dharammya blocked their supply of ration and attacked at every opportunity. The Moghuls had to come in term and made friendship. As a token of friendship, the Nawab married one of his relative to Dharammya. The Chakmas are therefore found with Moghul names in the later period for this alliance. It is also said that the Moghul girl whom Dharammya married was the daughter of Suja Ud-dulla, a brother of Aurangjeb, who took shelter in the Chakma kingdom when there was dispute on the throne of Delhi among the brothers.

The Moghul woman was said to be very influential. At her death bed she took a promise from Dharammya that she should be buried head westward instead of burning head eastward, so that her head remains toward Mecca and Medina. Before that, the Chakma women were burnt head eastward. From that very day, the practice of burning the women head eastward began, in the Chakma custom. Whereas the male dead are still burnt head eastward with the belief that the Chakmas are Surya Vanshi.

66. **Mogollya:** After Dharammya, his son Mogollya ascended the throne. He was named so as his mother was a Moghul. During his reign there was dispute on the claim of throne

in Arakan. He could reign peacefully with the help of the Moghuls. Mogollya had two sons—Subhal Khan and Jallal Khan.

67. **Subhal Khan or Jubal Khan:** During his reign, Chanduiza became the king of Arakan. On becoming the king, Chanduiza led expedition to conquer new land and loot them and the Chakma kingdom also fell a prey to him and made it a vassal state. Subal Khan could not reign long and died without any son.

68. **Jallal Khan:** After the death of Subal Khan, his younger brother Jallal Khan became the king. During his reign, Chanduiza attacked Chittagong and sought help from Jallal Khan in 1710. Chanduiza also looted Sandwip and Hatia with Chittagong. During this attack Haria, the son of Angullya helped Chanduiza. Chanduiza was very pleased and conferred him the title *Bhomang*. It was during the period of Jallal Khan that the lease of business with the Moghul was signed on payment of eleven mound of cotton. Jallal Khan died in 1715.

69. **Fathe Khan:** After Jallal Khan, his son Fathe Khan became the king. As the Chakma king helped Chanduiza, the Moghuls sent an expedition against the Chakmas. Fathe Khan was then a regent. He attacked the Moghuls from the jungle. He also faced them at Hoagga on the bank of Karnafuli and captured two canons. Those canons were named as Fathe Khan and Kalu Khan after himself and the commander. The place where he faced the Moghuls is still known as Fathe Khan Char. Fathe Khan had four sons—Serjjan Khan, Sermust Khan, Ormust Khan and Rahamat Khan.

70. **Serjjan Khan:** After Fathe Khan, his eldest son Serjjan Khan became the king. But he could not reign long due to death at young age.

71. **Shermust Khan:** After the death of Serjjan Khan, his younger brother, Shermust Khan became the king. He had friendly relation with the Moghuls. He got the administrative power of the whole of undivided Chittagong in 1737. The following was the boundary of the kingdom of Shermust Khan as stated by Mr. Harry Barrylast, the Chief of Chittagong District in 1763:

North	:	Feni river
South	:	Sangu river
East	:	Kuki kingdom
West	:	Nizampur road

Heirless Shermust Khan adopted his nephew Sukh Dev, the son of Ormust Khan. He had also introduced cotton tax in 1737.

72. **Sukhdev Roy:** On ascending the throne, he renewed the land lease from the Nawab. The Nawab conferred him the title 'Roy'. He also prepared a new land for habitation at the mouth of the river Silok, known as 'Sukhdev Taraf'. He shifted the capital of the Chakma kingdom to the new land and named it 'Sukh Vilash'.

Sukhdev Roy was a religious minded king. Though he believed in Hinduism, he had no discrimination for other religions. He built a temple called 'Tripura Sundari' where he placed an idol of goddess Kali from Tripura. He had friendship with the Tripura king Haramani. Their friendship grew when the Tripura king took shelther in the Chakma kingdom under threat from one Samsher Gazi, a landlord from Sylhet. The Tripura king,

as a token of friendship gave some subject to the Chakma king to work in the palace. They are known as 'Rajarha Tibira'. He also allowed the Chakmas to live in Tripura.

Sukhdev Roy was a favourite of the Nawab of Bengal. He had many Bengalee subjects in the plain areas of Chittagong. His kingdom also went to the British East India Company along with Bengal. But the British did not interfere with him. He had introduced the Dewani and Talukdari systems in the Chakma kingdom. He died in 1776.

73. **Sher Daulat Khan:** After the death of Sukhdev Roy, his younger brother, the second son of Ormust Khan ascended the throne. He was the first Chakma king to fall under British administration. He had disagreement with the British on the payment of Cotton Tax. So, on the advice of his Senapati, Ronu Khan, he stopped payment of cotton tax to the British. The British sent expedition against Ronu Khan twice (in 1777 under Mr. Lane and in 1780 under Mr. Turner) but they were unsuccessful. Ronu Khan had friendship with the Kukis and attacked the British at every opportunity. Ronu Khan was the son-in-law of Sher Daulat Khan. Sher Daulat Khan died in 1782.

74. **Janbask Khan:** After Sher Daulat Khan his son Jan Busk Khan ewan and he himself remained at Mafroong port. The British sealed the market and all supplies to compel surrender. The subjects could not purchase any necessities from the market and had to flee from one place to other in search of safety. In such pitiful condition, a pregnant woman was reported to have been lamenting and cursing the king and Janbux Khan heard it. So, he changed his mind of resssistance and surrendered before the British in 1787 at Calcutta. The Ghose family of Calcutta have reportedly helped him in the surrender.

In 1791, Jabux Khan was asked to pay Rs. 1915 in lieu of Cotton Tax by the British. He also shifted his capital from Sukh Vilash to Rangunia in 1798. He had four sons—Jabbar Khan, Tabbar Khan, Dhol Peda and Chela Jabbar. Jabux died in 1798.

75. **Tabbar Khan:** After Janbux Khan, his eldest son became the king. He dug a pond called Raja Dighi at Rajnagar. He died premature after only three years of his rule without any children.

76. **Jabbar Khan:** After the death of Tabbar Khan, his younger brother Jabbar Khan became the king in 1801. But after ruling for ten years he died suddenly. It is believed that he was poisoned in family dispute.

77. **Dharam Bux Khan:** After the death of Jabbar Khan, his wife and son Dharambux Khan were said to be in pitiful condition. The younger brother of Jabbar Khan, Dhol Peda is said to be a wicked person. He even reportedly tried to sacrifice Dharambux Khan before goddess Kali. So, the queen and Dharambux Khan had to flee and remain with one Kheju or Nhasru, a Magh with the help of a reliable noble and remain undercover. The queen is reported have worked manually in the house of the Kheju. It is said that when the queen was working in the Jum of Kheju, she kept her son Dharambux lying on a piece of cloth and Kheju saw a black cobra was giving shade to the child with the hood. Kheju then realised that the child was going to be a great man in future and so, he freed the queen from mannial work. He also asked the identity of the boy and the queen disclosed it. Kheju kept them with much care till the boy attains manhood. Later when Dharambux became Raja, Kheju was given Roazaship.

After attaining manhood, Dharambux became Raja after much hardship in 1812. During his reign, a group of the left out Chakmas, the Tongangyas and some Boruas (about 4000) came to live with the Chakmas from Arakan. They demanded a Dewanship for their group under one Phaproo. They also built a building on public donation and presented to Dharambux. But Dharambux did not grant them Dewani and they had to return to Arakan. Some of them remained at Theknaf, Hangar, Bakkhali, Toinsuri and Matamurhee. The building they presented still exists as the Divisional Commissioner Office of Chittagong. It was first hired by the British at Rs. 150/- per month. Dharambux is said to be the first king who allowed to settled the plain Muslims at Rangunia. It is said that once he was roaming in his estate without an umbrella and it was raining heavily. On seeing the condition of Dharambux, one Ratneswar Bhattacharjee of Chittagong hold an umbrella on him and he was very pleased. After the rain had ceased, they climbed a hillock and presented the whole visible land to Ratneswar Bhattacharjee. Afterwards, Dharambux was very much influenced by Ratneswar Bhattacharjee and he was inclined to Hinduism and got Diksha from Bhattacharjee. He also conferred Ratneswar the title 'Moharaj Bhattacharjee'. The Bhattacharjee family of Chittagong are related to Chakma royal family till date. Dharambux had three wives—Kalindi, Atakbi and Haribi. He had no sons except one daughter named Chigonbi by Haribi.

78. **Kalindi Rani:** In 1832, after the death of Dharambux, there was dispute on the heirship of the kingdom. The relatives of Dharambux also tried to grasp the kingdom. When there was no feasible solution, they insisted Haribi, the third wife of Dharambux, to apply for Sabarkarship from the British so that the British make Chikanbi alias Menaka, the daughter of Dharambux the heir of Chakma estate and Haribi, the guardian. Kalindi was also a contender and she also applied for heirship. The British were in a fix and made Sukhlal Dewan the manager of Chakma estate, under a court of order on payment of Rs. 2822/- until the matter was finalised. In the meantime, Kalindi gave in marriage Chikanbi to Gopinath Dewan, a cousin of Ishan Chandra Dewan and grand son of Ronu Khan, the renowned Commander of Wangjha or Bongsha Goza (sept) and Haribi also started to live with son in law Gopinath Dewan at Kaptai. So, the British had to give in lease the Chakma estate to Kalindi Rani under a court of order on payment of Rs. 2584 annually. In the meantime, Chikanbi gave in birth a son named Harish Chandra. In 1844, Kalindi was given full power of the estate on the condition that she will only be the guardian of the estate and she will hand over the estate on Harish Chandras attaining manhood.

Kalindi was a shrewd ruler. Ishan Chandra Dewan was always at her side. She ruled the estate as she liked with the help of Ishan Chandra Dewan. It is said that she avenged her opponents by instigating the Kukis with the help of Ishan Chandra Dewan. Two main opponents of her rule were Golak Chandra Dewan and Nilo Chandra Dewan. Gola Chandra (to some Girish Chandra) went to live with his 120 families of subjects at Feni and Nilo Chandra Dewan at Chengi. With the help of Ishan Chandra Dewan (since he was friendly with the Kukis since the time of his grandfather Ronu Khan), she caused Kukis attack on their subjects in 1860 and destroyed the Feni valley. The Kukis were happy enough to attack as they could loot them and take away the women and children.

Kalindi was an independent minded woman. She belonged to the Kurhokuttya Goza. She did not like any pressure of power upon her. So we find her to fight for right with the

British. It is said that though the estate went to the British in 1767 along with Bengal, they did not interfere with the internal affairs of administration until 1860. The British first established their administrative office at Chandraghona in 1861. In 1866, when Captain T.H. Lewin was transferred to Chittagong, with the experience of administion of tribal areas in Burma, the power of tribal rulers in Chittagong decreased day-by-day. It is said that it was due to fault on the part of Rani Kalindi and misunderstanding that Capt. Lewin treated badly. When Capt. Lewin first came to meet Kalindi, she reportedly denied to meet him as she was influenced by the Hindus and observed Purdah. Instead of meeting him personally she deputed on of her Dewan Capt. Lewin felt insulted and insisted to meet her. But she refused to see him and in anger said, "I don't want to see a monkey's face." Lenin even tried to meet the Rani forcibly, but the palace guards resisted him. Further, the Rani was always advised by her Bengalee advisors and always quarrelled with the British administrators. Which Capt. Lewin did not appreciate. During her period the Chengi valley of Nilo Chandra Dewan was attacked by the Kukis in 1870. In which Kandar Khan, the father of Nilo Chandra Dewan was slain and one of his sisters was also taken away. The kukis also said to have taken away other women and children and assimilated with them from Chengi Bor Adam, No. 22 Mauza, Lo Gang and Pus Gang. But the Kukis exceeded in their attack and the Rani got angry. She then persuaded the British to lead expedition against the Kuki. At first the British were reluctant. They only helped the Rani with arms. The Rani then united all the Sardars and Dewans to fight the Kuki and made two ports at Killa Marang and Barkal. When the ports were ready, Capt. Lewin made a trolly line up to Barkal.

The followings were the affect of misunderstanding between Kalindi Rani and Capt. T.H. Lewin :

- In 1870, the Tribal area of Chittagong was made a separate district with the name Chittagong Hill Tracts. The following villages like Rangunia, Sarvotuli, Mariamnagar, Nua Para, Kuki Para, Rani Dighi, Rajapur, Namdam Kanon, Rajapur, Ranir Haat, Rajar Haat, Roaza Haat, Chowdhury Haat, Dhamei Rasta, Dhamei Bill, Chakma Kul, Dhamei Pahar, Raja Kul, Wangjha Murho, Naga Thega, Gabhur Murhi, Kadam Tuli, Ali Kadam, Toin Chhari, Dhamei Para, Pagala Murha, Pagla Bil, Jumia Para, etc., were included in the Chittagong Plain District.
- The title 'Raja' was abolished and the title 'Chief' was introduced.
- The title Dewan was abolished and 'Headman' was introduced.
- Lewin shifted his office to Rangamati so the Palace of Chakma Chief had to be shifted to Rangamati during the tenure of Harish Chandra.
- Kalindi was denied to tax on land, stating she was only the Chief of the tribe and she got no right to levy taxes on land.
- The Chief was striped from the right to appoint 'headman', Dewan or Roaza and they were made to obey the Deputy Commissioner.
- The right to award capital punishment and other punishments. Except in cases of customary nature.
- The right to lease Taluks to desired persons.
- The right to collect river polls was transferred to British Forest Department.

- A new circle named 'Mong Circle' was created out of Chakma estate.
- Capt. Lewin also tried to arrest Rani on the false charges of keeping slaves.
- Capt. Lewin also persuaded Ishan Chandra Dewan and Nilo Chandra Dewan to get permanent settlement at Kachalong, Karnafuli and Chengi area to cause more division of Ranis estate. But they denied to do so.
- He had also persuaded Harish Chandra to take over charges of Chakma estate immediately after he had attained major age. But Harish Chandra waited till her death.

Only at the last stage of her rule, the British were cordial with the Rani when she handed over all the mutineers to the British who had escaped to Chittagong Hill Tracts and when she caused Harish Chandra to help the British during the British expedition. Kalindi Rani expired in 1873.

79. Raja Dharam Bux Khan had no son. He had a granddaughter named Menaka from his second queen Haribi, to Gopinath Dewan, a great grandson of legendary Ronu Khan. They had three children, namely, Harish Chandra, Sarath Chandra and Chandrakela. Unfortunately, both Sarath Chandra and Chandrakela died at young age. Haribibi also died soon. Gopinath Dewan again married one Kandari, the doughter of Joymuni Dewan a brother of Kalindi of Kurhokhuttya Gozā and Janaki daughter of Chikan Khan Talukdar of Ānghu Gozā. Kandari gave birth to one daughter named Urmila and Janaki gave birth to Hara Chandra, Nava Chandra, Bhagirath and Bhagaban Chandra.

Harish Chandra married Sourindri, daughter of Ratan Khan alias Chuchchyang Dewan of Larmma Goza. He had two sons Bhuban Mohan and Kishori Mohan. Harish Chandra was coronated in 1874 by the British. He helped the British in Lushai expedition and was conferred the title 'Roy Bahadur'. During his period, the capital of Chakma kingdom was shifted to Rangamati. He introduced wet rice cultivation among the Chakmas in the Balukhali Circle at Singinala Bil. He died at young age. During sickness, a governing council consisting of Nilo Chandra Dewan, Ishan Chandra Dewan, Trilochan Dewan, Krishna Chandra Dewan and Raj Chandra Dewan ran the administration. In 1892, the Chakma Circle was again divided into nine Taluks under the charges of the following persons:

1.	No. 1 Taluk	Kasalong	Indrajoy Dewan
2.	No. 2 Taluk	Chengi	Nilo Chandra Dewan
3.	No. 3 Taluk	Mahaproom	Raj Chandra Dewan
4.	No. 4 Taluk	Sattwa	Kamalaksha Chowdhury
5.	No. 5 Taluk	Ichhamati	Sarath Chandra Roaza
6.	No. 6 Taluk	Rangamati	Krishna Chandra Dewan
7.	No. 7 Taluk	Raja Bhuban	Khas
8.	No. 8 Taluk	Subhalang	Trilochan Dewan
9.	No. 9 Taluk	Barkal	Kumar Ramani Mohan Roy

These Taluks were divided into Circles called Mouza. At present there are 185 Mouzas in Chakma circle.

80. **Bhuban Mohan Roy:** After the death of Harish Chandra, his son Bhuban Mohan became the Raja on 7th May 1897 and in December, 1898 he was given full administrative power.

He married his first wife Doyamoyee daughter of Chandra Kanta Dewan on 1st Match 1895. His first wife died on 20th April 1905 after giving birth to two children—Bijan Bala and Nalinakshya. Afterward, he again married Ramamaoyee daughter of Ganga Manik Dewan in 1912. From his second wife Sushma Bala, Nihar Bala, Utpalaksha, Kokanadaksha (first MA from the Chakmas), Kubalaksha, Manjulaksha and Dibyaksha were born.

During his period, he constructed the palace at Rangamati. He also built Mahamuni Temple as a replica of Bodh Gaya Temple. He installed the biggest brass Buddha Idol in it from Ranguban Mohan dioon, Burma. He married off his son Nalinakshya with Binita Sen, the daughter of Barristar Saral Sen of Kolkata. He also married off his son Birupaksha with Sudhira Devi, a nieve of Kooch Bihar ruler. Bhuban Mohan died on 17th September, 1933.

81. **Nalinakshya Roy:** After the death of Raja Bhuban Mohan his son Nalinakshya Roy became the Raja of the Chakmas on 7th March, 1935. He was conferred 'Roy Bahadur'. He was also conferred 'Raja' title in 1939 on the Birth Day of George the VI. He passed B.A. He passed away on 7th October, 1951 after ruling for sixteen years.

82. **Raja Tridib Roy:** He was made Raja on 2nd March 1953 at the old palace of Rangamati by Pir Ashan Uddin, the Divisional Commissioner, Chittagong. On the same day, he married Arati Dewan daughter of Nibaran Chandra Dewan.

Tridib Roy studied at St. Xavier's School, Calcutta and passed Senior Cambridge Examination from Kursiong, Darjeeling. He was an athelet and played cricket, football, hockey, etc. His career is given chronologically below:

1. In 1951, he took admission at Lincoln Inn in England.
2. In 1952, he was made Honorary Magistrate and Member of Pakistan Central Committee.
3. In 1954, he was conferred Captain of Pakistan Land Force and made Aid De Camp of Governor General of Pakistan.
4. In 1956, he attended the World Buddhist Council Meeting at Rangoon, Burma as a delegate from Pakistan. He was also one of the two invitee members to attend Buddha Jayanti at Delhi.
5. In 1960, he was the District Commissioner of Chittagong Scout.
6. In 1962, he was elected as a Member of East Pakistan Council.
7. In 1963, he participated in the World Food Congress in Washington DC as a representative of Pakistan. He was also promoted as Major in the Pakistan Land Force.
8. Oosen in 1964. He was choosen unopposed as Vice Chairman of CHT District Council. He was the representative of Pakistan in the 29th UNO Conference held in New York.
9. In 1965, he was nominated as a member of Buddhist Education Advisory Committee.
10. In 1966, he was elected unopposed as Member of East Pakistan Council from Chittagong Hill Tracts. He was a Member of East Pakistan Industrial Board and East Pakistan Minority Board.
11. He was nominated as East Pakistan Sport Federation Board in 1967.
12. He was president of Pakistan Buddhist Association.

During Bangladesh War in 1971, Raja Tridip Roy could not cross to India. He was taken to West Pakistan by the Pakistan army. After Bangladesh gained Independence, he did not return to Bangladesh and opted to remain in Pakistan. The Pakistan Government treated him well and made Ambassador of many countries. Later, he was given the position of a cabinet minister without portfolio. He died as a cabinet minister of Pakistan in 2012.

83. **Raja Debashish Roy:** Born on 9th April, 1959, Debashish Roy passed B.A. from Rangamati Govt. College in 1981, B.A. (Hons.) in Law from University of Kent, England in 1985 and Barrister at Law from Inns of Court School of Law, London in 1986. He obtained Diploma in Legal Studies from La Trobe University, Australlia. On 25th December, 1977 Debashish Roy was made Raja by the Government of Bangladesh and the Chief of Chakma Circle since then. He is the Chief of Customary Laws and actively involved in Land Revenue, Health, Education and other development programmes.

Raja Debashis Roy is the *Ex-Officio* advisor of Rangamati and Khagrasury District administrations, Rangamati and Khagrachari District Councils, Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Board and Tribal Ministry. As a Lawyer, he is practising law in Dhaka District Court since 1988 and Bangladesh Supreme Court since 1991. He participated in many national and international conferences and seminars especially on Environmental Development, Human Rights, Peace and Forestry. Some of them are mentioned below:

1. UN Permanent Forum on Indegenous Issues, New York in May, 2002.
2. International Conference on Forestry, Indegenous Peoples and Biodiversity in Nepal, Switzerland, Norway, Germany, Colombia in 1996, 1997, 1999, 2000 and 2001.
3. Special Session of the UN General Assembly (Earth Summit-II) New York in 1997.
4. Session of the UN Commission on Sustainable Development, 1995 and 1997.
5. Consultation on Asian Development Banks and European Union's Policies on Indegenous Peoples, Manila and Brussels, 1995, 1998 and 2002.

He also acted as the Govt. Representative in:

(a) In the 'Pre Peace Accord' discussion with the rebel PCJSS and it was signed on 2nd December, 1997.

(b) Leader of hill leaders as part of Bangladesh delegation visiting Refugee Camps in Tripura, India in 1988.

Raja Debashish Roy also wrote many books on Rights, Peace, Tribals, Forest and Environment and composed many articles, poems, songs which were published in magazines and newspapers. His major books are:

(a) Jum Cultivation in Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh. IWGIA Indegenous affairs No. I, Copen Hagen.

(b) The Population Transfer Programme of 1980s and the Land Rights of the Indegenous People of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (Edited by Subir Bhowmik).

(c) "Living on the Edge, Essays on the Chittagong Hill Tracts", South Asia Forum for Human Rights, Kathmandhu, 1997.

(d) With Phillip Gain "Indegenous People and Forest I Bangladesh, Minority Rights Group (International edition) Forest and Indegenous People of Asia Report No. 98/ 4 London, 1999, pp. 21-23.

(e) Administration in The Chittagong Hill Tracts Life and Nature of Risk (edited by Phillip Gain), SEHD, Dhaka, 2000.

This chapter records whatever materials are available in the forms of folklore, folk legends and other documents handed down from generation to generation. We have tried to collect and collate all those popular and to a great extent, reasonably acceptable materials so that a better picture about the Chakma tribe can be had for the present and future understanding and research.

3

Social System

The social system of the Chakmas is traditionally based on co-operation and brotherhood. It was of a high degree. No one in the society was made to suffer if he observed the social customs like *melā, Khānā Poi, Baldenā, Māleiā, Bhāt Majā,* etc. All are taken equally and there is no caste system. In those days after the jhum harvest was over and every villagers have settled in the village, the head of the village would visit every houses and survey, the yield of paddy. If any family is found to have yielded more than his whole year requirement, he would direct him to give some excess to the one who had harvested less. The family who yielded more would gladly share it as he knows it very well that one day he may also yieldless and others will also give him. Further, they have blood relation. But the present day economic condition does not permit to practice such good customs. The *Kārbāri* or head of the village was assisted by the *Hejāl Kārbāri, Bujhos* (village elders) and *Kheejās.*

Community Welfare: The community assistance to a needy in the form of *Bal Denā* (literally to give the force) ciis a good act of practice of the Chakmas. At least, one able member of a family should go with working tools to assist others. *Bāl denā* may be practised for jhum work to 'who legged behind in his jhum work, or for collection of *Dāru* (medicines) from the jungle, calling of a *Vaitdyo* (Physician), calling of a *Pādhu Ojhā* (Mid wife for delivery), *Pirālyā Chogi* (waking up for patient), *Nau Tānā* (drawing of dug out boat to river), etc. The assistant in the form of *Māleiā* was also practised by the Chakmas. In a *Māleiā*, the needy person will visit every family of the village seeking assistance in certain work like *Jhum Chhulho* (weeding of a jhum), *Jum Kābā* (clearing of jungle for jhum), *Dhān Dābā* (harvesting of paddy), *Dhān Bwāh* (carrying of paddy from jhum), *Nau Tānā,* etc. On the appointed day at least one able person from a family would go with a *Bhat Majā* (rice packet) and assist him with the work. But the evening meal is offered by the host sometimes with pork, chicken and wine. In case of sick, infirm and widow the evening meal is not compulsory. The practice of looking after a *Pirāllyā, Dāru Tulho, Vaitdya Khojhā* and *Pirāllyā Chugi,* by rotation, is practised till date in the rural areas. The practice of *Marā Chugi* (waking up by a dead body) and *Marā Kām* (funeral work) does not warrant any invitation but at least one person from every family must attend such rites. In the olden days,

at the occurreance of death in a house, drum used to be beaten aloud. On hearing, the sound the neighbours used to gather there. There was also a system called *Pān Bādā Gajhānā* (literally offering of a *Pān Plate*) for any community assistance to the *Kārbāri*. In which one bottled of wine and a *Pān Bādā* was offered. On acceptance of a *Pān Bādā* by the *Kārbāri*, it becomes the duty and responsibility of his villagers to assist that family in all respect in a rite, like wedding, funeral, after death rite, etc., and including maintainance of peace.

Life of the Chakmas: A life begins with the birth and so let us start it with the birth ritual. After marriage, it is normal to conceive and get children. But there are some exceptional cases, where a couple cannot get children even after years of marriage. The Chakmas believe that such exception happens due to *Deva Karam* (spirit caused or *Mānei Karam* (human caused) and some time illness. So for illness, the Chakmas consult the *Vaitdyas* and *Pādhu Ojhās*. The *Pādhu Ojhās* prescribe medicines consulting the traditional *Tālliks* where symptoms, list of medicines, methods of preparation, doses are clearly mentioned. They also sometime prescribe medicines from their own experiences.

In case of *Deva Karam*, they will prescribe *Tābit*, perform *pujos* and sometimes conduct *Dāli*. The spirits who are responsible for child birth are believed to be *Gangā, Biātrā, Maginhee* and *Mralās*. The *Mralās* are said to be seven sisters with different taste. They are some times believed to be seven *Dein* sisters. They are believed to kill the infants. So when a couple cannot keep alive their first child, they offer *Mralā Pujo* with animal sacrifice, sweet meat, flowers, popped rice, lamps, etc. Afterward, the *Vaitdyas* bind *Tābit* on the couple with certain rules to observe as a protection from the spirits.

Birthrite: On conceiving a child, the pregnant mother approaches the *Pādhu Ojhā*, the maid who helps in child birth. She is an *ojhā* and a healer and well conversant with *mandars* and *Tālliks* concerning child birth and *Pedoli Milā* (pregnant woman). She is usually an old lady, may be a widow. First, she would conduct physical examination of the conceived woman. The process of physical examination is called *Pet Malanā* (literally massaging the belley), and feel the position of the foetus. She would ask the pregnant to have close contact with her for any ailment like untimely discharge, back pain, etc. She does also possess the knowledge of *Mandar* and would chant it on water for causing *Sul* (literally ache but in this context – push), healing of headache, correction of displaced uterus, etc. In the olden days, she would advice them to sacrifice one pair of chicken at the river *ghāt* to appease *Gangā*, the water goddess and one under a evergreen tree for *Bhoodo*, the ghost, for easy delivery of the child. In the meantime, the pregnant woman will have regular visit with the *Pādhu Ojhā* and have checked up of the foetus. The *Pādhu Ojhā* will sometimes correct the position of the foetus. Some families even keep with them a *Pādhu Ojhā* for months until the child birth. Such practice is called *Boidhyā Ojhā rāgānhā*.

A pregnant woman is forbidden doing hard work and to lift heavy loads. She is forbidden to go out after sun set or to visit a death house. She is allowed to take any food or beverages she fancy. But she is not allowed to sleep during day time. It is believed that sleeping during day time will make the head of the child big and it will cause complication at delivery. It is also encouraged to sweat by a pregnant woman, as it is believed to ease delivery.

Delivery of Chakma children are usually done at home. It may be in the dwelling house or a separate house called *Biyāni Shāl*, which is constructed for the purpose. At the start of delivery pain, the *Pādhu Ojhā* is called up. She will examine the mother and calculate the exact time of delivery. She may ask the family to sacrifice chicken at the river ghat or stream to appease the

water deity, *Gangā*. As it is believed that if the water deity *Gangā* is unhappy, she will cause delivery problems. In the meantime an *Ālsyā* is prepared and burnt and placed at the entrance of the house to keep away the bad spirits. The *Pādhu Ojhā* will then ask for *Telo Nādā* (cotton soaked in mustard oil) and massage the belley with it. Before massaging, she will chant some *Mandar* on the *Telo Nādā* for the easy delivery. In complicated cases, the *Ojhā* has to apply many procedures like applying *mandar* chanted water for strong pushing, to send the baby to the lower abdomen, etc. Sometimes, she has to prescribe medicines for all complications. She sometimes asks the family to search for a *Vaitdyo* if it is beyond her capacity. It is also said that some *Ojhās* had caused child birth amputing the limbs of the dead child. It is said that some *Ojhās* could dissect a dead baby by magical chanting and drawing lines with sharp knife on the plantain leaf figure of a baby placed on the mother's womb. After delivery of the child some complicatins were seen with the *Gharpādā* (Placenta). It sometimes does not come out easily! For that also the *Ojhā* has to chant mantras or prescribe medicines. After the child birth, the *nar* (umbilical chord) is dissected with a sharp blade made with the outer skin of a bamboo called *Dulhuk* applying mustard oil. The end of the dissected cord is bounded tightly with the belief that if the bind is loose, the naval will bulge out. This process called *Nār Kābānā*. Afterward, the *Ghar Pādā* is buried with the *nar*. This process is called *Gharpādā Gārānā*. Afterwards, the baby and the mother is washed with warm water and the *Pādhu Ojhā* also goes to the river to wash herself. The mother is also offered bitter things like bitter gourd soup, curry, etc. The baby, the mother and the *Pādhu Ojhā* are afterward sanctified by sprinkling *Gheelyā Kajai Pānhee*. The mother of the baby is also advised to go to the river as soon as she is able to do so. She is also advised to flow the first breast milk (colostrums) in the river, with the belief that she would get flow of breast milk like the flow of water. Afterwards only she starts breast feeding the baby.

From the next day, the mother is provided with good food to regain her health and strength and fill up the blood called *Lo Bhorānā*. She is also asked to take bath with *Dāru Pānhee* of jungle herbs. The neighbours and relatives also offer her with good food with scented rice, items like meat, fish, dry fish, fresh vegetable, fruits, sweet meat, etc. This system is called *Bhāt Majā Denā*. The new born mother is forbidden to take chillies with the belief that it will cause colic pain to the new born child. She is also refrained from doing heavy works up to about one month.

The Chakmas believe a new born house and a dead house *Asijhi* unless the purification ceremony called *Kajai Pānhee* is performed. Hence no *Vaitdya* will visit such house. An individual with a talisman will also refrain from visiting such house knowingly. Any person with *tābit* in the body should visit such house leaving the *Tābit/Kabach* in a safe place or he will have to *Jāngei* (invoke energy) on it again. It is believed that once a person has entered an impure place, the power of a *tābit* and *mandar* is lost. So a new born house, a death house and a woman with period is always avoided by a person with *tābit*. After about one week, when the *Nār* is separated from the baby the family may perform the purification ceremony called *Kajai Pānhee Lanhā*.

Usually, a Chakma mother breast feeds her child for up to six months to till the birth of her next child. The youngest child takes mother breast for long time. It is learnt that Shri Indrajit Chakma of Nunsury, now residing at Tuichawng, presently about 86 years of age (born in 1930, the youngest maternal uncle of this compiler, who is the youngest among the eight brothers and sisters, took his mothers breast for up to fourteen years and got married at sixteen, two years after giving up his mothers breast! Every Chakma children are made to sleep on cradles called *Dhulon*. There is a rule that the children of a different mother should not share a *Dhulon* and

the other children of a mother cannot ride a *Krheng Ju Dhulon* (a cradle of *Krheng* pattern) unless her first child has ridden one.

Childhood and Growing Up: The Chakma children got no formal education in the olden days, as there was no school. They had to gain knowledge gradually from day to day life and happenings around them. Up to the age of about six, they used to remain naked. Afterward their dress code was very simple only one loin cloth called *Tennyā* for the boys and *Kani* for the girls. A *Tennyā* is wrapped front to back tucking the front and back end on a string bound around the waist called *Pharat Duri*, literary waist cord. The front end called *Peich* comes out through the cord and the back end called *guch* is tucked and the body remains bare except in winter. A *Kāni* is worn by wraping a piece of cloth around the waist which outer end is tucked at the left side. Some parents used to bind *Jhanjhani* around the waist of their children as ornament. The girls are given beads, bangles, nose pins, ear tops, bangle, etc., as ornaments. The children are not provided special food. Except the mothers milk, they are provide usual rice and curry. But some times eggs, liver of animals, gizzard of chicken, chicken soup, *Kāngārhā Dāra Sāch* (meat of crab's claw), etc., are provided which are specially prepared for children with less hot spices like chillies.

During work in the *jhum*, the adult used to catch insects, some edible beetles like *Bhagadāng, Kech Kumori, Komreng Puk, Sing Puk, Phiring, Pubhwng*, spider's eggs, etc., which are roasted and given to the children. On reaching the *jhum* hut, these are roasted and given to the children. Sometimes jungle fruits, edible roots like yam, etc., are also procured which are given to the children. A Chakma mother used to cool down her baby with threats like—'don't cry black cat will come', '*Dhudukhāng* (crab eating eagle) will come', etc. She also puts her children on cradle called *Dhulon* and sings lullabies called *Olee* and induce the baby to sleep swinging the cradle. Every household with children have cradle. Whenever, a boy or girl visits relatives of other villages, they were offered eggs and also given chicken to rear in their house. A relative visiting a relative is always offered good food, especially non-vegetarian.

The Chakma children suffer from many ailments like *Pet Phuleyā* (colic pain), *Agalānā* (vomitting), *Dichti* (indigestion), *Jowar* (fever), *Tinnwa Pirā* (pneumonia), *Pwā Pirā* (child ailments), *Ājhar* (affect of spirits), *Kāch* (cough), *Sebā* (cold), *Mralā Krenghā* (a kind of child ailment), *Ludi* (ham), *Ārāngā* (chicken fox), *Sugor pirā* (mump), *Dalā* (lump), *Pharā* (boil and abscess), *Rāngā pirā* (jaundice), *Doth* (ring worm), *Āgājhā* (eczema), *pākkwā* (soared feet), etc. For all these ailments, they have some readymade treatment like *Jhākkwā Dāru, Bar Buri, Nun Parhā, Dichti Tālik*, etc. If not cured with the readymade medicines, they will approach a *Vaitdya*. The mother is also a healer. She used to treat the simple ailments by herself with the knowledge, she earned from her mother and grandmother. She also learns some *mandars* and *tālliks*. So, when her child is crying, she will first observe the symptoms of such crying. Whether it is due to hunger, colic pain or uneasiness caused by the spirit called *Sijhi*. If colic pain, she will offer the bile of snake in warm water, *Jhākkwo Dāru*, a medicine prepared by soaking 32 items of jungle herbs including animal bone, teeth, horn, bile, etc., and for headache–*Tin Bei Shak*, the three types of *Bei Shak*, a jungle herb. If it is the cause of spirit, she will first put *mandar* chanted mustard seeds on the hand or neck of the child to drive away the spirit. If it is not cured, she may approach a *Vaitdya* and ask for a *tabit* for her child or put a *mandar* chanted ball of black flee wax on the tiff of hair of the child called *Rokkhyā Bānānhā*.

Chakma women do *Rānhābārhā* (cookings) and teach their female children with Mijhyel or *Majalhā (spices)*. They teach their girl children, the art of cooking with ingredients. They will

also teach household chords like *Pānhee bwā* (drawing water), *Dārbhwa Khojha* (carrying of firewood), *Pādā Khajhā* (collection of plantain leaves since Chakmas used to take food on plantain leaves), *Tyan Tagā* (collecting vegetable), do *Sudhwa Dalā* (cotton ginning with a *Chorghee*), *Sudhwa Kādā* (spinning with a *Charghā*), *Bein Buno* (weaving clothes with *Sach Padar* apparatus). They decorate their clothes by weaving flowers from their traditional flower pattern *'Ālām'*. She will also be taught *jhumo kām* (jhum works like *Ānuni Sulho, Dhān Kajā, Jum Sulho, Meich Sulho, Dhān Digā, Dhan Māra, Dhān Sughā, Bārhā Bānhā, Cholh Kārā* with a *Dhingi* and *Bārha Pajā*) and cooking of *meal*.

On attaining the age of eight to fifteen the children will accompany the father or mother and learn minor works. If accompanying the father, a boy will learn - *Borsi Bāā, Jālmārā, Dup Pādā, Heedhi Pādā, Jhāp Pādā, Kerāp Pādā, Jānghee Chharā Pādā* (hooking, netting, setting a coop, a trap), etc. He will also learn how to hunt animals with traps, noose and other weapon. He will learn bamboo craft like weaving of baskets, mats, and other containers like *Khājhā Chhah, Kurhum Chhah, Khājhā, Kurhum, Pullhyāng, Kāllhwang, Bāreng, Dingiryā, Toloi, Chābārhā,, Lei, Bherā, Sāmmwa, Jhāghā, Kulo, Chālhan*, etc. How to bind the edges of a beautiful bamboo craft like *Phur Bāreng, Pidhyā Pullhyāng* in special pattern *"Dhghe Dhāge Tengā Bān, Kuney Kuney Poijhyā Bān, Chigon Murijyār, Gulsi Bān"* (One rupee coin bind at the side, *drum* bind at the corner and *gulsi* bind of *murijyā*). A female child will learn from her mother the art of *Rānānhā, Kābar bunonā, Māt Chwānā*, and some female games like *Gheelyā Khārā, Keim Khārā, Sāmuk Khārā, Peikh Khārā, Potti Khārā, Bhulong Khārā*, etc. She will also learn playing of *Khengrang, Bajhee*, etc., and singing. Up to the age of puberty, the boys will go on learning above art and play different games and sports, and playing of traditional musical instruments like *Bājhee, Dhul, Khengrang, Singvā, Dhuduk* and sometimes *belā* (violin), etc. On attaining puberty, they will start joining community work like *Bālā Dhārādhāri, Māleiyā. Melā Kām, Marā Kām, Dharma Kām, Meichbano Kām, Dāru Tulho, Vaitdyo Khojā*, etc. During such social intercourse he/she will learn the social aspects of the community and also learn about sex from the elders and experienced friends. The boys will also learn construction of a house and know the parts and the use of *Gāch, Bāch, Bet, Kugi Ludi, Galā, Murijyā, Jalai, Gajāl, Tāgal, Khural, Chārhee, Chuchchyāng Tāgal, Bich, Hādho, Chāma, Burhum, Ārā Karadi, Chhuri, Jamurwa, Bādāli, Khul Bādāli*, etc.

Earlier the boys and girls had to perform some rite after attaining puberty. The girls had to bind the breast cloth called *Khādi* ceremoniously called *Khādi Bānhā*, after attaining puberty. In which a feast had to be arranged. "Girls reach puberty at the age of thirteen, and boys at fourteen to fifteen years. When a lad become fit, he goes out to cut his first *jhum*; this is a sign of manhood among them, and the parent are bound to honour to give a feast to all their relatives on this occasion."[1] The boys also had to perform the *Dhudhi Khana*, for wearing the first *Dhudhi* (Dhoti), after attaining puberty. At present, these rituals are not performed. But the Tangchangya Chakmas still do practice the *Dhudi Khānā* in some rural areas. In a *Dhudhi Khānā*, the invitiees and the guests had to be given feast to their satisfaction with provisions like rice, sticky rice, cakes, wine, *Kānjee, Jagarhā* and all available curries like meat, fish, dry fish, vegetables, etc. An invitee has the right to demand his choiced items like one full chicken, wine bottle etc., but he must pay the price for such demand. These rites need huge expenditure on the part of the parents of the boy or girl.

A boy will also learn how to select a site for jhumming. The art of house construction, observance of house construction rules like *Bājānā*, etc. He may also approach a teacher called

Guru Thāgur to learn the script and *Vaitdyāli* like the art of diagnosis, *Mandar*, the art of magical chanting, the art of healing a patient, etc. He will also learn the black magic like *Chāllān*, *Tonā*, *Jādu*, etc., to inflict harm to his enemies and how to get protection from such harms. The girls may learn the scripts and the art of a maidwifery with the medical formulas concerning gynecology and child care. She will also learn the various patterns of weaving and try to become expert in household chords and weaving. Since before choosing a suitable bride, it is always enquired whether she is expert in cleanliness, household chords and weaving of clothes, etc. The young boys and girls used to exchange gifts. The girls used to present hand loomed clothes like *Hāt kābor, Toboilhyā, khabang, Gānjhā, etc.*, and the boys present bamboo crafts like *Shach padar, Sammwa,Biyang, Phur Bāreng, Pidhyā Pullhyāng, Sammwa, Bijon*, etc., which are woven with fine bamboo or cane tapes. The boy will also try to attract a girl of marriageable relation with magic called *Ek Goronhee*. It may be with administration of *mandar* chanted edibles like *pan*, cake, oil or without any administration. They may also try to apply detraction from a rival, called *Phārak Goronhee* and attract to ownself. A boy participating in the clearance of jungle for *Jhum* was considered to have attained marriageable age and a girl who has bound a *Khādi* and does all jhum works and household chords is considered fit for marriage. Earlier, there were different kinds of *Khādis* worn by the Chakma women. *Phool Khādi* was meant for marriage, *Chibhuttānā Khādi* was meant for unmarried girls and the widows, *Khoroch Khādi* was for the wives of the leaders' and *Jāngāli Pājei Khādi* was meant for the common women. The present *Rāngā Khādi* pattern is the combination of all patterns. There were also other kind of clothes woven by the Chakma women namely, *Borgi, Silum Kābor, Hāt Kābor, Phorhā, Ālām, Gānjhā, Tobollhyā*, etc., with different *Ju* like *Uju Ju, Chāri Talā Ju, Chhānnyā Pidhyā Ju*, etc., with various flower designs from the *Ālām*.

At the age of about seven, a boy goes to the temple called *Kyong* where he becomes a temporary novice called *Chāmānhi/Moinsyāng/Srāmān* for seven, nine or eleven days. It is believed that a person should become novice for at least three times to be identified as a *Buddhist*. There he had to tonsure his head and take the ten precepts of Buddhism and follow the *Sāmānerā* precepts. The head monk may ask him to go for alm every day. From the age of about fourteen, the boys do not sleep in their own home and sleep with their friends. Earlier they used to stay in the youth house called *Jol Tongi* where all the bachelor youths used to assemble. There they learn the use of weapon like *Dhunu, Bādol, Dhāmā, Jādhee*, etc., and games and sports like, *etc.* Singing of *Ubho geet, geingkhulee*, reading and writing, playing of musical instruments like *bājhee, khenggrang, dhudhuk, singyā, belā*, etc., art, wood crafts *like Chorgha* (spinning wheel), *Chorghi* (cotton ginning machine), *Dhinghi* (paddy pounding machine), *Kādirhya* (chair), *Oghwai* (morter), *Ājā* (pestle), *Pirhyā* (stool), *Tāgal Dāt* (dao handle) and bamboo crafts like making and plaiting /weaving of :*Bājhee* (flute), *Bāreing, Bhadang, Bherā, Bhurung, Bijon* (fan), *Bung, Chābārhā, Chalhon* (strainer), *Chei, Dābā, Dhah, Dhuduk, Dhulon* (cradle), *Dingiryā, Dul, Dup* (coop), *Gochyā Dup, Hādā, Jhāghā, Kādhee, Kāllhwang, Khāchchyāng, Khājā, Khengrang, Kulwa* (shieve), *Kurhwa Adhak, Kurhwa Bāā* (chicken case), *Kurhwa Khājha, Kurhum, Kurhum Chha, Kutti Dhibyā, Kutti Jugwa, Lābhāk, Lei, Mejāng, Māghāi, Pākkhwan, Peikh Ghar, Phālhee, Phunhee, Phur Bāreng* (crafted busket with lid), *Phur Kāllhwang, Pidhyā kāllhwāng, Pidhyā pullhyāng, Pullhyāng, Radang, Sach Padar, Sāmmwa, Sarang, Singhyā, Sugora Khājā, Tāk, Terā, Thur Chumo, Tibhit, Tang* and *Tubi*, etc., are also learnt. For any community work like marriage, death and assistance for other works, if informed to the *Jol Tungi*, the youth go and participate in such work.

During this age, a boy may like to marry. He may choose a bride from his social intercourse like working in others *jhum*, in a wedding of a neighbour, in any religious or cultural programme. If he finds any one of his choice he will inform his friends or grand mother, brother in law, elder sister about his likes. The matter will then reach to parent and they will try to communicate with the parent of the girl through an elder or relative and marriage proceedings starts.

Marriage System: A marriage cannot be valid without the recognition of the society and it should be with the performance of *Jadan, Chumulang, Khānā Poi, Byā Suth Bhāngā* and *Byāh Bur* and listening to *Phareikh* from the monks(s). The followings are the methods of marriage in the Chakma Society:

1. *Melā or Arranged Marriage*: For an arranged marriage, the guardian of an eligible boy first search for an eligible bride by himself or through relatives and friends. If a suitable girl is found, information is collected whether the guardian of the girl is ready to give in marriage. Such collection of information is called *Udo Lanhā*. If the information is favourable, a proposal is sent through reliable person to the guardian of the girl that they want to come to his house on such and such day and time with marriage proposal in advance. On the appointed day, he will go to the girl's housed with a relative or reliable friend. If information is not favourable, no information is sent. The first visit by the guardian of the boy with marriage proposal is called *Sānguḍwār Bandh* or *Sāgā Denā*. The guardian of the boy first offers a bottle of wine to the guardian of the girl and after exchange of plesantries put forward his proposal. He will be a guest in the house of the girl for that night. On the next day before leaving the house of the girl, a date will be fixed for the next visit. Within the period, the guardian of the girl will collect information about the boy's character, family back-ground, about their lineage whether there is any physical deformities in their lineage, whether the boy is active or lazy, etc., etc. He will also consult the relatives and seek their opinion. If the opinion is for marriage, they will fix a date for a third visit or *Tin Pur*. During the second visit, mat, kanji, pidhya, memamisri are offered to the girl's guardian. At the third visit, bride price, special demand of the bride, boalee, ubor khochji, etc., and date of marriage is tentatively fixed. During the period of *Tin Pur* and *Mela*, communication is maintained by engaging a person called *Shālhikkhyā*. He will be responsible for keeping bridge between two families. After finalisation of marriage, no party has the right to cancell it without a valid cause. Otherwise, the offending party is liable for payment of *Khādhi Puran* and *Lāja Bhār*.
2. *Jāmei Tulhee denā /Ghar Jāmei/Jāmeiā*. A *Jāmeiā* or *Jāmei Tulhee Denā* (literally to load or to put the groom in bride's house) where instead of taking the bride to groom's house, the groom goes to the bride's house. In this process, the relatives of the groom lead the groom to bride's house and the marriage ceremony is performed and the groom remains there for a certain period of time say one year, two years, etc. This system is applied when (a) the groom is poor and cannot afford the marriage expenditure and when the brides father is ready to bear it, (b) When the groom has got no well to hare few relatives, (c) When the parent of the bride have got no other bread earning male members, (e) the parent of the bride do not want to part with their daughter due to affection and (f) a death has occurred in the year in the house of the bride, etc. In a *Jāmeiā* all the marriage rituals like *Jadan, Chumulang, Khānā Sirānā and Byāh Burh*, etc., are performed in the bride's house. However, the *Byāh Suth Bhāngā, Bizu Berān*, etc., are done at the house of the groom or his relatives.

3. *Dhābhā Mānyo*: The marriage after elopement. In the Chakma society, there are instances where lovers elope themselves with a view for marriage. It is natural that the young people may fall in love. But to turn it into marriage, social status, economic conditions, relations, etc., are considered. It may also happen that the parent/guardian of the boy or girl are in search for suitable bride/groom for their ward. In such a case, the lovers may also elope for the sake of love. If such an incident has occurred, generally the parent of the boy initiate negotiation for marriage. If it is not within the prohibited relation of *Garbā Kudum*, both parents may agree and a marriage may be performed after punishing the lovers for their relation during the elopement period. All elopement does not turn into marriage. The parent of the girl reserves the right to take back their daughter for three times paying the social punishment like fine of cash and pig for everytime, they have lived together without marriage. However, at the fourth elopement, if the relation permits, they may marry after paying the fines. A marriage between *Garbā Kudum* is not permitted in the society even if the affection of the lover is very very deep since the traditional custom made the rules and an individual is a part of the society and the society is not a part of an individual. In case of Tangchangya Chakmas, if an eloped couple reaches the premises of the boy, they are allowed to get married. There is also a custom to enter the house of a boy with a pitcherful of water called *Bo Udonhā* to become wife of a certain boy. In that case, if the relation permits, the parent of the boy may keep her as bride for their son saying they cannot part with Laxmi, the goddess of wealth. Such an incident may also turn into marriage after payment of *Dābhā*, etc. It is said that, this custom has entered into the Chakma society after *Dhanpudi*, who entered the house of *Rādhā Mohn* with a pitcher full of water carrying from the river, to perform *Chumilāng* with *Adi Chandra Bholanath*. *Cholābāp*, the maternal grandfather of both *Rādhā Mohn* and *Dhanpudi* (since both's mothers were daughters of *Cholābāp*) is said to have introduced this tradition saying the entry of *Dhanpudi* in *Rādhā Mohn's* house was a entry of *Lokkhi* and one should not oust *Lokkhi* or the family will face poverty.
4. *Dhuri Nejānā*: Marriage after kidnapping. With a purpose of marriage, a boy may kidnap a girl or woman forcefully. In the mean time, the guardian of the boy will have talk with the parent of the girl. If the kidnapped girl or woman agrees to marry, if it is a *Khellyā Kudum*, and if the parents also agree a marriage may be held after kidnapping. In such case, the kidnapper must pay fine for kidnapping and *Chhinyeli* for the period, they lived unmarried and also *Lāja Bhār* and *Khadi Puron* if any.
5. *Court Marriage:* A court does not perform any marriage. It only accepts the execution of affidavit of the couple to the effect that they want to become husband and wife. Their marriage is incomplete without the social acceptance and customary or religious rituals. If they do not perform the customary and religious rituals, they may be asked to pay fines for illegal sexual relation. Or they may be outcasted or ousted from the society. Since an individual does not control a society and a society controls an individual.

According to customs prevailed in the Chakma Society, marriage can be held only between *Khellyā Kudum*, i.e., between the same generation or alternate generation and it should not be of the same *Gutthi* (lineage). And if a marriage is to be solemnised between the same *Gutthi*, there should be a gap of more than seven *Pallā/Pirhis* (generations). However, marriage between a related grandfather and granddaughter, a related grandmother and grandson and *vice versa* is practicable. At present, marriage is allowed in the same *Gutthi* with a gap of five *Pallā/Pirhis*

after Raja Bhubhan Mohan Roy, who is said to have married one of his related grand daughters from the fifth generation of his *Kālā Kāngārhā Gutthi*. The following are the marriageable relations prevalent in the Chakma Society:

(a) *Pijenghā Jhee Bhon* (cousins through father's sisters);

(b) *Khuttho Jhee Bhon* (father's cousin brothers daughters), if not of the same *gutthi* and if there is a gap of five generations if from the same *gutthi*;

(c) *Maillyā Jhee Bhon* (mother's brothers daughters, daughters of mothers cousin brothers and daughters of maternal uncles wives brothers);

(d) *Maijhyānghā Jhee Bhon* (mother's sisters' and cousin sisters' daughters, if not from the same Gutthi);

(e) *Jedengha Jhee Bhon* (daughters of mother's elder and older sisters, if not from the same *Gutthi*);

(f) From other *Gozās*, if of the same generation;

(g) *Bar Bheyo Shālee* (younger sister-in-laws of elder/older brothers);

(h) *Bheyar Shālee* (younger cousin sisters-in-laws of elder/older brothers);

(i) *Bhonar Nanan* (Elder/older sister's younger sister-in-laws);

(j) *Bhona Jameyar Bhei* (Elder/older sister's brother in laws);

(k) *Shālee/ Diyor* (own younger sister-in-laws/cousin sister-in-laws, younger brother in-laws/causin brother-in-laws).

According to customs, the mother of the bride must receive at least two rupees as *Dudholee Tenga* and *Dābhā* by the father of the bride or guardian from the grooms. Otherwise, it becomes *Kanyā Dān*. In such a case the parent of the bride losses the right even to rest under the shade of their daughter not to talk about visit, drinking and eating. Since as per Chakma custom, once you have gifted anything to anybody, you loss all the rights and interest on such thing. Generally, a Chakma boy get married at about eighteen to twenty one years of age, and a girl is married off at the age of about fifteen to twenty. However, marriageable bachelors of the age of about thirty years and girls of above twenty-five years are also seen without marriage. It may be due to economic condition of the groom or for not getting a suitable bride. However, young boys of the age of fifteen-sixteen and girls of the age of twelve is also reported to have got married which may be due to love affairs, or for the demand of old relatives who want to see grand children and great grand children before death. Earlier, a boy entering *Jhum Kābā* and a girl wearing *Khādhee* around her breasts were considered fit for marriage. Generally, a boy enters *Jhum Kābā* (for clearance of jungle for jhumming) at the age of about sixteen and a girl wears a *Khadhee* after having menstural period.

In an arranged marriage, information is gathered first for suitable bride, through friends and relatives. They have to consider the relation of their son and the prospective bride. According to custom, the relation should not be as under:

1. She should not be an aunt or niece to the groom by relation.
2. She should not be of the same *Gutthi* (clan), and
3. If of the same *Gutthi*, there should be at least five to seven generation gap.
4. She should not be elder/older sister of wife.
5. She should not be widow of younger brothers.

The relations should be as under:

1. They should be of the same generation and have *Khellyā Kudum* (even relation).
2. If no relation at all is also permissible.
3. It is permissible from alternate or grand relation.

Qualities of a Bride: A bride should know the art of weaving. She should be beautiful to look at with long black hair and even teeth. She should talk cheerfully and sweetly. She should know to respect elders and be obedient to them. She should also know to love and pamper young ones. She should know cleanliness and do all household chores like cooking, making of *Mot-Jagarhā*, drawing water, collecting fire woods, cleaning the house, collect vegetables and do cleaning and shieving of rice. She also should be expert in weaving and active in jhum work and paddy pounding etc. She should respect traditions and customs.

Marriage Process: On finding such a suitable girl, the boy's father will send a messenger to the girl's father for permission to visit. If the reply is affirmative, the boy's father will visit the girl's house with one bottle of wine accompanied by at least one elder who is expert in marriage negotiation. They may also take with them snails to be cooked and taken in the dinner and strew the shells and the lids. This was reportedly done to examine the girl's expertise in sweeping the house. While going and coming omens are observed and many promising matches are said to be put off, to an stop for the unfavourable omens. A man or woman found to carry fowl, water, fruit, milk, etc., is believed to be good omen. In a short it should not be empty. On the other hand seeing of a kite, vulture, crow, empty water pitcher, dead body of a man or animal is believed to be unfavourable and bad omen. Finding a dead in guana, monitor lizard, turtle is believed to be bad omen even in normal travel. For which the rite *Burpārā* need to be performed. On reaching the girls house they will be given water to wash the feet and seated on a mat called *Pādi*. They will be offered cool water from a *Kutti* and afterwards *Dābā* and *Pān*. After taking these things and exchange of pleasentaries and health, etc., taking a few moment of rest, the boy's father will offer the bottle of wine to girl's father with folded hand and start dialogue. In the meantime, the girl's father will call some of his relatives to assemble in the discussion. The wine bottle will then be distributed and taken. The girl's father may also take out some wine bottles from his side and the discussion will go on. At first, the discussion will be symbolic like— "I have a mango seed would you allow me to plant it on your land?" "I am a thirsty traveller, will you allow me to rest under your shade?" That he wants to make golden relation with them, or that he want to construct a golden bridge with them, etc. etc. They will then exchange views and also discuss about the relation. If everything matches, the bride's father may reply to the boy's father to come a second time and they may fix a date. If their likings and queries does not match, he may tell him that he had not yet decided to marry of his daughter or that he had not yet consulted his relatives and he will intimate the decision in due time. The first visit is also called *Sāngudwar Band* and visit by other parent or guardian for selection of bride will be treated as illegal. They may be fined for such violation until the first party has been terminated. The girl may also be regarded as *Dharā Jhum*. In the meantime, he will consult his relatives and collect information on the prospective groom on the character, his activity, about their *gutthi* and relatives, disease and illness, etc. If the groom is of their liking, he will send message to the groom's father for the second visit. Or he may inform them not to visit again in a polite manner.

The second visit of the boy's father is called *Dwi Pur*. During the second visit, the boy's father has to carry presents in pairs, i.e., two bottles of wine, two bottles of rice beers,

sweetmeats, coconut, etc. Some people have the custom to carry *'Dwa Chuani'* and all presentaries in pair. If everything goes right during *Dwipur*, the girl's father may asks the boy's father to make the third visit on a appointed day

The third visit is called *Tin Pur*. In this third visit, the groom parents are accompanied with more relatives and negotiation experts on marriage matters. They need to carry with them chicken, *Mat, Kānjee, Jagarhā, Pidhyā* and *Memā-Michri, Nārekul, Kuchsyāl*, along with *Pān-subori*. These provisions are collectively called *Māt Pilāng*. If a *Māt Pillāng* is accepted, every things are settled like *Dābhā, Boālhee, Ubar Khachji*, etc. Earlier, the *Dābhā* used to be from Rs. 20/ - to Rs. 50/-, rice about one to five *mound*, paddy about 50 *Ārhi*, five fist measured pig, etc., when the wages was about ***two Anna*** a day. As per ***Chandhabi Bārha Mhach***, we find that a *Dābhā* of Rs. 140/- was charged against *Chāndhabi* even after giving birth an illegimate child! Nowadays it sometimes goes up to 20,000/-. For *Boalhee* the demand used to be certain dresses, golden and silver ornament like *Sonā Noch, Hāl Chharā, Chik Chharā, Telhori Sorā, Tengā Chharā, Tāch Jur, Bāhu, Kuji Khāru, Bālā, Heidho Dado Bālā, Thenghat Khārhu, Jal Taranga, Jhumolee, Nach, Rāj Jur, Kaja Phulo*, etc., and dress like certain coloured woollen *Shāāch Kābar*, certain coloured *silum*, etc., as per the demand of the bride and as may be demanded by the groom party. If a girl elopes with a boy, or if a girl was kidnapped (called *Dhuri Nejānā*) for marriage, the demand may be more. Provisions like ornaments, dresses, rice, wine, animal for feast like buffallow, pig, chicken, etc., for the marriage feast, etc., are also made. Earlier the brothers of girl's father and the brothers of the girl, the mother, etc., also had the right to demand specially certain provisions in addition to bride's father. Such a demand was called *Khutto Pāk, Mailyā Pāk*, etc., but it is no more seen in the society. If the demand is more, bargaining goes on. Sometimes, it so happens the relatives of the girl like uncle, elder brother, grandfather, etc., used to give concession and reduce the demand as a gesture of goodwill. Sometimes, a promising marriage is also called off on the inability to pay from the boy's side. After the demands have been fixed and came to an agreement, a certain date is fixed for the wedding. A negotiator called *Sālichsyā/ Sālikya* is also selected on this day to keep communication between two parties. For the inability to give in marriage on the appointed day, without a legitimate cause, both sides may be punished with fine and compensations.

Before the appointed day of wedding, the groom party has to arrange and fulfil all the demands of the bride party. Otherwise, the marriage may be cancelled and the groom's father may be fined or asked to pay compensation. On the other hand, if the bride's father fails to marry of his daughter, on the time fixed, he may also be fined and asked to pay compensation.

On the appointed day of wedding, the groom party consisting of one *Phur Bugiyā*, usually a younger sister or cousin sister of the *Nwā Jāmei*, one *Bo Hādeyā*, usually an experienced woman, one *Sābālhā* and other elders, young girls and boys, usually friends and relatives of the groom will reach the brides house. The *Nwa Jamei* party should always be in pair. Nobody is allowed to accompany a marriage procession from the midway. Every members of a marriage procession must start from the house of the groom. The party will also take with them all the demanded materials like dress and ornaments for the bride, the bride price, etc. The marriage party is also not allowed to enter any house in the way other than a house of the groom's *gutthi*. No widow is allowed to accompany a marriage party. On reaching the bride's house, they are not instantly allowed to enter the house. They are first asked to sit at the courtyard where mats are spread for them. They are provided with *Pānhee Kutty, Dābā-Dhundo* and *Pān-Subari*. After a while, when the host is ready to welcome the

groom party, they will be invited to enter the house. It is customary that feet of the groom and other elders should be washed by the younger brother or younger cousin brother of the *Nwa Bo*. They will be provided mats or clothe, and spread for their sitting arrangement. The groom is seated at a outer house with his friends, the older women in the inner room and the elders at the *Singgobā* and the young girls in the *Ojoleng* where the bride has been placed. The *Sābālhā, Bo Dharani, Phur Bugani*, etc., remains with the groom. The *Nwa Jāmei* is easily recognigible with his *Khabhang* and white *dhudhi* and *Silum*, the *Sābālhā*, with his coiled white *Gānjhā* around the neck and the *Mat Chumos*.

After a rest, the *Sābālhā* will seek permission from the elders present to offer the *Boālhee* and other provisions to the parent of the bride taking out all the dress and ornaments and arrange on a shieve for exhibition. Eight items of ornaments called *'Achta Alankar'* and five items of clothes called *Pāch Kābarā* are necessary to dress up a *Nwa Bo* (bride). All the elders present will permit it in unision. It will then be presented to all the assembled elders and relatives for their inspection and blessings. They will bless it blowing air from the mouth with the prayer for the couple's wise children, prosperity, peace and happiness, health and permanent bonding. That they should never be separated, their pair should remain intact, during their whole life time. Afterward the *Sābālhā* will again seek permission to dress up the *Nwa Bo*. Some parent may not give permission if the provisions are found to be not as per demand. If all the provisions are found satisfactory and permission is granted and the *Sābālhā* will then enter the *Ojoleng*, a room at the inner end of the house and start dressing up the bride with the help of *Sābālhi*, who is a friend of the bride. Sometimes, it so happens that the girl opposes to dress up. In such a case, she is forcefully dressed up. The bride and grooms are kept in separate room in the night with other friends of bride and groom. There may be whole night enjoyment to celebrate the occasion with dancing, singing and drinking. Sometime, plays are also staged and sometimes reknown musician or Drama Party is also invited to perform. In the olden days, the *Doms'* Drama Party from Chittagong area, are reported to be invited.

On the next day, the *Jadan* ceremony is performed. At a *Jadan*, the *Sābālhā* will mix up some cooked rice with boiled eggs and also keep ready two betel rolls. An *Ojhā* or *Sābālhā* will ask the couple to sit side by side (male at the right and female at left) and seek permission from the assembled members of the society for binding *Jadan* of the couple, saying—*"Jadan Bānhi Dibār Hughum Āghe Ni Nei"* (Is there permission to bind the Jadan)? The assembled people will say in unision *"Āghe! Āghe!* (Yes!Yes!). Some times, it may happen that some people may object to such a *Jadan* if he has any relation with the bride or that the relation is a *Garbā' Kudum*. In such a case, the objector has to prove his relation. If he fails to prove the relation, he is fined for causing shame. If the objection is proves legitimate, the parent of the girl is fined for causing shame to the grooms'. He is also to compensate the expenditure of the groom party. If permitted, the *Sābālhā* will bind a white scarf called *Jadan Kāni* around the pair and asked to exchange rings, egged rice and the betel rolls. After the exchange is over, he will again seek permission from the society to untie the bind. On getting affirmative reply, he will untie it and the *Jadan* rite is over. Afterward the couple will vow before all the elders touching their feet and the elders will bless them taking out rice and cotton from the plate provided and putting on their heads for peace, harmony, prosperity, health, etc. They will also present able amount of money to the couple with blessings. Here rice symbolises food, cotton for dress money *Narayana*, the witness, i.e., the blessing is for

food and dress that the couple should never face deart of food and dress and Narayana is a witness to their blessings. As an age old rule, a *Jadan* should be between two persons and it is the meeting of two souls. So *Jadan* with a pregnant woman is not permitted. However, *Jadan* ceremony may be performed in the groom's house also.

In the afternoon, the bride is sent off. Before leaving out the house, the bride will salute all her elders and meet with her friends and younger relatives. She will also be advised by the parent not to neglect her duty that she should respect her in-laws. The bride father may hand over the bride to the son-in-law saying–"I am giving her to you; but she is young and not acquinted with her household duties. If therefore at any time you come back from the jhum and find the rice is burnt, or anything else wrong, teach her: do not beat her. But at the end of three years, if she still continues her ignorance, then beat her, but do not take her life; for if you do, I shall demand the price of her blood at your hands, but for beating her I shall not hold you responsible." The groom is also asked not to break bones, make blind while beating a wife. The bride is also advised not to take anything before looking into others share. That she should not get irritated on minor matters, she should take her in-laws as her own brothers, sister, mother, father, grandfather, etc. That she should take rest only after completion of her duties. That she should not disclose the family secret of her husband to others. She should not also discuss about others secret at home etc. etc. Afterward, she comes out from the house cutting off seven strand of thread, called *Sāt nāl sudho kābānā*. This ritual symbolises separation from her *gutthi* for entry into her husband's *Gutthi*. At present, the rite of *Sāt Nāl Sudho Kābānā* is very rarely practised. The bride may also be accompanied by her relatives and friends, to see off her at the groom's house. Some of the friends may stay with the bride for days till the first visit called *Byāhsuth Bhāngā* rite is performed.

On arriving the groom's house, the bride is given a warm welcome. Somebody from the procession will seek permission to admit the bride into the house and the father of the groom will permit. The mother of the groom will hug the bride and lead her for entry into then house and to the seat kept for the bride, by cutting seven strand of thread and binding it just after her entry. This ritual means her admission in the *Gutthi* of her husband. Before entry, the feet of the bride are washed by the younger sister of the groom. Here the relatives and friends of the bride are royally treated. That's why the people of bride side are called *Ārhi Dhinnyā Rājā* (king for two and half days). Every comfort of them is looked into. They are provided with good food, good bed and good drinks, etc., during their stay. Whole the night drinking, eating and singing goes on. Dancing troupe perform their dances and singing goes whole the day. A wealthy family may solemnise a wedding with fire works. If a marriage is performed with pomp and show and with dance, drama and music whole the night, there is a custom to collect donation called *Siguli* on the next morning listing the names of the donors. The rule is the younger should not pay more than the olders. If the younger pay more than the older relatives feel that the younger did not give respect to him. And a quarrel may start in the next drinking session for showing such disrespect. On the next day, the main rite of a marriage is *chumulang* performed with solemnity.

Byāh Suth Bhāngā: The first visit to the parents and in-laws by the newly wed couple is called *Byāh Suth Bhāngā*. There they need to stay for few days in pair. At the time of going for the *Byāh Suth Bhāngā* visit, the couple must be accompanied by the *Sābālhā*, the *Phur Bugiyā*, some old lady and friends. They will also take presents with them like wine, beer, coconut, cakes,

fruits and drinks, dresses, etc., for the members of the father-in-law's family and for other relatives like grandparent-in-laws, uncle-in-laws and aunty-in-laws. It is also a customary for the in-laws to send back some presents at the time of return of the couple.

Bizu Berān: *Bizu Berān* is the second compulsory visit by a newly wed couple to the relatives of the bride at the time of first *Bizu*, after the marriage. During this visit also presents for all the relatives needed to be arranged along with wine: beer, sweets, etc.

Modern Marriage: Presently, the conventional way of performing marriage rite is almost over in the town area and among the educated elites. Since, performance of conventional *Chumulang* with sacrifice of animals is not regarded *Buddhistic*. So, instead of performing the *Chumulang*, a marriage is performed with a Buddhist monk or a devotee called *Lukthāk* (who is usually an ex-monk) and who is well versed with the marriage process. In a marriage by a monk or *Lukthāā* a *Pujo* is arranged where all provisions for listening to religious discourses call *Mangal Sutra* or *Pharekh*, like five measures of rice, one coconut, one *Mangal Ghat* (a water pot), mango leaves, basil leaves, betel leaves, sugar cane, flowers, five *Subori* (betel nuts), some money and a big paper flower called *Jhanggā phool*, nine strings of thread roll, candles or oil lamps, insence sticks, and other provisions like sweets, fruit drinks are arranged on a big *Kulo* (shieve). First, the *pujo* is placed in front of *Buddha Idol* (if arranged in the temple) or in a corner of the house. It is sanctified with *Kajai Pānhee* or sandal wood dipped water. After lighting candles, the couple is asked to bow and pray. Afterward, the monk or the *Lukthak* administers the common men precepts of Buddhism, the *Pancha Sheela* (i.e., not to kill, not to steal , not to tell lies, not to commit adultery and not to take intoxicants to the extend of losing sense) to all the assembled and religious discourses like *Karaniya Metta Sutta, Mangal Sutta*, etc., are recited befitting the occasion. Afterward, the provisions are dedicated to the monk(s). The couple is also taught about their duties to each other, to parents, elders, youngers.' Both parents also advise their wards and at last, the bride is handed over to the groom. A feast is also arranged for the occasion. Food is offered to the monks at the temple. Blessing from the elders is also sought with bow and it is given with wish of peaceful and prosperous life of the couple with rice, cotton and money by blowing air and putting on their head.

Performing marriage by a monk or *Lukthak* is found to be more cheaper than the traditional *Chumulang* rite. It also saves the principle of Buddhism. Hence, many are opting for marriage by monk or Lukthak.

Dhābhāmānya: However, all marriages do not go in happy fashion. It often happens that a boy and girl make up their mind to be couple, but the parents would not hear of it. In such a case, the lovers elope together. If the parents of a girl are very much against the match, they have the right to take back their daughter for three times and marry off with other boy. If not withstanding the opposition of the parent, the lover still elopes, for the third time, no one has the right to interfere with them and they can marry if the relation permits. If both parent agree, a marriage may held against the eloped couple after payment of fine and undergo punishment for the eloped period and also payment of *Dābhā, Dudholee, Boalee*, etc., with *Jadan, Chumulang, Khānā, Sirānā*, etc.

Dhuri Nejānā: It also happens that some parents do not want to marry of their daughter to certain boy inspite of *Bo Chah, Kadhā Hādānā*, or that a boy may fancy a girl and he want to marry her by any means. In such case, the boy may kidnap the girl with the help of friends from the house, the river ghat, the jungle, while she was searching for vegetable, from the jhum, from

the way forcibly. Such a kidnapping is called *Dhari Nejānā*. During the kidnapped period, the boy will sleep with the girl and even do *Balājuri* (rape) on her. He will also try to convince her to marry him. Some even apply *mandar* and *Ek Garanhi* to attract the girl to his side and become ready for marriage. In such case if the kidnappers are caught while kidnapping by the girl's relatives, they are given sound beating in addition to punishment for kidnapping. If they are not caught, on their coming to surface, the girl is immediately seperatred. If the girl reports rape, the culprit is heavily fined with *Lāja Bhār* and *Khadi Puran*. They are also fined as per sinyeli offence for the period they lived together without marriage. The fine of the girl is also realised from the kidnappers. The associates are also fined. If the girl wants to marry, and if the parents of the girl also agree a marriage may also be held after punishment under *Sinyeli* after payment of *Dābhā, Dudholee, Boalee,* etc., and with performance *Jadan, Chumulang* and *Khāna Sirānā,* etc., rites as usual. Astonisingly, usually the kidnapped girls agree to marry the kidnappers in such a kidnapping case and only a few exceptions were seen. May be due to the effect of mantra or may be the girl think of where to get marry with a tainted past.

Court Marriage: At present, court marriage is also done. A court marriage is nothing but execution of an affidavit to the effect that the couple want to get married, they are major by age, they are in marriageable relation, they Frecognise each other as husband and wife and show respect and that their children will inherit parental properties, etc. The Chakma Autonomous District Council of Mizoram has also legalised it after codification of Chakma Customary Law. But after the court marriage, the couple should perform the customary and religious rites. Since, they have to live in the society and if they do not obey the social rules, the society reserves the right to make the out of society or out of caste and they can even be driven away outside the village if they do not obey the village customs. Further, an individual does not control a society but a society controls the individual. So, an individual is not above the society.

Marā Sudhom (*Death Rite*): The Chakmas burn the dead person except in case of death due to cholera, small pox, leprosy, etc., and the infants without teeth. In such a case, a dead body is buried. It is customary that one should die in own house or the house of own *Gutthi*. If one dies in other *gutthi* house, the family should bear the expenditure of *Bur Pārā /Balā Kādā* rite to ward off the misfortune acquired. As the Chakmas believe that one acquires *Phee* (misfortune) if one dies in other clan man house. A dead body is also never allowed to be brought inside others house except in the house of the dead person and sometimes in the house of own clansmen due to fear of *Phee*. Otherwise, the body is kept at the outskirt, at an open field or on the bank of a river/stream.

On the death of a person, every household of a village burn an *Ālsyā* (a paddy husk burning platform made with clay or metal) and kept at the door. Drums were earlier beaten in *Marā Tāl* (dead rhythm). On hearing the sound of drum beat, at least one able person from every house come to the deseased house and offer coin and money on the chest of the dead body with the belief that the dead person is helped with fare to cross to other abode on payment of supposed boat-fare. That's why such amount of money is some times called '*Ghāt Pāra Poijhyā* (Ghāt crossing money). Such money is also sometimes called '*Bugo Kurhee*' (chest money) since it is offered at the chest. The dead body is first transferred from the dead bed to a platform called *Somreng Ghar /Bor Ghar /Along Ghar* after giving bath. In making the *Somreng Ghar* bamboos are cut to the measure of the dead body and bound together making bundles of three pieces. First three bundles are spread and five or seven bundles are cross bounded (five for male and seven for female). Above it a bamboo mat is placed which should also be plaited with five to

seven pairs of bamboo tapes. Above the mat five to seven layers of clothes are spread. The body is then prepared and given a bath with five to seven decorated bamboo tubes of water freshly brought from the river/stream and dressed up with clean clothes and laid on the *Somreng Ghar*. Here, the hair of the dead body is combed and scented hair oil is applied and rice, *pan* and *bidi* are also offered symbolically. Afterwards, the body is covered with white cloth. Before covering with the big cloth, four to six pieces of clothes are placed to make it five/seven plies of cover given to the body. Now the relatives and visitors offer coin and money called *Ghāt Pāro Poijhyā* (river crossing money) or *Bugo Kurhee* (coins of the chest) as the Chakmas believe that the soul of a dead person need to cross a river to enter the next abode where he/she has to pay fare. And if the soul cannot cross the ghat, it has to live the life of a spirit, ghost, *preta*, etc., suffering years after years. The dead body is also offered flowers, scented material, etc. It is also customary to place a silver coin in the mouth believing he/she will have silver white teeth in the next life. In the evening, the priest/monk *Luree* use to chant religious discourses like *Anijā Tārā, Ārintāmā Tārā*, etc., in the earlier days, during their existence. Here rice, betel nut, etc., are also offered. But presently, the monks are invited instead of *Luree* and they chant *Ānicca Bhāvanā, Karaniya metta sutta*.

The relatives and villagers wakes up whole night beside the dead body with various activities like reading from epics, holy books, *Gozena Lama*, singing hymn, etc., also beating drums in a different rhythm called *Marā Dhula Tāl* (dead drum beat) which sounds as *Chotdheng Chotdheng Dendreng/Magada Radha Dendreng Theim Nhi No Theim Gāngkuley Jeim*.

The Chakmas usually dispose the bodies in the afternoon and carry off the body at about 1.00 p.m. from the house on the next day. But there is a custom that a dead body should not be burnt on a Wednesday and Sunday. Wednesday being the day on which *Lokkhi*, the goddess of wealth said to arrived to the earth. It is believed that if a dead is burnt on Wednesday, it is not good for the village and there is likelyhood of facing famine and poverty in the village. Sunday is said to be the day on which Lord Buddha was burnt and a lay man should not be compared with the Lord. However, burning on Sunday is presently practised in some places. Sometimes, if a near relative is not present, the body is kept for two to three days. Or if a rich or powerful person has died and the relatives want to cremate with a chariot called *Rādhā Ghār* or *Gārhee/Gheelā Ghār*, the body is kept for two-three days for the making the chariot and for other preparations. There is also a custom to preserve a body hanging on a tree in a box or bamboo mat if the relatives are poor and cannot afford the immediate expenditure of after death rite performed on the seventh day called *Sāt Dinnhyā* or if a family member like a son is not present at home though they might have the capacity to bear the expenditure it may be kept for two or three days. Sometimes, a body is also kept hung if the season is found unfavourable say a rainy season for doing the same in a good season like winter or spring.

The common practice at the burning place is to make a *Rādhā Ghār* and a funeral pyre for burning the body. But sometimes a *Gārhee Ghār* or *Gheelā Ghār* (chariot) is also built for a rich or royal family member in addition to *Rādhā Ghār*. Before taking out the dead body from the house to cremation place, the body is bathed with water carried from the river with a bamboo tubes consisting of five bamboo tubes for male body and seven tubes for female body. A change of cloth is also done and rice, *pan*, etc., are also offered to the dead body and the *Rari* reads out the *Āgartārā* at the time of doing these. The younger relative also pay homage vowing and the older relatives of the dead person also bless the dead with rice and cotton to get long and prosperous life in the next birth. After everything is ready, the body is transferred to a stretcher

called *Pallyāng Ghār* or *Chotdheng Ghār*. The *Pallyāng Ghar* is made with four wooden posts with a cover which are decorated with coloured papers, flowers, etc., and four *Kahs' (dove)* and four *Kalātthurs* at the four posts of the corners are made by plaiting bamboo tapes and curving wood. A *Khadi* is also placed as banner and a replica of monkey (made with bamboo tapes) is placed at the banner post. A live chicken is also tied with seven strands of thread to the *Ālang* and all the family members had to hold the thread at the chicken side. The exorcist or the *Luree* then asks from all present whether there is permission to separate the dead and alive and all will answer in affirmation and the thread is cut-off and chicken is freed. This rite is called *Marāi-Jedāi Phārak Hahna* (seperation of dead and alive). The chicken which is freed is required at the time of *Sātdhinnyā*, the funeral rite after seven days. Some *Gozās* have the practice to cut-off seven strings of thread at the time of taking out the dead body which symbolises separation from the *Gozā*. Afterward, the body is taken on the shoulders and touched the house five or seven times with the leg side of the dead body and carried off. Fire and a Thabhāk (leaning supporting post) of the house is taken to the cremation ground. At the ground, the Thabhāk is splitted into pieces, distributed among the relatives to make fire stick at the time of burning of the body.

At the cremation ground, which is always at the down stream of the village, some villagers already make a funeral pyre directing east-west or north to south. Above which a canopy of white cloth called *Chānnwā* is also spread binding at the four corners with the tips of four bamboo poles. The pyre is made with five layers of wood for a male body and seven layers of wood for a female body. A male body is laid head eastward or north ward and a female body head westward or northward. The six rectangular wooden posts which support the firewoods are called *Kuung Gāch*.

After taking out of the body, it is carried in a procession beating drums and other instruments on the *Pāllyāng Ghār*. Sometimes, fire crackers are also burnt on the way. Fire and a portion from the house say a *Thabhāk* (supporting post) is also carried with the dead body from the house. On reaching the cremation place, the body is placed on a *Radha Ghār* or *Gheela Ghār*. If there is no *Rādhā Ghār* or *Gheelyā Ghār*, it is put down at the side of pyre.

As already stated, for the funeral ceremony of a well to do person or a member of the royal family a *Gheelyā Ghār* (wheeled chariot) or *Gārhee Ghār* (a vehicle) is made with four wooden wheels in square shape. Ropes are bound from two sides and pulled by two parties symbolising heaven and hell. It is usually done on a field or a flate ground of a river bank. Such rite is called *'Gārhee Tānā'* (drawal of vehicle). The *Rādhā Ghār* (from the word *'Ratha'*, a chariot. But as per Chakma rule of pronunciation, a 'T' without halt or break sign becomes 'D' at the second and other positions. Hence, *'Ratha Ghar'* becomes *'Rādhā Ghār* is also constructed with timbers and bamboo and decorated with flowers and coloured papers and many design of decoration with bamboo chips. It is also square in shape and may be single or double-stoeyed. The *Rādhā Ghār* is in absence of *Gheelyā Ghār* and sometimes ressembles an elephant. After a *Gārhee Ghār/ Gheelyā Ghār* is pulled and circulated around the pyre or after the *Rādhā Ghar* rounded around the pyre for five or seven times, it is jerked till breakage. Afterwards dead body is put on the pyre with the *Ālang*. Where again rice, betel nut and other things are offered and the *Lurees* chant religious discourses. In case of *Gārhee* or *Gheelyā Ghār*, the cart is drawn by two parties like between two villagers, between married and un-married, between different *Gozās*, symbolising hell and heaven. It is drawn till it is broken and later the body is put on the pyre. If there is not *Gheelyā Ghār* or *Rādhā Ghār*, the *pāllyāng* is put on the pyre after making five or seven rounds around the pyre every time touching the pyre. The post which was brought from the house is

already splitted into chips and distributed among family members and relatives and they have already made torches of fire. First the son or father sets fire and later others. It is customary that a blood relative should first set fire. It is to note that a pregnant woman is never burnt with the foetus inside the womb. In such a case the foetus is first taken out and laid beside the mother. For any death due to suspected black magic or unidentified disease, the stomach or chest of the dead body is also sometimes examined on the request of the family members.

After burning a dead body all the processionist must take bath in the river and come home without looking back. On reaching home they are offered bitter things to eat say bitter gourd curry or bitter gourd leaves curry, neem leaves, etc.

In the evening rice is kept cooked on the oven of the deceased house for the dead person's soul usually of one measure with one boiled egg. The Chakmas believe that the soul of the dead person will visit the house at night in search of food. It is reported that they still find marks of the soul's visit on the rice and egg, like bite mark, finger mark, etc. The tradition for cooking such rice is without stirring. The egg is also shelled after boiling and kept with the rice. It is covered with plantain leaves and kept on the oven. The rule is to open and examine on the next morning.

For all the above customs like making of *Somreng Ghār*, *Rādhā Ghār* and *Gheelyā Ghār*, etc., there is a traditional story that – Once, king *Sādhenggiri's* queen purchased a bird and requested the king to search for the pair. But after sending his men in different directions, the pair could not be found out. So, one day the king himself went to search for the bird with his men. But after searching in different jungles he could not find it. And in search of the bird, one day he happened to reach a hut in the jungle where a *yogi* lived. He became a disciple of the *Yogi* and learnt religion and *Brahma Yoga* and other knowledge. After six months of learning he returned to his kingdom and introduced *Pujas* and *Yajnas* like *Purush Uddhār Yajna*, worship of *Siva*, etc. When he became old, he renounced family, leaving the kingdom to his son *Dharma Sukh* with the instruction to visit him after twelve years on a certain mountain. He went to the jungle and did meditation and *yoga*. After twelve years, his son *Dharma Sukh* went to meet him with his men on the mountain. On reaching the mountain they reportedly found him meditating, but after sometimes he was suddenly gutted by a huge fire from no where and *Sādhengiri* was burnt into ashes. But within no time they also observed a carriage with elephant, monkey, four *Kah* (doves) at four corners and on top a flag under a spider net on the same spot, which flew up in a charming fashion, drawn by four doves and gone up. *Sadhengiri* was seen seated on the chariot. So it is believed that *Sādhengiri* has attained highest abode and went to heaven alive. Therefore, in symbolising the *Sādhengiri's* attainment of heaven, the Chakmas make a chariot for a dead. The story of *Sādhengiri* was also read out in the form of *Sādhengiri Tārā* by the *Lurees* in the olden days.[2]

On the next morning after burning a dead body, the family members perform the rite of *Hār Bhājā* (bone flowing) as the Chakmas flow the bone reminants of a dead body in the river or stream. The *Hār Bhājā* rite is usually performed by the son in case of death of father or mother, and in case of a son or daughter by the father or by a blood relative. On reaching the *Chabā Shāl* first a finger bone is searched which is put in a earthen or any pot and sealed with plantain leaves. The remaining bones are carried to the river and flowed. The burning spot is then cleaned neatly and swept with clay. A fence is also erected with four bamboo poles where *Kalā Gāch*, *Kuju* and some flowersare planted. A pitcherful of water is also placed with a *Tāgal*, a basket, somebody even put comb and other provisions. A shade/canopy is also made with a piece of white cloth called *Tala Chānmwa* which is bound on the poles of the four corners of the fence.

On parent's death, the sons tonsure their head near the burning place. The earthen pot where the finger bone is kept is then taken to the river and the ritual is performed either by the eldest son or by the youngest son in case of parent's death, and in case of son or daughter's death, it is done by the father, in case of brother's death by a brother, in case of no close relative by any person from the *Gutti* and the performer has to go to waist deep water with the pot and pour water by piercing fingers facing up stream and throw the pot at the back with the prayer never to face any death in future. The throwing should be above the head if of an older person and between the legs for a younger person. The thrower also should come out naked from the river after flowing his worn clothes including the *Phārot duri* in the river, he is then pulled with seven strands of threads from the river to the bank and given clothes to wear, then without looking back he will reach home. The other participants also take dips in the river and come home without looking back to their homes or the dead house.

On reaching home, another rite called *Marā Bur* is also performed to evade further death in the family. It is usually performed by an *Ojha* in the traditional way. When lunch is ready, lunch is offered at the burning place and the soul is asked to wait at the spot for seven more days for the *Sātdhinnyā*. Lamps are also lighted every evening for the dead at the spot for six nights and on the seventh day, the *Sātdhinnyā* rite is performed. Until the seventh day, no fresh meat or fish or wine will be taken by any members of the family, which is called *Sādhāng Dharānā*. Some children even do not wear shoes during *Sādhāng* period if the deseased is parent.

Sātdhinnhyā: After the death of a family member, it is the duty of the living members of the family and relatives to perform a rite called *Kārmā/Dharma* or *Sātdhinnhyā* on the seventh day from burning of the dead, for *Utdhar* (salvation) of the departed soul. Generally the day is counted from the day of flowing away of the bones and ash in the river/stream. However, the *Phema Gozā* people count it from the day of burning, (as of the *Tripuris,* and it is reported that their forefathers were actually Tripuris and came to the Chakma kingdom as a dowry gift after a Chakma prince had married a Tripuri Princess and they were meant to look after that princess. Later, when they grew in number and became powerful, they were granted a separate *gozā* in the name of their leader *Phema Chandra* and they did not abandone the culture of burning their dead after six days). The preparation begins from the day of *Hār Bhājā* and activities like collection of items for offerings, items for feast to general public on the day and also collection of every possible food, drinks and other items for the ritual, starts. Rituals like *HājārBātti Dān*, *Phānāch Dān*, *Tānggon Dān* etc., are also arranged for the purpose. Some unmarried girls also weave the banner called *Phorā* with flower design. It is customary that once a girl had woven a flower for a *Phorā*, she will never weave it again in her lifetime since she had dedicated it. Other provisions for dedication like useful materials for the monks are also arranged. All available food, drinks, sweet meat, milk, curd, ghee, sweets, rock sugar, sugar, brown sugar, banana, sugarcane, meat, fish, and any other available items are also collected for offering with the belief that if the items are not offered the deseased will not be able to enjoy them in the next birth. On the evening of the seventh day all relatives and at least one able member from a family gather in the deseased house and help in the preparation for the *Sātdhinnyā*, like preparation of food, making of balloons, banners, etc. On the seventh day, everything is arranged and prepared, like food, drinks and materials for dedication. On the day of *Sātdinnyā* relatives gather at the house of the Sātdinnyā with items like rice, cotton and other items for dedication. The departed is also invited to come to the feast and enjoy offerings by going to the cremation ground. The food items are prepared for dedication in plates first for *Gongei Syong*, second for the monks, third for the *Ākbārhā poi* (invitee dish) for the deceased and fourth in a *Pun Chichchyā Khājhā* (bottom side

opened basket) to be offered at the cremation ground for other spirit. This item in the *Pun Chichchya Khajha* is offered with the belief that there are many spirits on the way to the cremation ground and at the cremation ground and they should also share the items by entering their hands in the open sides of the basket. On the arrival of the monks, five precepts are administered and religious discourses are chanted. Afterwards, all the provisions are dedicated to the monks with the prayer to bestow all the virtues to the departed soul. The *Gonghei* and the monks are first offered food. In the meantime, the departed is called to have the offering of arranged items by vowing (if the deseased in an elder) and by sprinkling of sandal wood water or wine by any member of the family. Fly and insects are observed to ensure the arrival of the deceased soul. If any fly or insect is found to have sat on the *Ākbārhā Poi* it is understood that the soul has arrived in the form of fly or insect. After somtime the *Ākbārhā Poi* is taken out and given to interested person to eat. It is said that the relatives of *Borbwa Gozā* use to have the *Ākbārhā Poi* of their dead relatives instead of offering it to others. Afterward all the participants are provided feast and at the start one *Jaghā* (a *Khāp* a bamboo cup containing a volume of about 100 ml) of *Mat* (wine), or *Kanjee* (rice beer of common rice) *Jagarha* (rice beer of *binny* or sticky rice) will also be offered to all if available major guests as an appetiser called *Pet Tādānā* (literally to worm up the stomach). Some may even like to take two *Jaghās* which may be provided. In a feast rice, pork, chicken, buffellow beef (if available), fish other available vegetable courses and *Murich Bāttyā* (chilly paste made with roasted shrimp paste called *Sidol*) / *Murich Gudeyā* (pounded green chillies with meat or fish, cooked in bamboo tube) are provided. In the evening, candles are burnt, paper hot balloons flawn and banners are posted and the *Sātdinnyā* is over.

Some people perform their *Dharma* when they are alive. It is done when they lost interest in life. Some even perform *Gārhee Tānā* when alive.

Houses and Other Equipment: The Chakmas call their houses as '*Ghār*' and generally like to construct them on small hill tops at both side of the ridge. They use the ridge as courtyard. It is of two kinds *Māttyā* (earth level) and *Ālok* (platformed). Which are also of two kinds *Jeit* (common) and *Tuli Digālthyā* (enrty through the roof ridge side). Entry of a *Jeit Ghār* is made at the *Sāzi* (down end of the roof). There are also some houses called *Māttya Gudom* (earthen godown/mud houses) constructed in the plain areas or near wet rice cultivation. A common house has (1) *Ijor* (outer platform), (2) *Chānhā* (Veranda), (3) *Singobā* (drawing room), (4) *Ojoleng* (inner last room), (5) *Matdhya Gudhi* (middle room(s), (6) *Pijor* (rooms of female side) where *Bāwachkhānā* (kitchen) may also be made. Some people attach a separate *Bāwachkhānā* at the *Pijor*. There may also be a separate *Dhān Ghar* (granary), *Biyāni Ghār* (delivery house), *Syong Ghār* (small temple) and a *Bājhar Ghar* (house for newly wed) attached to the main house. Roof of the Chakma houses are generally covered with *Krodi Pādā* (palm leaves), *Shan* (sun grass), *Torjā* (flattened bamboo) and sometimes with bamboo leaves. They use bamboo, trees, planks, bamboo tapes, *Kugi Ludi* (a creeper) to bind it. Some times, they also use *Gojāl* (nails) to join trees and logs. The owner of the house sleeps at the *Matdhya Gudhi*, the other married couple at separate rooms near the *Matdhya Gudhi*, the old fellows at the *Sidhān*, the female and female children at the *Pijor* and the unmarried males and male children at the *Singobā*. A male guest is adjusted at the *Singobā* and a female guest at the *Pijor*. Unmarried males are adjusted with the unmarried youths and unmarried girls are adjusted with unmarried females. The children are adjusted with the children.

Parts of a House: *Ār* (wall beam), *Bāwos Khānā* (Kitchen), *Ber* (fencing wall), *Bhārbwo* (cross beam), *Chābālā* (baton), *Chānhā* (veranda), *Chājā* (flattened bamboo), *Dhān ghar* (Grannery), *Dobhā kādhee* (cutlery housing), *Dwar* (door), *Gudhee* (Room/cabin), *Hār Mājā*

(Platform over tension beams), *Ijwor* (outer plateform), *Lāgārāk* (locker), *Kalam* (column), *Kāni Shāl* (Wash place), *Kap* (baton of roof rafters), *Kedāktuk* (beams above cross beams of the floor), *Khām* (post), *Kodoro Tang* (Pigeon shed), *Lur* (Chicken box), *Mājā* (Platform), *Matdhya Khām* (Middle post), *Mugor* (Baton over the roof), *Mulugo Ber* (A fencing wall seperating male and female portion which sometime extends to *Ijor*), *Mur Khām* (king post), *Nāl* (main beam), *Oghir* (attached cot of a earthen floor), *Ojoleng* (innermost room), *Olhon Shāl* (oven), *Pejāng* (extension), *Phibyāk* (cross support), *Phughudi Kānā* (window), *Pidhan* (veranda), *Pijor* (female side), *Pijum Bach* (ladder climbing handle), *Poidhyān* (wall fence of verandah), *Rhākchā* (woven bamboo chips above roof rafters for placing palm leaves), *Rijhum* (supporting column), *Rwa* (roof rafter), *Sājhi Khām* (Roof end post), *Sang Ghār* (small temple), *Sāngu* (ladder log), *Sangu dwar* (entry), *Sidhan* (Back of a house), *Singgobā* (drawing room), *Thabhāk* (leaned wedged post), *Thuni* (log of hard tree used as main post, *Thak* (wedged post), *Tuli* (Roof ridge), *Tuli Khām* (Ridge post), *Sājhee* (lower end of a roof), Uttwa (platform above oven), etc.

List of Bamboocrafts: *Ārhi* (paddy measurer which can measure twelve to fourteen kg), *Bajhee* (flute), *Bareng* (a basket larger than *Kāllwang*), *Bhadang* (a bamboo cylinder used to keep salt), *Bherā* (a basket smaller than a *Lei*), *Bhurung* (a gourd shell), *Bijon* (fan), *Bung* (a round box made of flatten bamboo fencing to keep paddy), *Chābārhā* (a mat), *Chālhon* (strainer, i.e., *Chei* a coop with two entry placed at a small dam), Chiduri (It is a basket bigger than a Phālhee), *Dābā* (bamboo hubble bubble/tobacco pipe), *Dhah* (a bamboo cylinder meant to measure rice of about 500 grams), *Dhuduk* (a musical instrument), *Dhulon* (cradle), *Dingiryā* (a basket bigger than *Bāreng*), *Dul* (a basket bigger than *Dingiryā*, i.e., the largest basket), *Dup* (coop), *Gochya Dup* (a big coop placed in a river), *Gokkhyā*, Hādā (hand basket), *Ijyā Dup* (Shrimp Coop), *Jhāgā* (a flat basket meant to keep vegetable), *Kādhee* (a bamboo chip stick meant to stire rice), *Kallhwang* (a basket bigger than *Pullhyāng* and smaller than *Bāreng*. It is the common basket), *Kāngārhā Dup* (Crab coop), *Khāchchyāng* (a basket with holes of the size of *Kāllhwang*), *Khājā* (basket oven to carry chicken, pigling, cat), *Khengrang* (a musical instrument), *Kokkhyā* (a flat basket bigger than *Jhāghā*), *Kulo* (shieve), *Kurho Adhak* (egg laying basket of hen), *Kurho Bāāh* (chicken cage), *Kurho Khājā* (chicken basket), *Kurhum* (small basket used at the time of sowing seeds), *Kurhum Chha* (smaller *Kurhum*), *Kutti Dhibyā* (lid of earthen water jug), *Kutti Jugwo* (housing for keeping earthen water jug), *Lābhak* (a basket carrying belt), *Lei* (a basket meant to keep cleaned rice), *Mejāng* (a bamboo woven table meant to take fold), *Moghoi* (a laddle), *Pākkhwon* (ash strainer), *Peikh Ghār* (bird housing cage meant to catch ugurhik birds), *Penjuro* (Bird cage), *Phālhee* (a holed basket bigger than *Khāchchyāng*), *Phur Bareng* (crafted busket with lid), *Phur Kāllhong* (a decorated Kāllhwang), *Pidhyā kāllhwang* (a decorated Kāllhwang meant to carry rice cakes at the time of marriage), *Pidhyā pullhyāng* (a decorated Pullhyāng meant to carry rice cakes, etc., at the time of marriage), *Tāgal Dāt* (dao handle), Phooni, *Pullhyāng* (A basket smaller than Kāllhwang), *Radang* (a perforated bamboo pole which is made to house a loom apperatus), *Sach Padar* (weaving apperatus), *Sammwa* (bamboo tape woven box/case), *Sarang* (a rectangular box made with flatten bamboo for keeping paddy), *Sugoro Khājā* (a cage for pigling), *Tagol Dat* (knife handle), *Tāk* (a musical instrument), *Terā* (a wide mouthed cage placed at waterfall to catch fish), *Thur* Chumo (shuttle case of a loom), *Tibhit* (long bamboo tapes), *Tubi* (tobacco pipe), *Tong* (a finely woven bamboo basket).

List of Woodcrafts: *Ajā* (Wooden pestle of a paddy ponding machine), *Chorghā* (spinning wheel), *Chorghi* (cottion ginning machine), *Dhinghi* (rice husking machine), *Kādirhyā* (chair), *Khurolha Āghār* (axe handle), *Mech* (table), *Oghoi* (morter), *Pirhyā* (stool).

Parts of a Dhingi: *Ajā* (Wooden pestle), *Dhinghi Āgā* (head side of a dhinghi), *Dhinghi Bhābāri* (tension bar), *Dharani* (Handle), *Dhinghi Gāch* (the log), *Dhinghi Ghāji* (guard poles), *Dhinghi Kilā* (tension bar housing), *Dhinghi Kiloni* (tension bar), *Dhinghi Lejā* (end of a dhinghi), *Oghoi* (the morter).

Parts of a Boat: *Āgā*–Front, *Bāgā*–Widener, *Dār*–Paddle fastener, *Gurho*–Small platform made near both end, *Heejhoni*–Water expeller, *Lungi*–Pulling pole, *Pājhā*–Back end, *Pangei*–Paddle, *Pong*–Boat shed.

Musical Instruments: *Bājā* (Harmonium), *Bājhee* (flute), *Belā* (violin), *Dhudhuk*–made with one phallange of bamboo by opening a portion from the side. Which is striked with bamboo chips, *Dhul* (drum), *Dokki* (left tabalā), *Gojinā* (Mridanga), *Juri* (cymbal), *Khenggrang* (a herp instrument made from Midingā bamboo chips), *Mādal*–Crier's drum, *Singyā* (horn instrument), *Tabal* (the tabala), *Tāk* (one bamboo pole is splitted at the end which is striked to make sound).

Dress and Ornaments: *Ālām* (flower design), *Āndhik* (ring), *Bāhu* (left wrist ornament), *Bālā Khāru* (Bangles), *Bāngorhi* (small bangles), *Blāhus* (blouse), *Borgi* (cover spread), *Chibhuttana Khādi* (breast cloth for unmarried), *Chiksorā* (a neclace), *Chuk Bolā Nāk Phool* (a nose pin with high top), *Dhudi* (Dhoti), *Hājulhee* (a neck ornament), *Hāt Kābor* (shawl), *Heido Dādo Bālā* (ivory bangle), *Jorā Āndhik* (wedding ring), *Kaja phoolo* (ear lobe ornament), *Kān Bājhā* (ear top), *Khādhi* (breast cloth), *Khabang* (head gear), *Kan Phool* (ear ornament), *Khāru* (bangles), *Khoroch Khadi* (breast cloth for nobles' women), *Kogoi* (Arakanese blouse), *Kuji Khāru* (spring ornament for right wrist), *Nach* (a big nose pin), *Nāk Phool* (nose ornament),*Phorhā*-(handloomed banners with flower design), *Phool Khādi* (breast cloth for a bride), *Piji*–Beads like *Māttyā, Kedagi, Bhangar, Langgaporā,* etc.), *Pinhon* (lower gament or petticoat), *Rāch Jur* (a big ear ornament), *Rāngā Khādhi* (red breast cloth), *Rānittak Phool* (a ear top), *Silum*- (shirt/blouse), *Silum Kābor* (cloth for shirt), *Shārukh* (hair pin with a coin embedded), *Sonachsodā* (a kind of bead) *Such*–needle, *Tāch jur* (amulet/arm ornament), *Tār1 chhābā* (star-shaped nose pin), *Telahri sorā*–a kind of necklace, *Tengā sorā* (garland of coins) *Tennyā*–a small loin cloth drapped from front to back, *Tāngon* (Banner), *Tobollyhā* (towel).

Ladrung Dhādrung (Household Equipment): *Āk Bārhā Poi*–Arranged dish for departed soul, *Ālsyā*–Fire pot, *Ārā*–Saw, *Atdunhi Jāl*–Medium holed net for river, *Bāāch*–water gourd shell, *Baath*–Small fox, *Bāch Dābā*–Bamboo hubble bubble, *Bādāli*–Chisel, *Badhal*- Bottle, *Bādi*–Bronze dish, *Bādi*–Small dish, *Badi*–Bill hook, *Badol*– Catapult, *Baghwor*–Coriander, *Bāgwali*–Curved tongs, *Bājhi*–Flute, *Bājhon*–Plates, *Bāksu*–Box, *Bālhuch*–Pillow, *Bālhujho gilyāp*–Pillow cover, *Bālthi*–Bucket, *Bānglā Khurhol*–Axe with eye, *Bāreng*–Large basket, *Bari*–Tablet ball, *Barsi*–Fishing hook, *Barsi sip*–Hook pole, *BāUdāli*–Chisel, *Bāzār Jhurhee*–Marketting basket, *Bāzār Khollhyā*–Marketing bag, *Bhādhi* –Fermented rice boiler, *Bherā*–Basket, *Bhujong Ber*–A metal plate holder used at the timeof taking meal, *Bichswan*–Bed, Bijon–Hand fan, *Bilki*–Funnel, *Bochthā*–Gunny bag, *Borgi*–Cover cloth, *Bottonhi*–Bill hook, *Bunduk*–gun, *Bung*–Large round shaped paddy container made with flattened bamboo, *Burhoom*–Auger bit, *Chābhi*–Key, *Chādi*–Earthen lamp, *Chālhon*–Strainer shieve, *Chāmech*–Spoon, *Chāndoli Dābā*–Silver hubble bubble, *Chārhee*– Sickle, *Chāri*–Big earthen water pot, *Cherāk*–Lamp, *Chuchchyāng Tāgal*–Pointed old dao, *Chhādi*–Umbrella, *Chhara*–Lid of a pot, *Chhuri*–Knife, *Chhuri Dāp*–Knife scabber, *Chindhyā*–Twizer, *Chok Sāmā*– Spectacle, *Chorghā*–Spinning wheel, *Chorghi*–Wooden Cotton ginning machine, *Chumo*–Bamboo cylinder, *Churhondharā*–Sweeping broom, *Dābā Najai*–Burner housing pipe, *Dabor*–Hand washing basin, *Dagach*–Ink pot, *Dāl Chini*–Cinnamon, *Dāl Gāch*–Wooden

Pestle, *Dhāgoni*–Cover, Dhāmā–Sword, *Dārhām Tengā*–Coin, *Dhulhon*–Craddle, *Dhundho Oghoi*–Tobacco mixing morter, *Dhunu*–Bow, *Digo Poi*–Arranged dish for departed soul, *Dingiryā*–Larger basket, *Dippyā*–Bamboo cylinder canester, *Dobhā Kādhi*–Crockery housing, *Dul*–Largest basket, *Dulhuk*– Razormade of Bamboo skin, *Dup*–Coop, *Dwogon*-Hanger string, *Elāji*–Cardamom, *Gābhi*–Soaked rice flour, *Gajāl*–Large nail, *Gāl Chābā*– Cheek, *Galhach*–Glass, Gāmālhā–Tumbler, *Gānjhā* (napkin), *Gārhee*–Wheeled vehicle, *Gheelhyā*–Wheel, *Ghongāttyā Tāngoni*–Hooked hanger, *Ghumho Toloi*–Sleeping mat, *Gul Murich*–Black peeper, *Gulhuk*–Canester, *Hādā*–Hand basket, *Hāt Ārā*–Hand saw, *Hāt Oghoi*–Hand operated pounding morter, *Heedhee*–Bow trap, *Heen*–Asapoteda, *Herā Kudo gar*–Meat Chopping board, *Hoia Khādhi* (breast cloth for Hoiā rite), *Holot*–Turmeric, *Ijyā Guri*–Dry Shrimp, *Isklup*–Screw, *Jādhee*–Whelse, *Jak*–Jug, *Jāl*–*Net*, *Jal Taranga* (a decorated hollow ankle ornament), *Jalai*–Nail, *Jamphal*–Shovel, *Jāmuro*–Tongs, *Jāngāli Pājei Khādi* (breast cloth for common women), *Jei Phal*–Nutmeg, *Jhāghā*–A flat basked used to keep vegetable, *Jhāgi Jāl*–Small holed net for stream, *Jhāroo*–Stick broom, *Jiryā*–Cumin seed, *Jodā*–Shoe, *Jumor*–A shield made of bamboo tapes and palm leaves to protect from rain, *Kābhuk*–A trap with pointed pole, *Kābhur*–Camphor, *Kadarā*–A small dish, *Kādhee*–Stirrer, *Kādiryā*–Chair, *Kāgoi*–Big cumb, *Kājha Thāl*–Bronze plate, *Kalam*–Pen, Kāllhwang – Common back basket, *Kambal*–Rug/Blanket, *Kāni*–Piece of cloth, *Kāni Benā*–Knotted cloth piece for burning, *Karādi*–Hand saw, *Kārāghā*–Temple server, *Karchāl*–shoulder bag, *Kedolhi*–Kettle, *Khabang*–Turban, *Khāchchyāng*–A common basket with holes, *Khagharhā*–Back of knee, *Khandā*–Small shovel/small digging rod, *Khāp*–cup, *Kharham*–Sandal/sleeper, *Kharha Pānhi*–Alkali water/Ash water, *Khāt*–Cot, *Khenggrang*–Herp instrument, *Kherha Benā*–Knotted straw for burning, *Khollhyā*–Hand bag/a pocket, *Khur*–Razor, *Khurol*–Axe, *Kijik*–Scissor, *Kochchyā*–Chilli pounding morter, *Kodāl*–Small earth cutting hoe, *Kolgi*–Tobacco burner, *Koreyā* –Frying pan, *Korodi*–Hand saw, *Koroi Guri*–Rice flour, *Kuchchyā*–Spice morter, *Kulo*–Shieve, *Kum*–water pitcher., *Kurhum*–Small basket, *Kutti*–Earthen water jug, *Lang*–Clove, *Lānghā*– Cotton coiler, *Lei*–A basket for keeping rice, *Ludhik*– Walking Stick, *Ludhung*–A gourd shell, *Luii*–Triangular shrimp catching strainer, *Lukthāk*–Ex-monk, *Mālā*–Coconut shell/ round shell, *Mālhā*–Castrated pig, *Māttyā Dābā*–Earthen hubble bubble, *Mejāng*–A bamboo taped table meant for taking meal, *Methi*–Fenugreek, *Mogoi*–Round shapped laddle, *Mong*–A trap of heavy object, *Mugujwo*–Socks, *Murich Bāttyā*–Chilly paste, *Murijo Guri*–Chilly powder, *Na*–Boat, *Nādei*–Thread coil opener, *Nādeng*–Wooden Tops, *Nun*–Salt, *Oghir*–Attached cot, *Olhon Shāl*–Oven, *Oshi*– Sword, *Pādā*–Grinding Stone slab, Pādi–Sitting mat, *Pāllā*–Scale, *Pāllā sil*–Weighing stones, *Pālong*- Bed, *Pāna Bādā*–Betel Plate, *Pānhi Kwa*-Water well, *Pāt*–Small platform of plank at the wall, *Pāt*–Low stool for sitting, *Pengalhā*–Mug, *Phāgārhā*–Earth cutting hoe, *Phaghu*–Powder, Phālee–A lager basket with holes, *Phuni*–Comb, *Phur Bareng*–Decorated big basket, *Pidali Dābā*- Brass hubble bubble, *Pidolo Chāmech*–Brass spoon, *Pilyā*–Cooking pot, *Pilyā-Hārhi*–Utensil, *Pinyach*–Onion, Pogon – Steamer, *Pohr*–Water Pond, *Poi* – Plate, *Pongā*–A basket with holes smaller than *Khāchchyāng*, *Pullhyāng*–smaller common baske, *Rojei*–Quilt, *Rojeiyo Gilyāp*–Quilt cover, *Rongya khurol*–Arakanese axe, *Roun*–Garlic, *Sach Padar*–Bein (loom) apperatus, *Sāgwan*–Soap, *Sel*–Arrow, *Sep*–Saliva/Spit, *Shābhārang*–spice basil, *Sidol*–Shrimp Paste/Fish paste, *Sijhurhi*–Small bottle/phial, Sudho–Thread, *Sughunhi*–Dry sea fish, *Sughuno Māch*–Dry fish, *Sukkech*–Suitcase, *Sundari*-Funnel, *Sundhuk*–Chest, *Syang*–Food for offering to temple or monks, *Tāgal Dādo Sāmhi*–Dao handle Ring, *Tāgārā*–Wooden tumbler, *Tāgol*–Chopping knife, Tājā Murich–Green chilly, *Tālā*–Lock, *Tālā*- Farmer's hat, *Tāp shāl*–Fire place, *Tech Pādā*- Bay leaf, *Telon*–A pot for cooking curry/a work, Tengā–money, Terā–A wide

mouthed cage meant to trap fish at water falls. *Thāghur*–monk, *Thāl*–A big dish, *Thāl*- Big Plate, *Thāl-Bājhon*–Crockery, *Theng Gārhi*–Bicycle, *Toloi*–Spreading mat, *Udo*–Rolling stone, *Uttwa*–Platform above oven to dry meat, fish, etc.

Parts of Body: *A jāgā Kech*–Pubic hair, *Ābāng*–Tumour, *Ādhu*–Knee, *Ādhu Gheelyā*–Knee wheel, *Āduri*-Intestine, *Ajabha*–Lungs, *Ālgā Jwil*–Uvula, *Āngulo Pāp*–Phallange, *Āngulo Phāgā*–Between fingers, *Ārāngā*–Chicken fox, Bāā/Bāhu–Arm, *Bagal*–Arm pit, *Bāl-Vulva*/Cunt/Pussy, *Bāndhā Āngul*–Looped finger, Barmhā Tāllwa–Crown, Bārhā–Shoulder; *Bhārhāl*–Stomach, Bijonyā–Shoulder Blade, *Bijyā*–Testicle, *Bijyā Gulo*–Testis ball, *Boyāra nali*–Wind pipe, *Buchjhyā Āngul*–Thumb, *Buk*–Chest (male)/Breast (female), *Burho Āduri*–Large intestine, *Chāk Dārhi*–Mustache, *Chām*–Skin, *Cheda Chām*–Prepuce, *Cheda Mādhā*–Gland/Tip of penis, *Chet*–Penis/Dick/Cock, *Chhagharhā*–Overy, *Chhagarhā Nāl*–Phelophian tube, *Chhāni*–Folder, Chit–Liver, *Chogho Bhang*–Eye lash, *Chogho Kājal*–Eye brow, *Chogho Mānik*–Pupil, *Chokh*–Eye, *Chul*–Hair, *Chunu*–Penis, *Dalā*–Lump, *Dābānā Garā*–End of thigh, *Dābānā*–Thigh, *Dārhi*–Beard, *Dāt*–Tooth, *Degānnhyā Āngul*–Index finger, *Dhāgha Hār*–Rib, *Dudho Mādhā*–Nipple, *Galā*–Tune, *Gāli denā*–Ejaculate, *Gattanā*–Neck, *Ghar Pādā*–Pl acenta, *Thenga Guch*–Tendon, *Gulphi*–Gastric, *Gutthyā*–Brain, *Hāchsi*–Sneeze, *Hāda Āngul*–Finger, *Hādha Dāk*–Palm lines, *Hādha Gābhi*–Palm, *Hāmmyānā*–Yawn, *Hārlung-Kātthung*–Skeletal shaped, *Hādha Tārhām*–Wrist, *Hār*–Bone, *Herhā*–Flesh Jāmhi Dāt–Wisdom teeth, *Jarā*–Joint, Jeim–Jaw, *Jonnyo*–Herpes joster, *Jwil*–Tongue, *Kabāl*–Forehead, *Kāgela Hār*–Back Bone, *Kājhi*–Nerve, *Kāllyā Āngul*–Ring Finger, *Kāna Pādā*–Ear lobe, *Kangdhā*–Collar, *Kangdhā Hār*–Collar bone, *Kāngeil*–Back, *Kāngela Jarā*–Vartebra, *Kāngurho Chul*–Curly hair, *Kegar*–Squint eyed, *Kelangi*–Elbow, *Khan*–Stammerer, *Khāidhye Herā*–Meat, *Khātdya Nāli*–Oesephaga, *Khenghedhā*–Lean and thin, *Khul*–Skull, *Khulho Āngul*–Spiral finger, *Kugur Dāt*–Cannie, *Kuhro*–Smegma, *Kujhi Āduri*–Small intestine, *Lheplebhi*–Solar flexus, *Ling*–Clitory, Lo – Blood, *Ludi*–Hum, *Ludo*–Cute, *Māāk*–Phlegm, *Mada Gulo*–Adam apple, *Mādhā*–Top, *Maghach*–Marrow, *Mārhee* – Gum, *Matdhya Āngul*–Middle finger, *Matta Dut*–Chest, *Mhut*–fist, *Milyā Dut*–Breast, *Mu* – Mouth, *Mudo Kānā nāl*–Urethra, *Mut*–Urine, *Mujungho Dāt*–Molar, *Murhee*–Heel, *Nār*–Ambillical cord, *Nābhi*–Navel, *Nāga Phalhā*–Nostril, *Nāga siryā*–Breech of nose, *Nak*–Nail, *Nalā*–Shin, *Nalā Pet*–Calf, *Nāreng*–Cheek bone, *Nāri*–Pulse, *Neii gharā*–Back of head, *Nrali*–Tracea, *Pājhā*–Pelvi, *Para Chokh*–Ankle bone, *Peda Dām*–Belly fat, *Peil*–Libia, *Pet* – Belly, *Pet Phuleyā*–Diarrhoea/Loose motion, *Phrāngi*–Leprosy, *Pido Rach* – Bile, *Pilhwai* – Spleen, *Pit*–Back, *Pit*–Gall bladder, *Puno Phak*–Ass/Anus, *Pobon Gulo*–Kidney, *Pokthā-Mhoktā*–Robust, *Pun*–Bottom, *Puno Hāri*–Rectum, *Rajaksalhā*–Mensturation, *Rak*–Vein, *Rān*–Hunch, *Romu*–Uterus, *Sāng*–Disentry, *Sebha Bhudhi*–Saliva gland, *Sep*–Saliva/spit, *Shighon*–Nassal mucous, *Siryā*–Head, *Sugor Piryā*–Mums, *Sundhuk Ghar*–Diaphragm, *Siyāmā*–Course of internal organs, *Tadā*–Throat, *Tāgārā*–Inner upper jaw, *Tal Pet*–Abdomen, *Tel*–Fat, *Teli*–Pancrease, *Tellyā Āngul*–Little Finger, *Thenga Jarā*–Ankle joint, *Thenga Pādā* Chām–Soal, Thengha Āngul–Toe, Thughurhee – Chin, Thur–Heart, *Tin Thuppyā Āduri*–Appendix, *Tinjurhi Hār*–Cocyncs, *Ulu Khul*–Buttock, *Ut-Lip*.

Notes

1. Lewin
2. Madhab Chandra Karmi, Rajnama p. 27, Tribal Research Centre, Agarthala, reprint 1997 and Chakma Itihas by Punyo Dhan Chakma, Miao, Arunachal Pradesh.

4

Jhum Cultivation

The main occupation of the Chakma is Jhum (slash and burn) cultivation. The Chakma live near the fertile jungle on the bank of rivers or stream and during the month of December to January, they select sites for Jhumming. In selecting a jhum site, they go to the jungle with the neighbours. They usually try to select *Âgâp* (virgin) jungle or a plot where Jhum cultivation was done at least four/five years back. First, they roam the whole possible jungle. They also carefully look for the sign of *Chhatrich Mokhâm* thirty six *Moghâms*, the ill-fated/haunted places, like *Gât* (tunnel), *Sâruk Bâch* (twisted bamboo), *Hâzâ* (salt forming stream), *Biâtrâ Bhidhyâ* (a round-shaped small hillock), *Neilchumo Gât* (a tunnel), *Munishyora Âruk* (hillock (human skeleton figure), *Kuung Gâch* (trees whose position is parrallel three by three), *Nah Tânâ* (a small lengthy field), *Nâgo Khât, Kâmâr Dogân, Bâdol Khât, Diyo Dhulhon, Rijhyâng*, etc., which presence is always regarded as bad and believed to be abode of bad spirits and harmful, unless the spirits has been driven away or the power extinguished. If all these signs are absent, the land is found fertile, they will divide it and put sign called *Sâgâl/Dhâchsyâ Lâgârâ* (a small portion of the jungle is cleared, say five square feet and at the centre a small tree or a bamboo pole is kept whose top is crossed with two chips and above the cross a lump of soil is kept) at a visible place. On seeing such sign others will understand that such a place is with an owner and no other have the right to utilise it without permission. If any one dares to do so he is fined. Some even perform other rites to know whether the jungle which he has selected for jhum is right for him or not. He may enter some rice grain in a bamboo pole with the prayer to *Bajham Pudi* (the earth) that the grain should remain intact if it is good for him and if any grain is missing, it is bad for him and he will look at the rice the next day. Some people, after selection of a jhum site, go to the river and after taking bath offer lamps and flowers to the river goddess to give him hints in dream. He will also go to temple and offer lamps and if any temple is not nearby he will offer it at his *Shong Ghar* (a small temple constructed at the front side of a house) or at his home (if a *Shong ghar* is not available) with the prayer to *Gojhen* (the Almighty) communicate his good and bad in dream. If everything goes well then only he will go to *Jhum Kâbâ* (clear jungle for a jhum) observing *Jâtrâ* and *Bajan* (good day and bad day for travel and flow of breath in the hasal).

There also before starting clearance, he will observe the days as there is believe of some good days and bad days and also to which side he should start clearance as it is believed that starting a work or travel facing *Jugini* is very bad. After the jungle is cut with a *Tāgal* (dao) trees felled with a *Khurol* (axe) the *Jhum Kābā* is over and it is let to dry. The Chakma usually burn their jhum in March every year. The clearance of this unburnt logs, etc., is called *Ārā Kārhā* which is usually done within April. After *Ārā Kārhā*, it is *Dhān Kojā* (sawing of paddy) which they do by keeping the seeds in a *Kurhum* (small basket) at the back and making hole with the tip of a old dao on the ground. They saw *Sudho* (cotton seeds), *Ghochchyā* (sesame) and other vegetable seeds like *Mhāmrā* (cucumber), *Kumurhwo* (white gourd), *Kudhugulo* (water gourd), *Sughurhigul* (pumpkin), *Kuju* (taro), *Ālu* (yam/potato), *Koidhyā* (snake gourd), *Jhigyā* (ridged snake gourd), *Kāngārhāgulo* (spur gourd) *Tidyā Gulo* (bitter gourd), *Murich* (chillies), etc., along with rice with the tip of a *Chuchchyāng Tāgal* (old dao). They also plant chillies, brinjal, turmeric, various vegetable and fruits in their jhum. At the beginning they take nothing from the jhum unless they have observed the rite called *Bhāchsuri Bhājānā* (flowing of bamboo shoots) where the first bamboo shoots which erupts from the stems in a jhum is collected and flown down in the river with prayer that—"they are going to consume the product of the jhum and if any harm is going to be fallen on them should be vanished and flown away with the bamboo shoots. Before this rite, they take nothing from the jhum." Sometimes before they could saw paddy in the whole jhum, weeds grow longer and they had to clear it. Which is called *Ânuni* (literary without salt). Weeding is called *Jum Sulho* (literary means skinning).

The second weeding is called *Meit Sulho*. In the third week of June, i.e., on the seventh of *Ājhār* the rite called *Hāl Pālonee* (literary celebration of cultivation) falls. On this day, no work on the jhum is done. It is also said to be the period day of *'Bājhām PUDI'* (the mother earth). On this day all available vegetables and fruits grown in the jhum are collected from the jhum and prepared as curry and offered to the *Gonghei* (the God), *MāLokkhi* (Laxmi, the goddess of wealth), *Bājhām Pudi* (the earth), *Debā* (the sky), *Dhingi* (paddy pounding machine) and all the instruments connected with jhum cultivation like, *Tāgol* (dao), *Chārhee* (sickle), *Khurhol* (axe), *Chuchyāng Tāgol* (the pointed dao used for sawing paddy), etc. By August, the *Ālotyā Dhân* (first paddy) like *Gelhang, Rāngei, Lengtā*, etc., starts ripening and harvest starts.

Before the starts of harvesting, the Chakmas observe a rite called *Dhān Phāng Or Dhān Hāt* (literary meaning 'first touch of paddy/inauguration of harvest'). In this ceremony animal sacrifice of at least one crab is necessary. For doing so, the host or an *Ojhā* makes an alter under the ripe paddy tree by clearing around the stem. There he will spread two tips of plantain leaves and above that post one bristled bamboo chips called *Mālei/Mārei Keim* perforating two tips of a bit thick leaves. First, he will put prayer displaying the crab or hen or the hairs of a pig for more yield, etc., and then examine whether the offer is accepted by throwing two tips of leaves. Which is called *Āk Chānhā* or *Āk Pādā Chānhā* (observing in advance or looking in advance at the leaf tips). If the tips fall one up and one down it is believed to be accepted and the animal is sacrificed. Afterwards, the whole paddy plant is carried to the Jhum hut and before entering the hut, it is customary to cry out whether the hut is made firm by posting additional strong *Thak* (wedged post) since *Mā Laxmi* was coming. And the people inside the house will reply in affirmative and entry is made. The paddy tree is kept carefully inside the house in the chamber of the head of the house at the *Mur Khām* (middle crown post). After cooking the animal, offering is made to *Gonghei, Mā Lokkhi* and sometime to *Gangā* (the water goddess). Neighbours are also sometimes invited to feast on this occasion if the animal is a pig.

The Chakma harvest their paddy with a basket at their back called *Kāllwhang* by cutting only the ripe yarn with a *Chārhee* (sickle) and throw at the back on the *Kāllwhang*. After a *Kāllhwang* is full it is transferred to a *Bāreng* (a basket bigger than a *Kāllhwang*) or a *Dingirā* (basket bigger than a *Bāreng*) which is later carried to the jhum hut where the straws are separated by foot on a *Toloi* (bamboo mat) or on a *Māroni Ghar* (straw separating house). The process of separating paddy from straw is called *Dhān Mārā*. The separated paddy is dried in the sun and packed in *Sarang, Bung, Dul, Bāreng, Dignirā* and *Phālee*, etc., and later pounded in a *Dhingi* (wooden paddy pounding machine) after drying in the sun to separate the rice from the husk, when necessary. The process is called *Bārhā Bānhā*. The rice may also be pounded to extract the outer layer, the bran, called *Chol Kārā*. From rice, the Chakma make *Bhāt* (cooked rice), *Mat* (wine), *Kānjee* (beer of common rice), *Jagarhā* (sweet beer of sticky or *Birnee* rice) *Pidhyā* (cakes), etc. They stock their paddy in *Phālee, Dingirām Dull, Bung* and *Sarang*, etc. They also grow millet, barley, chillies, cotton, sesame, ginger, turmeric, spice leaves, taro, yam, other fruits and vegetable in the jhum.

After the harvest is over the collection of cotton called *Sudho Tulho*, and sesame called *Ghochyā Tulho* is done. They also collect *KechPiji* (a kind of wheat), *Koun* (a kind of millet), *Jedenhā* (barley), *Simei Ālu* (tapioca), cotton and ripe chillies. The ownership of a Jhum remains in force up to *Bizu*. An abandoned Jhum is called *Rānnyā*. The owner may object collection of his jhum produces till Bizu and after Bizu, it is free for other villagers to collect vegetable, etc., from the *Rānnyā*. But he acquires the priority to make Jhum in future and others cannot make jhum on his *Rānnyā* without his permission. The followings are the list products collected so far which are produced in a Jhum:

1. DHĀN (paddy); JEIT (common): – 1. Bādheyeh, 2. Āmei, 3. Bichnāli, 4. Bigunbiji, 5. Chhurhi, 6. Chigon, 7. Chināl, 8. Ehjhāl, 9. Gehlhang (red & wāhite), 10. Kuchchyālhi, 11. Kabarhak, 12. Kāmrāng, 13. 'Lengtā (ranga-dhup; red and white), 14. Memeshā, 15. Mempui, 16. Merry, 17. Merhe, 18. Mheley, 19. Nābādo, 20. Nhānnyābiji, 21. Pātti, 22. Pāttigi, 23. Rāngei, 24. Rengui (red and white), 25. Fereh, 25. Sheleng, 26. Tārgho, 27. Torgi, 28. Bhuppoi. It is said that there are thirty-six kinds of paddy.
2. BINNI DHĀN (Sticky paddy): 1. Bāndaranak, 2. Chidirā, 3. Dhup, 4. Jeit, 5. Huring, 6. Kālā, 7. Komreng, 8. Khummoi, 9. Kobā, 10. Kolatthur, 11. Lokkhi, 12. Lochtyā, 13. Longkāporā, 14. Sātthuchyā, 15. Sugora lo.
3. MOKKYĀ (maize)
4. JEDHENA (barley) – 1. Bormhā. 2. Kuchyāli, 3. Mogolee, 4. Mokkyā.
5. REHNG (air potato, like fruit grown on creepers) – 1. Bodā, 2. Pru.
6. ĀLU (yam)–1. Simei, 2. Bāchtārā, 3. Bhudhee, 4. Bilādi, 5. Binny, 6. Dhup, 7. Heidhotheng, 8. Juro, 9. Koyang, 10. Mon, 11. Muh, 12. Pān, 13. Pilā (red and white), 14. Rāngā, 15. Rhāmmādu, 16. Sughuri, 17. MuRāngā, 18. Tāt.
7. GHOCHCHYA (sesame) – Jeit (common) and Nāgā.
8. KUJU (escullants and taro): – 1. Binny, 2. Bunduk, 3. Chha, 4. Dubo, 5. Ek Dāchyā, 6. Gorhei, 7. Herhā, 8. Kāt, 9. Kālā, 10. Kāli, 11. Korbhā Kuju, 12. Kuchsyālhi, 13. Kugi, 14. Longte, 15. Mān, 16. Magaddam, 17. Muh Rāngā, 18. Nārekul, 19. Sāmmwo, 20. Ull, 21. Phāghā, 22. Shāngālhee, 23. Sil, 24. Sona, 25. Tidya.

9. GULO-GULI (fruits taken as vegetable): – 1. Bāāch (a kind of gourd), 2. Bāgi (a kind of melon), 3. Begolbiji (Thai egg plant), 4. Bheroo, (okra), 5. Bigun (brinjal), 6. Chengei, 7. Cindirhā, 8. Jheegā (snake gourd), 9. Kngārhā Gulo (spur gourd), 10. Khecrā (a kind of cucumber), 11. Koidhyā (a kind of snake gourd), 12. Kudhugulo (water gourd), 13. Kumurho (ash gourd), 14. Mhārmhā or Mhāmmrā (Jhum cucumber), 25. Michri Phal, 26. Pilāgulo (a big nut), 27. Porol, 28. Padhal, 29. Sughurhigulo (pumpkin), 30. Tettolgulo, 30. Tidāgulo (bitter gourd), 31. sorbhotidā (small bitter gourd), 32. Tormoch (water melon), 33. Jumuno Bigun, 34. Kādā Bigun, 35. Tidā Bigun, 36. Khawna Gulo.

10. SUMI (beans): 1. Ārhi mhāchyā, 2. Bilādi, 3. Dhāgā (ladies finger) 4. Heido Kān, 5. Jārkāllyā, 6. Keim, 7. Khāru, 8. Korengā (winged bean), 9. Lang, 10. Nārākābā, 11. Phellom, 12. Phijurhi.

11. SHĀK PĀT (vegetable): (a) Āgā (shoots)—Bedāgi (cane), Krodi (a kind of Palm), Keredo (large cane), Bheredo (larger cane), Chāngphulo, Chah, Phagarhā, Bhāchchurhi, Bogolhee, Chhighon Shāk, Godākolāgāch, Kolātthur.

12. PĀDĀ (leaves): Āmbhochshāk, Āmilyā (rosselle) (Jeit, sorbho, sugor, mormochya, ranga, heil, Kala, dhup), Bāgālāk, Baranā, Shāk, Bātbāttyāshāk, Bilādi Bāghor, chindirā Shāk, Choi Shāk, Dheemātidā, Dhingi, Gāch Bāghor, Huringo Kān Shāk, Ijadār Shāk, Jāngālhyā Shāk, Jhār o bei Shāk, Jhārbo Kogeye, Jhigā Shāk, Kāji Holot, Kangarha Gulo, Kāngārhāgulo Shāk, Karmoch Shāk, Kekrakshak, Keliyashak, Kettrangshak, Khonashāk, Koidhyā Shāk, Kudhu Shāk; Kuju Pādā, Kujudik, Kuju Pongā; Kumurho Shāk, Lelham Pādā, Marech Shāk (kada, bhul, ranga, heil), Menganipādā, Meyahshak, Mudurho Shāk, Narech Shāk, Ojhon Shak, Phujhee, Porol Shāk, Pranga Shāk, Pujhok (khotteya, ranga, dhup, biladi), Pul Shāk, Ranonheekilonee Shāk, Rei Shak, Shābārāāng, Sugurhi Shāk, Sumi Shāk, Tidā Shāk, Todegajwil Shāk, Tong Shāk, Twa Shāk, Yoreng Shāk.

13. KARHAT (tender shoot taken raw) – Ām, Āmr, Bhuro Āgā, Chhinikheye Shāk, Chibit Shāk, Gutguttyā Karhat, Hach-kurhobokchora Shāk, Jamer Karhat, Jarol Karhat, Kurho chit Shāk, Lemu Karhat, Ochyang Āgā, Ojhon Shāk Pallyang Karhat, Pilhoi Shāk, Sil Tedhoi, Tong Shāk.

14. ULL (Mushroom)–Bachull, Gabarull, Gachull, Gurguttoull, Huringbachull, Kokkhenghaatpaa hull, Mojiull, Sammwaull, Undurkānull, Bhuisāgoiull.

15. PHOOL (flowers)–Holodophool, Shawnphool, Sugurhiphool, Sumeephool, Simheiphool.

16. TREES AROUND US: Āghar, Ām, Bāch Pādā, Batdhamān, Bhādi, Bhangar Piji, Bhārālaā Bhārātthwo, Bholā Chāmbā, Bhuro, Bhwa, Bonghol, Borhoi, Boronā, Bot, Botta, Buri, Cha, Chākkwa, Chāmānhi, Chāmbā, Chebarashi, Chibit, Chongori, Dembhal, Dhelā Gāmārhi, Dholā Gāmārhi, Gāmārhi, Garsang, Gorheng Nārekul, Gui Āruk Chāmānhi, Hottyāl, Jām, Jārol, Jogonhaā, Kadam, Kān Ubho, Kāndep, Kāttwol, Kent Gulo, Kettrang, Khāmmrāng, Khojhā, Khonā, Kugi Tedhoi, Kuguro Bijyā Kwo, Kummhoi, Kujhum Gulo, Kwogulo, Mādāl, Mājho Chokpiji, Mon Khonā, Nāksha, Narekul, Ochchyāng, Okkhyāng, Pnnyah Jārol, Pidhya Gulā, Pul, Robhār, Rogoni Pādā, Rong, Sākkhwon, Sārbwa, Sidol Chumo, Sinikheye, Tāl, Tāli, Tedhoi, Telchha, Tidyā Boronā, Udol, ULU.

17. BAMBOOS AROUND US: Egochchyā, Pārbow, Midingyā, Dulhu, Ludi, Bhāchchyā, Orhā, Kuchchyālhi, Muli.

5

Chakma Script

The Chakma have been using their script called ***CHĀNGMHĀ LEGHĀ*** from time unknown. The phonetics of the script is with Ā inherent and sound like other Indian scripts except three letters: *Kā, Khā* and *Hā* as **Kā** sounds non levial (without a vowel deleter,) **Khā** sounds as Hā and **Hā** sounds as high pitched Ā as in English words *Hour, Honour,* etc. It is the uniqueness of *Chāngmhā Language*. Another speciality of the Chāngmhā Alphabet and language is that as a rule the vowel delete sign (*Māchchyā/halanta/hasanta*) can be put only on twelve letters ***Kā, Ngā, Chā, Nyā, Tā, Nā, Pā, Mā, Yā, Rā, Lā,*** and **Wā** since the middle letters of a word of other Indian languages without vowel deleter, takes change in Chāngmhā - *Kā* to *gā*, *Khā* to *ghā*, *Chā* to *Jā, jhā,* etc. *It is* believed that this script was brought from India by the Chakma while establishing *Chāngmhā kingdom* in Burma. The ***Daingnet*** Community in Burma who are a group of the Chakma and with whom the mainstream Chakmas were separated in 1418, after the downfall of the Chakma kingdom, still call it *Chāngmhā Leghā*. (In Burma, the *Chāngmhā* are known as *Tsak* or *Thek* (pronounced Sek/Sak in Burmese) since the Chakmas are believed to be descendants of the Sakyas. So, ***Chakma*** means the Sakya people (Sak/Tsak/Thek=Sakya, Mi/Ma =People). Whereas, the Chakmas identify themselves as ***CHĀNGMHĀ*** meaning, people of king who crowned himself on the back of an elephant. As per the Sakya tradition, when a king ascend the throne he has to ride on an elephant, or that when there is no heir for the throne the Sakyas used to set the royal elephant free and whoever is taken on the back by the royal elephant was made the king. As per *Bijak* (traditional Chakma history), Vijoygiri, the first Chakma king in Burma, crowned himself at the newly conquered land in Burma by riding on an elephant named *Dhavalgiri*. So the Chakmas identify themselves as *CHĀNGMHĀ* (*Chang* = elephant, *ma* = men or people) Meaning, people of the king who crowned on an elephant. In short 'people of elephant').

But this script has never been taught academically or institutionally at any level. It remained confined to few *Vaitdyas* (traditional healers) or magic men, traditional priest, *Luries* and indigenous poets. For the script, no type foundry has been established by any authority or individual till date. The Christian missionary published copy of the Bible in Chāngmhā in

Lithographic Technique during British period from Serampore. But they were not successful. Later Nua Ram Chakma (a Christian convert) published a Chakma primer in 1959, Bengalinising the vowels and consonent letters. The Chakma Autonomous District Council, Mizoram also tried to make Chakma fonts at a Foundary in Calcutta in 1991-93, but were not successful due to constrain of fund.

The Chakmas maintained and preserved their religious scripture the *Ãghar Tãrãs*, folklores, traditional treatment systems, *pujãs*, rites and other records in *Chãngmhã* Script. The Chakma have been using the *Chãngmhã Leghã* for the preservation of their manuscripts like religious scripture called *Ãghar Tãrãs* (written religious scriptures), books on *Tãlliks* (folk medicine), *Mandars* (magic), *Pujo Bijaks* (methos of worship and the description of deities), old literature like *Shrichti Pattham* (myth on creation of the universe), *Pãlhãs* (description of certain events), *Lãmhãs* (religious hymns), *Bãrha Mhãch* (composition on unsuccessful love affair), *Kabidã* (poetry), *etc. Ãghar Tãrã* means written religion or religion on *Ãgharie* letter *(Ãkhar (letter) Ãghar. Ãghar* bark was earlier used for writing in the upper Assam area before invention of paper. The Chakma earlier used the term ***Phorã, Tãrã, Sãngho*** in place of triple gems of Buddhism, ***Buddha Dharma Sangha***). They followed a peculiar form of Buddhism called ***Rauli Dharma*** and their priest was known as ***Luri/Rari.*** The *Luris* used to chant religious discourses from the *Ãhgar Tãrãs* at death, marriage, ascending of throne. *Dharma Kãma Pujo, JãdiPujo, pandemic,* etc. The *Ãghar Tãrãs* are said to be 55 in numbers of which thirtysix were important and some of them are now extinct.

From the practices and as stated in the *Pujo Bijaks* and other manuscripts like *Shristi Pattham, Lakkhi Pãlhã, Pachjhan* of *Dujha Jãgã* etc it is clear that the Chakmas are not fully Buddhist but orthodox Sanatanis. Buddhism is a side religion to them and practiced only for certain rites. Their *Chumulang Pujo, Bhoot Pujo, Gangã Pujo, Pari Pujo, Jãgã Mãrã, Thanmãnã Pujo,* etc., confirms them to be Sanatani as these deities are worshipped with animal sacrifice.

The healing process is called *Vaitdyãli* and the healer is known as *Vaitdya,* who preserves manuscripts on folk medicinal formulas called *Tãllik, mandars* (mantras), magical *yantras* called *Ãng* in which name of ailments, symptoms, name of medicines, instruction of preparation and administration, etc., are clearly written.

There are folk literature preserved in Chãngmhã Script like *Lãmhã* (religious hymn), *Pãlhã* (description of certain story and events). *Barho Mhãch* (description of love stories of twelve months), *Kabidã* (poems), *Sritthi Pattham* (Creation of universe), *Juga Sãdhan* or *Phagiri Ãlãm* (how to practice yoga or the way to attain salvation), *Jabin Kalpa* (description of vital points of a body), *Nãri Kalpa* (description of pulse and veins), *Maghãms Parijay* (descriptions the haunted places on the earth known to be the abode of bad spirits on which none should live by constructing a house or make jhum or garden), *Bijak,* the history, *Pujo Bijak* (the stories of the deities and rules to perform the rites), *Dhamasik* (the genealogical history of people of a *gutthi* or gene and the list of fore fathers), etc.

Being a member of the Chakma tribe, I have seen the use of Chakma script from my childhood. The Chakmas of Present Mizoram seldom went to a hospital, earlier. They treated their patients at home with the local healers called *Vaitdya* who consulted the traditional medical formulas called *Tãlliks* written in Chakma script called. They also recorded the *Mandars* (mantras) and *Ãngs* (magical diagrams) in *Chãngmhã Leghã* which they utilized for Protection, treatment of a patient and other magical purposes and black magic called *Jãdu, Tonã, Chãllãn,* etc.

My actual introduction to the Chakma script was from one *Ven. Jyotipālā Thero*, in 1973 who happened to stay one rainy season at our *Shantiniketan Bouddha Vihara, Tuichawng*. But his teaching was not complete as he lacked the knowledge of some vowel signs. It was because there was no institutional teaching of the script and the *Vaitdyas* kept it alive somehow with lots of spelling mistakes due to lack of phonetic knowledge. On being appointed in Chakma Autonomous District Council in 1987, I started to introduce the Chakma script to others to get its proper knowledge in the form of publication of (1) An Alphabetical Chart, (2) Primers, etc. So that people with the knowledge of the script come forward and correct the wrong usages. But no body came forward and I carried on my search. At last, I composed another Chakma Primer named ***'Chāngmhā Pattham Paidhyā'*** in 1994 and approached the CADC authority for introduction in the CADC schools. The then Executive Member i/c Education Shri Rasik Mohan Chakma gladly accepted my proposal and decided to introduce it in the Primary schools from the academic session 1995. I trained the first batch of the teachers. Afterward, a committee named 'Chakma Script and Language Development Committee' was formed under my Chairmanship under District School Education Board, CADC. At the initial stage the books were published in cyclo style with the assistance of Shri Triptendu Bikash Chakma and later printed lithographically from Calcutta. I was also entrusted to formulate a book for the Middle School level which I did by editing ***'Chāngmhā Dwi Paidhyā'*** in 1999. The Committee later discovered some more signs from old books with the help of Shri Jayon Chakma and Shri Krishna Chandra Chakma. In the meantime, Shri Rasik Mohan Chakma became CEM of CADC and tried to make a soft ware for the Chakma Script, but it was not successful. In 2005 Shri Sujoy Chakma developed acracked version of Chakma software named it as *Sujayan*. With that software, we printed Chakma Text Books for class I to Class VI from Silchar in 2008 and for up to Class VIII in 2013. Now, it is being taught in the CADC schools up to in class VIII. After much handling, now I believe that the present Chakma Script of the Chakma Autonomous District is sufficient and complete.

The Chakma script might be the offshoot of *Brahmi* script since the Alphabetical Chart of Brahmi and Chakma have same number of letters thirtythree. The Burmese and the Arakanese believe that their script has been developed from the Brahmi script. Since the Chakma script is contemporary to Burmese script. It is also traditionally believed that the old literature and books of the Chakma were written in *Bāmunhi* (Brahmi). Some even opine that the Burmese have learnt their script from the Chakma barring a few letters all their letters seem to be same. Further, most of the South East Asian scripts were developed from the Indian scripts.

It is said that the first letters of the Chakma script are: 𑄃, 𑄌, 𑄍 {𑄅 (*Bachsi U* /hook shaped U).𑄌 (*Leich Ubho E*/ tail up E) and 𑄍 (*dheldya Ei*/ branched Ei)}. They are therefore called the *Ātdya Harak* or the first letters. They are also sometimes called *Āpju Harak* (the unpredictable letters). **There is a rule that these *Ātdya Haraks* shall not be used alone and they should be blended with other letters or signs.** However, the independent use of 𑄌 (Leichubho E) is sometime seen in place of 𑄐 (*Ā ekar dye E*). The Conjunct letters are called *Jadiṭā Akkhwar* and Complex letters called '*Ānji Harak'* which are used only for magical purposes. Like 𑄛𑄳𑄢𑄴, 𑄛𑄳𑄝𑄴, 𑄛𑄳𑄟𑄴, 𑄛𑄳𑄞𑄴.

Ajhāpāth (Leading Lesson)

The *Ajhāpāth* or the Leading Lesson of the Chakma script has 33 (thirtythree letters). They are:

𑄀	𑄁	𑄂	𑄃	𑄄
(Kā)	(Khā)	(Gā)	(Ghā)	(Ngā)

𑄇	𑄈	𑄉	𑄊	𑄋
(Chā)	(Chhā)	(Jā)	(Jhā)	(Ñā)
𑄌	𑄍	𑄎	𑄏	𑄐
(Ṭā)	(Ṭhā)	(Ḍā)	(Ḍhā)	(Ṇhā)
𑄑	𑄒	𑄓	𑄔	𑄕
(Tā)	(Thā)	(Dā)	(Dhā)	(Nā)
𑄖				
(Pā)	(Phā)	(Bā)	(Bhā)	(Mā)
𑄗	𑄘	𑄙	𑄚	𑄛
(Yā)	(Rā)	(Lā)	(Wā)	(Sā)
𑄜	𑄝	𑄞		
(Hā)	(Lhā)	(Ā)		

Apart from the above **33** (thirtythree) letters, there is also the letter 𑄃 (*Dwi bhadhala Jā*) meaning double sacked *Jā*. The letter 𑄃 is said to been borrowed from Burmese and it some time replaced the 𑄉 (*Jwillyā Jā*) in the *Ajhā Pāth* (leading lesson). The letters is sometimes called *Maghā Jā*, meaning the Burmese Jā since the Chakmas call the Burmese/Arakanese as "*Makh*". It is said that this letter has been borrowed from the Burmese/Arakanese. Therefore, the total number of letters used in the Chakma script is 37. Three letters from *Ātdya Harak*, 33 (thirtythree) letters from the *Ajhā Pā* and the letter 𑄃 (*Dwibhadhalā Jā*) which is same as 𑄉 (*Jwillyā Jā*). As per *Vaitdyāli*, there are only thirty-six letters in the Chakma Alphabet. And including the *Maghā Jā* it should be thirtyseven. The number *thirty-six* is very significant to the Chakmas. Their *letters are thirtysix*, the main *Āghar Tārās* are thirty-six, the spirits of a *Thān* or place are thirtysix, their paddies are thirty-six kind, the *Dujho Jāgās*, the *Maghāms* are thirty-six, the vital points or *Jāga Jabin* of a body are thirty-six, etc.

If we see the Alphabetical Chart of Dr. G.A. Grierson, which was reportedly collected from one Krishna Chandra Dewan, in 1903, the letters 𑄈 and s does not tally with the present *Ajhā Pāth* Chart as taught in Mizoram. However, the Chart is same as of the 1903 with 33 letters. The letters of Nwa Ram Chakma, 1959 also does not tally with the present letter 𑄈 (Chhā). Further Late Nwa Ram Chakma also misplaced the letters 𑄟 and 𑄠. He also misplaced the letter 𑄉 in place of 𑄗 and the letters 𑄟, 𑄠 and 𑄡. He incorporated the mātrā signs 𑄀, 𑄁, 𑄂 and the *Ātdyo Haraoks* 𑄃, 𑄄, and 𑄅 in the *Ajhā Pāth*. He seems to have tried to Bengalinise it. The modern writers in other places are also seen writing them differently trying to Bengalinise the *Ajhā Pāth*. Some are seen to write *Chāngmhā Leghā* without knowing its phonetics and the actual transliteration.

Identification of the Letters: The letters of the Chakma alphabet have distinct names to enable to identify distinctly. This helps to spell and pronounce a word properly. They also sound with inherent ā and not with inherent a as other Indian alphabets. They are named as given below:

- 𑄇- *Chuchyengya Kā*, meaning the pointed Kā
- 𑄈 - *Gujangye Khā*, meaning the hooked khā
- 𑄉- *Chāndye Gā*, meaning moon shaped Gā
- 𑄊- *Tindhellye Ghā*, meaning three branched Ghā
- 𑄋- *Chilābha Ngā*, meaning kite shaped/flying kite shaped Ngā

𑄍 - *Dwi dāchchyā Chā*, meaning two clawed Chā

𑄎 - *Majarā Chhā*, meaning twisted Chhā

𑄏- *Jwillyā Jā or Tindhellyā Jā*, meaning tongued Jā or three branched *Jā*

𑄐- *Hurhohuri/Sing dye Jhā*, meaning stepping/horned Jhā

𑄑- *Selochsyā Ṇyā*, meaning eel shaped Ṇyā

𑄒- *Thuttye Ṭā*, meaning beaked Ṭā

𑄓- *Dwha bāanh Ṭhā*, meaning wing bound Ṭhā

𑄔- *Ādhu bhāngā Ḍā*, meaning broken knee Ḍā

𑄕- *Leich bhoreiye Ḍhā*. meaning tail in Ḍhā

𑄖- *Pettwa Nhā*, meaning big bellied Nhā

𑄗- *Ghangadāt Tā*, meaning veiled Tā

𑄘- *Jagadāt Thā*, meaning mussels shaped Thā

𑄙- *Dhuloni Dā*, meaning swinging Dā

𑄚- *Talmwha Dhā*, meaning face down Dhā

𑄛- *Phār bānnyhā Nā*, meaning waist bound Nā

𑄜- *Phālllyā Pā*, meaning *Phāli* (a large basket) shaped Pā

𑄝- *Leich Bhoreya Phā*, meaning the Phā with the tail curved in.

𑄞- *Ubor mwha Bā*, meaning face up Bā

𑄟- *Cheir Dhellye Bhā*, meaning four branched Bhā,

𑄠- *Bugot Dalā Mā*, meaning the Mā with a lump on the chest.

𑄡- *Chimochchyā Yā*, meaning elastic Yā

𑄢- *Dwidāchchye Rā*, meaning two clawed Rā

𑄣- *Talmwha Lā*, meaning face down Lā

𑄤- *Bhājhonnyā Wā*, meaning floating Wā

𑄥- *Ubormwha Sā*, meaning face up Sā

𑄦- *Ubormwha Hā*, meaning face up Hā

𑄧- *Pet-pede Lhā*, meaning belly-bellied Lh

𑄨- *Talmwoha Ā*, meaning down faced *Ā*.

𑄩- *Bachsi U*, meaning fish hook shaped *U*

𑄪- *Leich Ubho E*, meaning tail up

𑄫- Dheil dyā Ei, meaning branched Ei

𑄬- Dwi Bhadhalā Jā, meaning double sacked Jāor Maghā Jā.

The Chakma script also has the following numerals called *Nādā* :

𑄶 𑄷 𑄸 𑄹 𑄺 𑄻 𑄼 𑄽 𑄾 𑄿

The numerals are known as ***Ek, Dwi, Tin, Cheir, Pāch, Chhah, Sāt, Achtwa, Nah*** and ***Sainya.***

Pronunciation: The pronunciation of Chakma alphabet is almost same as of other Indian alphabets except the letters, 𑄃a, 𑄉 and 𑄅. These letters have some peculiar phonetic sounds and are not comparable with other Indian alphabets. It is the speciality of the Chakma Script.

𑄃- ***Chuchchyangyā Kā.*** It does not sound like a palatal Kā, but as a low pitched Hā. However, it sounds like a palatal Kā when the inherent vowel ā is deleted by putting the *Māchchyā* sign (vowel killer/deleter) and after the use of a vowel deleted letter.

𑄉- ***Gujangyā Khā.*** It always sounds like Hā.

𑄅- ***Ubarmwā Hā.*** It sounds like a high pitched Ā as in the English pronunciation of ***Hour, Honour,*** etc.

Construction of Words with the Letters: The following are the illustration of how words are formed with the letters.

𑄃- (Pronounced as low pitched *Hā*) 𑄃 𑄢𑄇 (Kāḍāmā) – a tropical infection, 𑄃𑄇 (Kālā) – Black,𑄃𑄉𑄇 (Kārāghā)–a temple server, 𑄃𑄍 (Kādā)–thorn, 𑄃𑄇𑄟 (Kāmānā)–to earn, 𑄃𑄎 (Kājā)-edge/end/raw, 𑄃𑄇𑄇 (Kāmālā) –labourer, 𑄃𑄟 (kānā) – hole/ the blind.

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Formation of Words with the Letters

𑄃 - (Pronounced as low pitched *Hā*) 𑄃𑄢𑄇 (Kāddāmā) – a tropical infection, 𑄃𑄇 (Kālā) – Black, 𑄃𑄉𑄇 (Kārāghā) – a temple server, 𑄃𑄍 (Kādā) – thorn, 𑄃𑄇𑄟 (Kāmānā) – to earn, 𑄃𑄎 (Kājā) -edge/end/raw, 𑄃𑄇𑄇 (Kāmālā) –labourer, 𑄃𑄟 (kānā) – hole/ the blind.

𑄉 - (Pronounced as Hā). 𑄉𑄃𑄉 Hāgārā) – reed, 𑄉𑄎𑄟 (Hājānā) –Revenue, 𑄉𑄎 (Hājā) – a basket, 𑄉𑄉 (Hārā) – Game/Sword, 𑄉𑄟 (Hānā) – a feast.

𑄃 (Pronounced as *Gā*). 𑄃𑄇𑄋 (Gāmālhā) – a tumbler, 𑄃𑄍 (Gādhā) – a donkey, 𑄃𑄉𑄟 (Gārānā) –to post/to bury, 𑄃𑄇𑄟 (Gālānā) – to ooz out/ejection of fluid.

𑄋 (Pronounced as *Ghā*). 𑄋 (Ghā) – wound, 𑄋𑄇𑄟 (Ghāmānā) – to sweat, 𑄋𑄉 (Ghārā) –neck, 𑄋𑄇-𑄋𑄇 (Ghālā-ghālā) – at interval, 𑄋𑄢𑄟 (Ghādānā) – to stire, 𑄉𑄋 (Rāghā) keep.

𑄁 (Pronounced Ngā) 𑄉𑄁 (Rāngā) – red, 𑄖𑄁 (Bhāngā) broken, 𑄉𑄁𑄉𑄟 (Tāngārānā) to able to do/to have time, 𑄃𑄉𑄁 (Pārāngā) – a medicinal herb/vegetable leave.

𑄌 (Pronounced as *Chā*). 𑄌𑄃𑄟 (Chābānā) – to chew/to press, 𑄌𑄃𑄇 (Chābālā) –baton of a fence, 𑄌𑄢𑄉 (Chādārā) – flat rock bed, 𑄌𑄟𑄟 (Chālānā) – to operate, 𑄌𑄇 (*Chālā*) – half roof.

𑄍 - (Pronounced as Chhā) 𑄍𑄖 (*Chhābhā*) – shadow, 𑄍𑄢 (Chhādā) – pale/whitish, 𑄍𑄃𑄟 (Chhāgānā) – to strain, 𑄍𑄃𑄟 (Chhābānā) – to print.

𑄎 - (Pronounced as Jā). 𑄎𑄃 (Jāgā) – a place/plot, 𑄎𑄢𑄟 (Jādānā) – to push forcefully, 𑄎𑄉𑄟 (Jārānā) – to able to endure, 𑄎𑄃𑄉𑄟 (Jābārānā) – to fall for catching.

𑄖 - (Pronounced as Jhā). 𑄖𑄃 (*Jhāgā*) – a flat basket, 𑄖𑄃𑄉𑄟 (Jhāgārānā) – to shake, 𑄖𑄇 (Jhāmā) – Iron Oxide, 𑄖𑄃 (Jhābā) – in wholesome, 𑄖𑄉𑄟 (Jhara) – the blowing of air after chanting mantra.

𑄞 - (Pronounced as half 𑄃*Nā*), 𑄞𑄁 𑄃𑄌 (Nyāng Puk) a large cicada, 𑄃𑄪𑄞 (Poonhya) – Annual festival of the Chakma king, 𑄃𑄞𑄎 (Kānji) – Beer of common rice, 𑄌𑄞𑄖 (Pānjhā) – less salted/soft.

𑄞 - Ṭnā - (Pronunced as Ṭā (echoed) - 𑄞𑄧𑄞 (*Ṭāgārā)* – palate (roof of the mouth), 𑄞𑄪 (*Ṭāghā*) – a bundle, 𑄞𑄢 (*Ṭānā)* – length, 𑄞𑄢𑄢 (*Ṭānānā)* to pull /draw, 𑄞𑄌 (*Ṭukh*) – crown, 𑄞𑄝 (*Ṭengā)* – money, 𑄞𑄝𑄢 (*Ṭangānā*)- to hang.

𑄟 - Ṭhā - (Pronunced as Ṭhā (echoed), 𑄟𑄌 (*Ṭhāgā*) – temple devotee, 𑄟𑄧𑄞 *Ṭhāgrā*) – Crawled, 𑄟𑄫𑄞 (*Ṭhāghur*) – a monk, 𑄟𑄋 (*Ṭhakh*) – a supporting post, 𑄟𑄧𑄢 (*Ṭhagānā*) – to deceive.

𑄠 - Ḍā – (Pronunced as Ḍā (echoed), 𑄠𑄧𑄢 (*Ḍāgānā*) – to call, 𑄠𑄌 𑄯𑄞 (*Ḍāk Ghar)* – Post office, 𑄠𑄬𑄘𑄝 (*Ḍārhām Ṭengā*) – Coins, (𑄠𑄘𑄇𑄘 (*Ḍembalh*) – a lump/tumor.

𑄡 - Ḍhā = (Pronunced as Ḍhā (echoed) - 𑄡𑄌 (*Ḍhāgā*) – thread, 𑄡𑄌 𑄫𑄬 (*Ḍhāgā Sumi*) – Okra/ladies finger, 𑄫𑄫𑄌 (*Ḍhudhukh*) – a musical instrument, 𑄡𑄧𑄢 (*Ḍhāgānā*) – to close.

𑄢 (Pronunced as *Nhā*) 𑄢𑄇𑄝 (Nhādeng) – a game top, 𑄢𑄪 (Bānhā) – riddle.

𑄣 - (Pronunced as *Tā*) 𑄣𑄘 (Tāmā) – Copper, 𑄣𑄞 (Tārā) – star, 𑄣𑄡 (Tājā) – fresh, 𑄣𑄘 (Tālā) – lock, 𑄋𑄇𑄌 (Tadek) – Parrot.

𑄤 - (Pronunced as *Thā*) 𑄤𑄢 (Thānā) – Police Station, 𑄤𑄘𑄢 (Thāmānā) – to stop/halt, 𑄤𑄌 (Thāk) – to remain/shelf, 𑄫𑄬 (Thum) – the end.

𑄥 - (Pronunced as Dā) 𑄥𑄢 (Dābānā) – Thigh, 𑄥𑄣 (Dābā) – Hubble bubble (tobacco pipe), 𑄥𑄢 (Dānā) – corn, 𑄥𑄯 (Dāt) = tooth, 𑄥𑄛 (Dāch) – gnat, 𑄥𑄨 (Dāru) – medicine.

𑄦 - (Pronunced as *Dhā*) 𑄦𑄣 (Dhaba) –race, 𑄦𑄃 (Pādhā) – He goat, 𑄦𑄢 (Dhān) – paddy, 𑄋𑄢 (Dhan) wealth, 𑄦𑄌 (Dhāk) – side, 𑄋𑄯 (Dhak) = appearance, 𑄦𑄬 (Dhāmā) – sword.

𑄧 - (Pronunced as *Nā*) 𑄧𑄥 (Nādā) – numeral, 𑄧𑄫 (Nārhā) – straw, 𑄧𑄞 (Rānā) – widower, 𑄧𑄦 (nādhā) – poor, 𑄧𑄌 (Nāk) = nose, 𑄧𑄡𑄢 (Nājānā) – to dance.

𑄨 - (Pronunced as *Pā*) 𑄨𑄣 (Pābā) – quarter, 𑄨𑄞 (Pārā) – mercury, 𑄨𑄞𑄢 (Pārānā) – to able to do, 𑄨𑄥 (Pādā) – leaf, 𑄨𑄯 (Pān) – betel leaf.

𑄩 - (Pronunced as *Phā*) 𑄩𑄞 (Phārā) – torn/splitted, 𑄩𑄧𑄞 (Phāgārā) a cheat/deceiver, 𑄩𑄡 (Phājhā) – habit, 𑄩𑄮 (Phāgu) – powder, 𑄩𑄛𑄇 (Phānāch) – hot balloon.

𑄪 - (Pronunced as *Bā*) 𑄪𑄥 (Bādā) – award, 𑄪𑄦 (Bādhā)– Prohibition, 𑄪𑄌 (Bāk) – tiger, 𑄪𑄥𑄋 (Bādāli) – chisel, 𑄪𑄋𑄣 (Bāgal) – bark of a tree.

𑄫 - (Pronunced as *Bhā*) 𑄫𑄡 (Bhājā) – dry fry in oil, 𑄫𑄬 (Bhāt) – cooked rice, 𑄥𑄫, (Dābhā) – bride price, 𑄫𑄞 (Bhārā) – rent/fare, 𑄫𑄮𑄌 (Bhāluk) – bear.

𑄬 - (Pronunced as *Mā*) 𑄬𑄘 (Mālā) – garland/ coconut shell, 𑄬𑄪 (Mālhā) – castrated pig 𑄬𑄧𑄢 (Māgānā) – free of cost, 𑄬𑄥𑄢 (Mādānā) – to read, / to talk, 𑄬𑄞𑄢 (Mārānā) – to kill/to beat.

𑄭 (Pronunced as *Yā*) 𑄭𑄣 (Pāyā) – quarter pot/leg portion, 𑄭 𑄮𑄞𑄝 (Yāhuring) – Himalayan goat, 𑄷𑄞𑄣 (Kwareyā) – Frying pan, 𑄷𑄨𑄣 (Kogeyā) – Papaya, 𑄨𑄣 (Keyā) – body.

𑄞 - (Pronunced as *Rā*) 𑄞𑄡 (Raja) – king, 𑄞𑄥 (Rādā) – rooster/cock, 𑄞𑄝 (Rāngā) – red.

𑄘 - (Pronunced as *Lā*). 𑄘𑄞𑄢 (Lārānā) – to use/to move, 𑄘𑄡𑄢 (Lājānā) – to feel shy, 𑄘𑄧𑄢 (Lāgānā) – to be necessary/to attach/to use, 𑄘𑄬𑄢 (Lāmānā) – to step down/to go down/ to draw down.

𑄃 - Pronunced as *Wā* 𑄃𑄋𑄢 (Gāwali) – health, 𑄊𑄖𑄘-𑄃𑄘 (Riksāwālā) – Rikshaw puller, 𑄃𑄝-𑄃𑄝 (Wāng – wāng) – loud.

𑄣 - (Pronunced as *Sā*) 𑄣𑄇 (Sāp) – snake, 𑄣𑄤 (Sālā) – young brother in law, 𑄣𑄎 (Scjāphysical) – Physical punishment, 𑄣𑄞 (Sangu) – climbing ladder, 𑄣𑄤𑄌 (Samuk) – snail.

𑄃 - (Pronounced as high-pitched A) 𑄃𑄟 (Hādānā) – to walk, 𑄃𑄟 (Hājānā) – to lough, 𑄃𑄟 (Hāranā) to loss, 𑄃𑄇 (Hābā) – wind, 𑄃𑄤 (Hālānā) – to lean.

𑄭 - (Pronunced as *Lhā*) 𑄇𑄬𑄭 (Karalhā) – very dirty, 𑄤𑄭 (Mālhā) – castrated pig.

𑄀 - (Pronunced as *Ā*). 𑄀𑄇 (Ādā) – ginger, 𑄀𑄟 (Āgānā) – to draw/, 𑄀𑄍 (Ārā) – saw, 𑄀𑄣 (Ājhā) – hope, 𑄀𑄃 (Āgā) – tender shoot of a plant, 𑄀𑄢 (Ājā) – hug.

To write a word or sentence correctly with proper phonetics some distinct signs are used on certain position of a letter in a script. The Chakma also use certain phonetic signs to represent their vowels and other phonetics, they call them *Mātrā*. The *Mātrās* are basically two kinds, - *Bhare Mātyā* (stretched or deep sounded) and *Chare Mātyā* (shallow or light sounded). Almost all signs have two variety of pattern. In Chakma, the vowel and phonetic signs are called *Mātrā* (pattern) and they are divided into twelve kinds called *Bārha Mātrā* as of *Barah Khari* of Hindi. It is said that the *Mātras* have come from the *Ātdyo Haraks*:

𑄪 > 𑄪𑄧 > 𑄪𑄨

𑄫 > 𑄫 > (> (

𑄬 > 𑄬 > ⁻

The followings are the *Bārha Mātrās*:

1. ***Ā Mātrā*:** It is the Ā pattern which is said to be *Lukh Dyā* meaning hidden/inherent: (1) 𑄇+(𑄣)= 𑄇 = Kā (Ā inherent) the letters of *Ajhā Pāth* have hidden or inherent Ā. Therefore, no extra sign is required to write any Ā sound.

   (2) **Ā?** "*r' Dheil Dyā Āā pattern* (meaning branched Āā). 𑄇+(𑄣+𑄣)= (𑄁)=𑄁 (**Kāā**). It is the stretched or elongated Āā pattern. It is required to write certain words like - 𑄁 (*Kāā*) - a bowl, 𑄁 (*Bāā*) - a nest, 𑄁 (*Lāā*) - plastic, 𑄁 (*Gāā*) -sing, 𑄁 (*Rāā*) – opportunity/path, etc.

2. ***Māchchyā Mātrā* :** (the vowel killer or delete). 𑄇+𑄣 (⁻)=𑄇 **(Kh):** This sign is used to show the deletion of the inherent vowel Ā of a letter. Eg. 𑄇𑄇 (*Kākkā*) younger brother of father, 𑄇𑄇 (*Pākkā*) concrete, 𑄈𑄈 (*Thāl*) - a plate, 𑄇𑄈 (*Pāllā*) - weighing scale, 𑄤𑄎 (*Māch*) - fish, 𑄇𑄟 (*Din*) -day, 𑄇𑄟 (*Kān*) - ear, 𑄈𑄇 (*Nākh*) - nose, 𑄇𑄎 (*Chit*) – liver, etc.

   Note: There is a rule that this *Māchchyā* sign should be used only on twelve letters of the Chakma Script. They are – 𑄇, 𑄉, 𑄋, 𑄌, 𑄍, 𑄏, 𑄐, 𑄑, 𑄒, 𑄓, 𑄔, and 𑄃. If it is used on other letters other than these twelve letters, it will not remain an original Chakma vocabulary.

3. ***Ubortullhyā Mātrā:*** (horizontal pattern). 𑄇+𑄧(ˈ)=𑄁 **(Ka):** This sign is required to make the sound A by putting a line horizontally. This sign is necessary to write an "ā" sounded letter to "a", : 𑄁𑄤 (*kalā*)- banana, 𑄁𑄭𑄤 (*Kamalā*) - orange, 𑄁𑄠𑄟 (*Phaganā*)- balloon/bubble, 𑄁𑄠𑄤 (*Chagalā*) - scale of a fish, 𑄁𑄠𑄢 (*Chadara*) - naked, 𑄭𑄃 (*Madhā*)- miser, 𑄁𑄬𑄭 (*Kajalhā*) stress, etc.

4. **Bānnhyā Mātrā** : (bound pattern): (1) 𑄇+𑄧 (˚)=𑄈 **(Ki) :**This *Bānnhyā* (bound sign) is used to make the vowel phonetic 'I' like, 𑄈𑄇𑄁 (*kijik*)- scissor, 𑄈𑄇 (*piji*)- beads, 𑄈𑄋 (*kini)*- buy, 𑄈𑄇 (*biji)*- seed, 𑄈𑄉 (*dhingi*) - rice pounder, 𑄇𑄁(*kali*)- colour, 𑄁𑄈 (*Ghādhi)* - stire, 𑄭𑄈 (*māli*) - flower gardener, etc.

(2) Bānhi Phudho Dyā Mātrā (Bound and dot pattern). 𑄌+𑄳 (◌𑄴)=𑄍 **(Kee):** This *Bānhi Phudo* sign is used to give more stretch to the vowel 'I', i.e. To make 'ce' for writing like =𑄍 (kee)- what, 𑄛 (chhee) – disgust, etc.

5. **Ṭānnyā Mātrā** (draw pattern) : (1) *Ek Ṭān Dyā* (single line draw) 𑄌+𑄬 (◌𑄬)=𑄎 (Ku): This sign is used to make the vowel sign 'U' to write = 𑄎𑄘 *?(kudhu)*- where, 𑄎𑄘𑄌 *(kuduk)* - porcupine, 𑄎𑄃, *(Kuju)* - taro, 𑄎𑄉 (*Duri*) - rope, 𑄎𑄟 (*Kharu*) - bangle, 𑄎𑄉 (*Luri*) - traditional monk, 𑄎𑄍 (*Kugi*) - a Kuki, 𑄀𑄎 (*Alu*) - yam, 𑄎𑄥 (*Muli*)- leavening agent (yeast made of rice flour and herb to ferment rice for making alcohol), 𑄎𑄘 (*Budhu*) - stem, 𑄋𑄎 (*Ulu)*- elephant apple, etc. (2) Dwi Ṭān Dyā Matrā (Double draw line) 𑄌+ 𑄬 (◌𑄬) sign is used to give more stretch to the vowel sound U like 'oo' for writing - 𑄖 (joo) salute, 𑄟 (roo) soul, 𑄇𑄧 (Doom) falling sound, etc.

6. **E Kār Dyā Mātrā** (The 'E' Sign Pattern) : (1) E kār : 𑄌+𑄢 (◌𑄧)=𑄐 **(Ke):** This sign is used to make the vowel sign E like 𑄐𑄤 (*Gelha*)- went, 𑄐𑄝 (*Kelā*) - art, 𑄐𑄤 (*Kelha*)- stanza, 𑄐𑄕 (*Gech*) - sprout, 𑄟𑄍 (*Kher* pronounced her)- grass, 𑄇𑄧 (*Dem*) - lump, 𑄐𑄌 (*Pek*) - clay, etc. (2) Dwi E Kār (double E pattern). 𑄌+𑄢 (◌𑄧)=𑄐 **(Key):** This sign is used to make 'ey' 𑄉𑄐 (*jey*) - whatever, 𑄍𑄐 (*Keyi*)- for/so, 𑄉𑄐 𑄇𑄟𑄢𑄍 𑄇𑄢𑄘𑄴 (*Je jey kabhār kwadhok*) whoever may say what they want to say, 𑄇𑄟 𑄉𑄐 𑄟𑄢𑄍𑄢𑄍 𑄟𑄢𑄘𑄴 (*je jey khebhār khādhok)* Whoever may eat as they desire, etc.

7. **Dheil Dyā Mātrā** (branched pattern). (1) Dheil Bhāngā Mātrā (Broken Branched Pattern) –𑄌 +𑄳 (◌𑄰) = 𑄍 **(Kāi) :** This sign is used to make the vowel sound 'ai' – like 𑄇 𑄀𑄣-(dāi mārā) - guaranteed, 𑄍𑄇 𑄬𑄢𑄥 𑄀𑄣𑄘 (Pāi pāi sujho puribo) - has to be refunded to every penny, 𑄟𑄍 (Gāi gāi) – alone, 𑄐𑄀𑄍 (Kāmārāi)- bites, 𑄐𑄍P (Lāgāi)– plants/to make use, 𑄐𑄰 (Kāmāi) - earns, 𑄐𑄇 (Kādāi) - adjusts/adapts, 𑄐𑄈 (Kājāi) – clears/cleans, 𑄀𑄇 (Mādāi) - reads/ speaks, 𑄀𑄍 (Lārāi) - moves, etc.

(2) Ek Ādhi Dheil Gādhei Dyā Mātrā Ei (Single branch attachment Ei) –𑄌+𑄴 (◌𑄲) = 𑄋 = **Kei:** This sound is used to make the vowel sound 'ei'. It is seldom used alone. Eg. 𑄴 𑄟𑄢𑄬 (*Tai garānhā*)- to fix/to resolve, 𑄲 𑄐𑄎 (*Kai Tengā*) - what is the price, 𑄴 (*lai*) - takes, 𑄀𑄘𑄴 (*Baidhak*) – seat, 𑄋 (*Chei*) - a fishing scoop, 𑄋 (*Lei*) - a rice basket, 𑄋 (*Nei*) - not available, 𑄉𑄋 (*Khabei)*- give to eat, 𑄋 (*Dhei*) - to flee/ let us flee, etc.

(3) Dwi Ādhi Dheil Gādhei Dyā Mātrā Eii (Double branches attached Eii) –𑄌+𑄴 (◌𑄲) = 𑄋 = **Keii :** This sign is used to make the vowel sound 'Eii', e.g., 𑄐𑄋 (*Neii*) - navel, 𑄋 (*Cheii*) – to look/let's look/let's watch, 𑄟𑄋 (*Geii*) – let's sing, 𑄤𑄟𑄋 (*Lareii*) - battle, etc.

8. **BĀJHEI DYĀ MĀTRĀ** (sticking (below) pattern)/Jāmā Mātrā: **(1)***Hā Bājhei Dyā* (Hā attached Pattern). 𑄌 + 𑄙 (𑄙) = 𑄎 **(Khā)**: "◌𑄳" *Hā Mātrā* - There is a rule in **Chāngmhā** alphabet that a normal sounded letter may be transformed into a deep sounded letter by simply putting the letter T(Hā), e.g., 𑄕𑄎𑄬 (*Chāngmhā*), the Chakmas, 𑄬𑄎𑄬 (*mhāmrā*) - cucumber, 𑄆𑄙𑄉 (*Patthān*) - the road, 𑄝𑄙𑄉 (*Bhātthun*) - the rice, 𑄁𑄟 (*Nārhā*) - straw, 𑄀𑄙 (*Mānhā*) - prohibition, 𑄆𑄙𑄉 (*Pallhān*) - hunter, 𑄟𑄎𑄕 (*Rhākchā*) - roof rafter, 𑄌𑄎 (*Kapphu*) - a Mizo, 𑄇𑄎 (*Kommha*) - how big?, 𑄬𑄙𑄎 (*Sullhuk*) - discussion, etc.

It is also used to transform a low pitched sound into a high pitched sound (a short sound into a long sound), e.g., 𑄆𑄌𑄆 (*Pucca*) – concrete, to 𑄆𑄎 (*Pākkhā*) – whirl/ circle around; 𑄇𑄝𑄝*(Kattā*) - My Lord, to 𑄇𑄙 (*Katthā*) – part/piece; 𑄤𑄐 (*Lāng*) – lover, to 𑄤𑄬 (Lānghā)

- thread coiler; 𑄝𑄪 (Bānā) - only/flag, to 𑄝𑄬𑄢 (Bānhā) riddle; 𑄝𑄌𑄝 (Bāchchā) - kid to 𑄝𑄌𑄟𑄝 (Bachchhak) - wait; 𑄝𑄦 (Pārā) a village/mercury to 𑄝𑄥 (Pārhā) - to the size, etc.

(2) " ◌𑄳 "Nā *Bājhei Dyā* Mātrā (Nā Pattern) 𑄛 + 𑄳 (𑄪) = 𑄅 **(Knā)** This pattern is to pronounce 'Nā' with other letter/s. 𑄅𑄨𑄢 (rukna) - sick, 𑄅𑄢𑄅 (Kaknhc) - when, 𑄅𑄬𑄘 (Sncha) - affection, 𑄅𑄌 (Chnu) - Baby's male organ, 𑄘𑄛𑄅 (Makgna) - decided, 𑄅𑄬𑄢 (Ratna) - gem, 𑄌𑄬𑄢 (Jatna) - care.

(3) " ◌𑄴 " Lā Mātrā (Lā Pattern): 𑄛 + 𑄴 (𑄇) = 𑄆 **(Klā):** This pattern is to pronounce 'Lā' with other letters: 𑄆𑄬𑄢 (MlechChha) - Arabian, 𑄆𑄛 (Klech) - sorrow, 𑄆𑄉 (Tlang) - the Tlang river, 𑄞𑄆𑄉 (Khakklang) - a falling sound, 𑄆𑄟 (Kluk) - sealed, 𑄆𑄥 (Plap) - act of waving a fish hook stick while fishing, 𑄇𑄌 𑄘𑄞 (Gling-glangman) - fickle mind.

(4) Wā Pattern: Wā Bajhei dyā (Wā attached) 𑄛 + 𑄘 (𑄎) = 𑄃 (Kwā). It is used to make the 'wa' like 𑄃𑄉 (Khwāng) - valley, 𑄃 (Kwa) - a well, 𑄆 (Lwa) - blood, 𑄥 (Pwa) - child, 𑄃𑄆 (Gulwa) - fruit, 𑄌𑄞 (Chwar) - slap, 𑄇𑄞 (Dwar) - door, 𑄎 (Rwā) - roof rafter, 𑄤 (Nwa) - new, etc.

(5) Wā Bājhei Phudho Dye Mātrā (wā attached with dot)- 𑄛+𑄘 (𑄏)=𑄄= Kwhā-It is used to give more stretch to wā and make it Whā eg., 𑄄(Lwha) -iron, 𑄃𑄤 (Kurwha) - chicken, 𑄃 (Kwha)- say, 𑄃 (Bwha)-carry, 𑄘𑄌 (Machchwha)- the fish, 𑄅𑄞 (Rwhan) - garlic, 𑄃𑄤 (Burwha) - the old, 𑄇𑄛𑄥 (Jutdhwha)- battle, etc.

9. O Mātrā (O sign)- (1) 𑄛+ (𑄘 + 𑄀) 𑄘𑄀 (𑄐) = 𑄥 (𑄐) = **(Ko)**. It is used to make the vowel sign 'O' eg. 𑄌𑄧 (*Chol*) - rice, 𑄥𑄧 (*Kol*) - quarrel, 𑄇𑄧 (*Dol*) - beautiful, 𑄇𑄛 (*Doth*) - ring worm, 𑄧𑄘 (*Moch*) - buffalo, 𑄧𑄞 (*Mon*) - hill, 𑄌𑄧 (*Chokh*) - eye, 𑄇𑄧 (*Jol*)- disturbing/noisy, 𑄃𑄉 (*Gor*) - grave, 𑄧𑄟 (*Mok*) - wife, 𑄝𑄘 (*Bhoch*) elder/older brother's wife/small buffalo, etc. This sign is available in the book 'Chakma Jati' by Satish Chandra Ghosh of 1913.

(2) OU Kār **(Ou sign)** - 𑄛+ (𑄘 +𑄁) = 𑄥 (𑄑) (Kou) – This sign is required to write words like 𑄞𑄛 (*Jouk*) -Let it go, 𑄥𑄛 (*Kohukh*)- Let it be, 𑄥𑄛 (Poukh) -Let it get, etc.

10. **Phalā Mātrā (Symbol Pattern)** (1) Yā Phalā. 𑄛+ 𑄌 (𑄘𑄬) =𑄘𑄬 **=Kye**. It is also a conjunct sign. It is used by attaching it at the right lower bottom. It is for making the sound 'ya' e.g. 𑄌𑄬𑄞 (*Chhākkye*) - strained, 𑄇𑄬𑄞 (*Tānnye*) - drawn, 𑄌𑄬𑄞 (*Jāllye*) - fisherman, 𑄤𑄬𑄞 (*Lāmmye*) - down, 𑄌𑄬𑄞 (*Chāmmye*) - skinny, 𑄘𑄬𑄞 (*Sāāppye*) - the European, 𑄘𑄬𑄞 (*Sāppye*) - the snake charmer, 𑄘𑄌 (*Kyech*) -estimation, 𑄧𑄬𑄞 (Milye) - woman, 𑄛𑄬𑄞 (*Pilye*) - cooking pot/cooker, etc.

(2) Rā Phalhā (Rā Pattern). It is also a conjunct sign used to represent the letter Rā. 𑄛+𑄎 (𑄘𑄢) = 𑄆 **(Krā)** - It is attached at the bottom. Eg. 𑄌𑄫 (*Chāmmrā*) - skin/leather, 𑄫𑄫 (*Mhāmmrā*) - a shorty hilly cucumber, 𑄝𑄃𑄇 (*Bhatdra*) - clean gentleman, 𑄆𑄉 (*Krangā*) - star fruit, 𑄆𑄝 (*Kralhā*)- dry and dirty, 𑄆𑄫 (*Kram*) - action, 𑄆𑄫 (*Nram*) – gentle/soft, 𑄆𑄝𑄋 (*Kralhee*) - sand, 𑄆𑄝 (*Bralhā*) - rough, 𑄎𑄫𑄆 𑄎𑄃 (*Tumbru Khārā*) - magic combat, 𑄆 (*Tri*) - women, 𑄫𑄆 (*Mrukkho*) - idiot, etc.

11. Phudho Dyā Mātrā (Dotted Pattern). (1) Ek Phudho Dyā Mātrā (single dot). This sign is used to sound as 'ng' like 𑄀 - (*Pāng*) a sound, 𑄌 (*Chāng*) – empty/penniless, 𑄌𑄋 𑄌𑄆𑄇𑄆 (*Ching chhing Sudottubi*) the little *Sudotubi* (common tailorbird), etc. It is to note that Ek Phudho and Chilāma Ngā sounds the same "Nga" but Chilāma Ngā may be used to write a noun.

(2) Dwi Phudho DyāMātrā (Double dot): It is used to express exclamation like 𑄋 (*Cheeh*)! – utter disgust, 𑄁 (Hāh) ! - Hā, 𑄘𑄌 (Oh)! Oh, 𑄏 (Bāh)! – bravo, etc.

(3) Chānd Phudho DyāMātrā (Moon and dot). It is used to give nasal sound like, 𑄛𑄌𑄢 (Pi Āyāch) - onion, 𑄛𑄏 (Pānth) - fart, 𑄇𑄏 (*Nanch*) - Nasal inhaler. 𑄥𑄪𑄪 (Kānnānā) - to cry, etc.

12. **Jadā Okkhor (Conjuncts):** The Chakma vocabularies can be written with the above 11 (eleven) patterns of signs but there is the use of *Jadā Okkhor* or conjuncts which are the

consonant clusters and are absolutely necessary for transliteration from other language. It was actually used for writing the *Āghar Tārās*. The letters are composed by joining side by side or one upon another. In the side by side composition, the first letter loses its inherent vowel sound Ā and sounds like a vowel deleted letter and the letters which are composed one upon another are pronounced together. The use of conjunct letters may be avoided by using the *Māchchyā* (vowel delete/killer) sign. Some of the *Jodā Okkhor* or Joint letters or conjuncts are as under:

Some people may not agree with the use of the signs ৲, ৳, ৺ but these signs were originally available in our script as we cannot write our vocabularies correctly without these signs.

Some *Jadā Okkhor* or conjuncts are said to be in use in the Chakma Script. But their usage may be avoided by using the *Māchchyā* (vowel delete/killer). Some of them are given below:

𑄍+𑄇 = 𑄈 𑄍+𑄉 = 𑄊 𑄍+𑄋 = 𑄌 𑄍+𑄏 = 𑄐
𑄋+𑄐 = 𑄑 𑄋+𑄒 = 𑄓 𑄋+𑄖 = 𑄗 𑄇+𑄘 = 𑄙
𑄍+𑄚 = 𑄛 𑄍+𑄜 = 𑄝 𑄇+𑄐 = 𑄞 𑄜+𑄐 = 𑄟
𑄋+𑄋 = 𑄋𑄋 𑄍+𑄠 = 𑄡 𑄢+𑄣 = 𑄤 𑄢+𑄘 = 𑄥
𑄦+𑄧 = 𑄧𑄦 𑄎+𑄖 = 𑄎𑄖.

There may also be a debate on what is the shape of the letters. There is a saying that *'Chāngmhā leghāgule dol, Bānglā leghā kune dole āā Ingreji Leghā tānāi dol* (Chakma script is beautiful in round shape, Bengali in Angular and English in cursive shape). But the shapes seem to be round but it is not fully round and a bit rectangular. It should be a crab shaped. Since the Chakmas always compare a beautiful letter with a crab saying *–Kāngārhā Pārhā Pārhā Okkhor* (crab shaped letter).

In Chāngmhā as a rule we can put the *Māchchyā* sign (vowel killer/delete) only on 12 (twelve) letters. Further there is a difference in the pronunciation of the letter K, KH, and H. As a result, there is difficulty in the exact transliteration from other language. I would therefore suggest to put one. (dot) to a letter to remind us to pronounce as in other language. It will also remind us that such a word is not a Chakma word and it should be pronounced differently and not in Chakma style.

The shape of the Chakma letters is a bit rectangular. It is therefore described as '***Kāngārhā Pārhā Pārhā Akkhyar'*** (crab shaped letters) to mention a clear writing.

As already stated, the Chakma *Script (Chāngmhā Leghā*) has got only 37 letters which are *Ā* inherent (including the borrowed 𑄃,) which is said to have been borrowed from the Burmese. It is therefore sometimes called *'Maghā Jā'* since the Chakma call the Burmese /Arakanese as *'Mak'*. It has got same meaning and sound as the original Chakma *Jā* (𑄌) which was also incorporated by Dr. Gierrson in 1903 in the ***Ajhā Pāth*** Chart). The Chakma script has got no substitute for the ***letter F, V*** and Z of the English alphabet and '***antastha Ja, tālabya Sha and Murdannya Sha*** of the Bengali alphabet. But some people in Bangladesh are trying to Bengalinise it. The Chakma letters are more familiar with Hindi letters and signs. Out of the above 37 letters only 34 letters may be used independently as given in the ***Ajhā Pāth.*** The other three letter 𑄃 𑄦 and 𑄧 should not be used independently and should be blended with other letters or sign. But they may be used independently in a talisman and magic design. These three letters are regarded as the source of vowel signs. There are twelve kind of patterns called ***mātrās*** (signs) ***called 'Bārha Matra'*** in the Chakma script. Out of which there is a laid rule that the 'māchchyā mātrā (vowel delete/killer sign, halanta/hasanta in hindi/Bengali) should be used only on 𑄇 K, 𑄃 Ng,

𑄇 Ch, 𑄈 N, 𑄉 T, 𑄊 N, 𑄋 P, 𑄌 M, 𑄍 Y, 𑄎 R, 𑄏 L and 𑄋𑄧 OW, otherwise it will no more be a Chāngmhā language as the other letters get changed at the second and other positions.

The original words of Sanskrit or other language always transforms when it comes to Chakma. There are certain rules as to which letters or sound should transform into Chakma. The flowing examples may clear my points.

In *Chāngmhā* the letter *Kā* represents Khā, Gā, and Ghā. The letter *Chā* also represents the letters Chhā, Jā, Jhā, Sā and Shā. The letter *Tā* represents Thā, Żā, Żhā, Dā, Dhā, Ḍā and Ḍā. The letter *Pā* represents Phā, Bā and Bhā. The letter *Lā* represents the letter Lhā. Therefore, the *Māchchyā* sign or vowel deleter/vowel killer is not used on these letters.

In Chakma, the inherent vowel sign ā is deleted only on twelve letters, i.e., Kā, Ngā, Chā, Ṇā, Tā, Nā, Pā, Mā, Yā, Rā, Lā, and Wā. Use of vowel deleter *Māchchyā* on any letter other than these twelve letters will transform a Chakma word into non-Chakma.

A word of Sanskrit, Bengali or other languages with Kā, Khā without a *māchchyā* or vowel delete sign always transforms into *gā* and ghā at the second or other positions. Likewise, *Chā*, Chhā *Chhā*, *Sā* and *Shā* always transforms into *Jā* and *Jhā* from the second position. Likewise, *Tā, Thā transforms* into *Dā* and *Dhā, Pā Phā* transforms into *Bā* and *Bhā*. For example, let us take the root word as – 'ak' and a word 'Kak' (end coil of a basket or mate). From kak we get> Kakkhyā (a basket), Kakkhān (how long), Kaghat (at the end coil), Kagha ugure (on the end coil), Kakkhānhat, (at the end coil), Kaganā (dirty), Kagil (cuckoo). Kagarā (stale), Kaghe kaghe (between the coil), Khagarāā (behind the knee), Kakkheng (gecko), etc. Kāk (coil)> Kāghat (at the coil), Kāga chhere (between the coil), Kāgaji (lemon), Kākkyā (bamoo rafter), Kāgwach (paper), Kāgwai (comb), etc. Likewise, when there is no māchchyā we get from 'Bāk >Bāgat, >Bāgamādhat, >Bāgha mādhat, >Bāga lejāt, >Bāgha lejhat, >Bāganhi, >Bāginhi, >Bāghe, >Bāge, >Bāgi. From 'Ch' >Bāch (bamboo), Bāchchhun (the bamboos), Bājha Keim (bamboo chips), Bach dhwar (Bamboo slip), Bājha Chārā (bamboo plant), Bhāchsuri (bamboo shoot), Bājhee, Bāje, Bājai, Bājhā, Baji. From 'T' >Bhāt >Bhatthun, Bhādha rāt, Bhādha mu, Bhāde. From 'P' >Pāp, Pābe, Pābar phale, Pābi, Pābe-nālhe, Path (road), Patthān (the road), Padhat (at the road), Patthanhat (on the road), Padha Pājārāt (at the side of the road,

a. In a negative sentence with prefix a word with P change into B e.g., Pārim >Na bārim.

b. There is no identical letter for the letters F, V and Z in Chāngmhā.

c. When the vowel sound is deleted on S in Bengali, it gets elongated e.g., *Mhāch* (mas/ month), *Bāhch* (bus/water guord shell). Sāhch Kabar (sash Kapad), Sandrach (Santras), Ullajhe (Ullase).

d. The letters K, Ch, T, P, etc., also losses its Sanskrit/Bengali sound without the ***māchchā*** or vowel delete sign at the second or other positions and becomes kh, G, gh; chh, J, jh; T, D, dh, Ph, B, Bh, of Sanskrit/Bengali or other languages e.g., *Bak* (heron) >Bagā, Māchher Jhol (fish soup) >Mājha jhul, Māthe (on the ground) >Mādhāt, Māpe (measures) >Mābe, Bāgh (tiger) >Bāk, Bāj (thunder) >Āgājha Bācjh, Pada (kind)– >Pat, and Lābh (profit) >Lāp, Such (needle) >Such, Sujha Pājhee (eye of needle), Marich >Murich >MurijoJhāl, Kusum >Kujhum, Kanti >Kandhi, Bikash >Bigach, Bākar >Baghwar, Priyankar >Piranggar, Subankar >Subhanggar, Bhushan >Bhujhan, Bhojhan >Bhujhan, Dhanvati >Dhanpudi, Prahlad >Pralhat, Ashish >Ājhich, Gautam >Gudam, Sashi >Sujhi, Debasish >Debajhich, Arati >Āradi, Arya Dev >Achjya Dep, Arya Metta Buddha >Āryā Midingā Pharhā.

c. English words also change when it comes to Chakma, e.g. Battery – *Bedārhi*, Radio – *Redhigo*, Bulb- *Bhālp*, Flask – *Phelāch*, Photo – *Phudhu*, Negative – *Negethip*, *Paper –Pebhār*, Juice – *Juch*, Fish – *Phich*, Duck – *Dāāk*, Peace – *Phich*, Sword – *Swot*, Drum – *Derhām*, Tree – *Tirhi*, Potato – *Podhedo*, Shame – *Shaim*, Work – *Wohk*, *Chilly – Sili*, Advance– *Heitbach*, Bank – *Benggha*, Governor – *Gobhonnhor*, Doctor– *Dāktar*, Vote – *Bhut*, Centre – *Chendhār*, Class – *Kelhāch*, Sir – *Sār*, Train – Terein, Table – *Tebhil*, Show – *So*, Fan – *Phen*, Hostel – *Hochtel*, Khāki – *Khāghi*, Plastic – *Pelāchthik*, Road – *Roht*, Office – *Obhich*, Lamp – Lembha, Post – *Pohch*, Present- *Prejhen*, Cup – *Khap*, Plate – *Peleit*, Milc – *Meil*, Switch – *Such*, Blouse – Belahuch, Onion – *Wonhion*, College – *Kolhech*, Glass – Galhach, Computer – *Kombhyudār*, Bus – *Bāāch*, Stove – *Ichtup*, Sub-division – *Sapdibijhon*, Love – Lāāp, Lord – Lāt, etc.

Chakma Pronunciation

1. Words with K : In pronuncing K in Chāngmhā (Chakma) the tongue should not touch the*tāgārā*/upper jaw: e.g., 𑄇𑄟𑄨 *Kābā* (amputed/cut), 𑄇𑄟 *Kabā* (crow), 𑄇𑄟𑄯 *Kabach* (a talisman/ amulet), 𑄇𑄝𑄪𑄟 *Kābil* (efficient), 𑄇𑄯 *Kāch* (cough), 𑄇𑄞 *Kādā* (thorn), 𑄇𑄞 𑄮𑄢𑄧 *Kādā* Lemu (lemon), 𑄇𑄞 𑄅𑄮𑄯 *Kādā Mārech* (thorny green amaranth), 𑄇𑄢𑄅 *Kādāmā* (a tropical skin disease), 𑄇𑄞𑄎 *Kadarā* (bowl), 𑄇𑄇𑄍 *Kadhak?* (how much), 𑄇𑄇 Kādhee (stirring stick for cooking), 𑄇𑄇𑄤 *Kaganā* (dirty), 𑄇𑄤𑄬 𑄢𑄪𑄇 Kanna phulee (Karnafuli). 𑄇𑄉, *Kājā* (edge/raw/green), 𑄇𑄬𑄅 *Kajamā* (young), 𑄇𑄬𑄬𑄞 *Kaja-maja* (murmur/irritate), 𑄇𑄌𑄢 Kājānhā (to cough), 𑄇𑄤𑄣 *Kājhan* (a magic chanted thread), 𑄇𑄣 *Kājhee* (rope), 𑄇𑄉 𑄢𑄪𑄢𑄣 *Kāji hwolot* (raw turmaric), 𑄇𑄬𑄐 *Kājlang* (Kasalong), 𑄇𑄟𑄎 *Kakkheng* (gecko), 𑄇𑄃 Kākkyā (a bamboo rafter), 𑄇𑄛 *Kāl* (deaf), 𑄇𑄤 *Kalā* (banana), 𑄇𑄤 *Kālā* (black). 𑄇𑄬𑄅 *Kalam* (pen), 𑄇𑄤𑄝𑄇 *Kalindi* (the late hakma queen) 𑄇𑄛𑄇 *Kalkādā* (Kolkata), 𑄇𑄢𑄃 *Kāllhyā* (the deaf), 𑄇𑄢𑄐 *Kāllwhang* (typical common Chakma bamboo basket meant for carrying on the back), 𑄇𑄃 𑄖𑄬 *Kāllyā jiryā* (black cumin), 𑄇𑄛 𑄟𑄬 *Kalbaturu* (the imaginary divine tree of heaven, which yields every wished things), 𑄇𑄟 *Kam* (less), 𑄇𑄟 *Kām* (work), 𑄇𑄬𑄤 *Kamalā* (orange), 𑄇𑄬𑄢 *Kamale* (when), 𑄇𑄬𑄎 *Kāmar* (bite), 𑄇𑄬𑄎 *Kamar* (waist), 𑄇𑄅𑄇𑄤 *Kambal* (blanket),𑄇𑄢 *Kāmhā* (edge of a hill or ravine), 𑄇𑄢𑄐 𑄖𑄭 *Kāmrāng bini* (Kāmrāng a kind of sticky rice), 'কাঁদল *Kandāl* (a citrus fruit), 𑄇𑄅𑄢 *Kāndrā* (the crier), 𑄇𑄐𑄎 *Kāngārhā* (crab), 𑄇𑄐𑄎𑄢 𑄌𑄤 *Kāngārhā Gulwa* (Spur guard), 𑄇𑄖𑄪 *Kāngeil* (backbone), 𑄇𑄢𑄖𑄪 *Kāngghеit* (the end of a cylinder of a bamboo), 𑄇𑄢 Kānhā (shoulder), 𑄇𑄐𑄞 *Kānjabā* (side of the face), 𑄇𑄢𑄬 *Kānji* (rice beer of common rice), 𑄇𑄢𑄎 *Karhat* (tender shoot of a tree/grass. On the lap), 𑄇𑄎𑄤𑄪/𑄇𑄤𑄤𑄪 Karjāl/ Kachchāl (a shoulder bag), 𑄇𑄎𑄤𑄇 *Kārmā pādā* (indigo leaves), 𑄇𑄎𑄪 *Kārtā* (Lord), *Kattā* 𑄇𑄛𑄪 (piece of a lengthy material), 𑄇𑄣𑄢𑄪 *Kātthwol* (jack fruit), 𑄇𑄤𑄎 Kalgi (tobacco pot of a hooka), 𑄇𑄇 Kadhā (talk), 𑄇𑄌 Kei (mosses), 𑄇𑄌 Keii (for, so, therefore), 𑄎 𑄬𑄢 Kāi Phal (a medicinal fruit), 𑄇𑄉 Kurwa (collect), 𑄇𑄣𑄢𑄃 *Kāttollhyā* (the owner of jack fruit), 𑄇𑄃 𑄤𑄬 *Kāttyāsudho* (spinned thread), 𑄇𑄐𑄉 *Kebāng* (the process of roasting wrapping in banana leaves), 𑄇𑄇𑄎𑄪 *Kedāktuk* (bamboo beam of a house floor above the cross beam), 𑄇𑄇𑄎 Kegar (tick eyed), 𑄎𑄪 *Keim* (small bamboo chip), 𑄇𑄎𑄪 *Kereit* (cane), *Kangadhā* (the collar), 𑄎𑄬 *Kiding* (tremble in cold), 𑄎𑄬𑄎 Kijik (scissor), 𑄎𑄎𑄢 *Kirbyā* (pampering), 𑄎𑄎𑄢 *Kirmat* (miser), 𑄇𑄢𑄬 Kojoi (a tamarind like fruit of a thorny creeper used as sanctifying agent), 𑄇𑄢𑄐𑄉 𑄢𑄇 *Komreng puk* (the elephant beetle), 𑄇𑄢𑄤 Korbwa (salad with chilly paste), 𑄇𑄎 𑄇𑄇 *Kradi Āgā* (a kind of palm shoot), 𑄇𑄉 *Krangā* (star fruit), 𑄇𑄉 *Krenghā* (an infant ailment), 𑄎𑄬𑄪 *Kirich* (sword), 𑄇𑄢𑄃 *Kuchchyā* (mortar), 𑄇𑄢𑄃 𑄃𑄬 *Kuchchyā Māch* (a kind of eel), 𑄇𑄢𑄢𑄃𑄪 *Kuchsyāl* (sugarcane), 𑄇𑄌 𑄇𑄤 *Kudhu gulo* (water gourd), 𑄇𑄎𑄇 *Kuduk* (porcupine), 𑄇𑄎 *Kugi* (Kukis), 𑄇𑄇𑄎 *Kugur (dog)*, 𑄇𑄣 *Kujhi* (tender/young), 𑄇𑄧 *Kuju* (taro), 𑄇𑄤 *Kulo* (shieve), 𑄇𑄬 *Kum* (pitcher),𑄇𑄬-𑄣𑄬 *Kum-Kutti* (pottery), 𑄇𑄬𑄤 *Kumurhwa* (ash gourd), 𑄇𑄐

ꑍꑉꑳ *Kup Mārana* (to give a chop). ꑍꑲꑴ *Kurhi Kurhi* (hen). ꑍꑲꑳꑴ *Kurhum* (a typical small basket meant to bind at the waist at the time of sowing paddy, etc., seeds). ꑍꑲꑴ *Kurhwa* (chicken). ꑍꑲ *Kuri* (twenty). ꑍꑴ *Kutti* (earthen jug with a pipe). ꑍꑴꑲ *Kuttyāri* (irritative person). ꑍꑴ *Kwai* (called). ꑍꑲ *Khuwāi* (opens). ꑍꑲ *Kwā* (well). ꑍꑲꑭ *Kwador* (dove). ꑍꑲꑷꑲ *Kwalgi* the tobacco pot of a hubble bubble/Hookka). ꑍꑲꑷ *Kwali* (miser). ꑍꑳ *Kyāch* (estimate, Suspicion). ꑍꑳ *Kyang* (temple), etc.

2. Letters with Kh : In pronouncing a *Chāngmhā*/Chakma words with Kh. It should be pronounced as normal English H.:-ꑭꑲ *Khāli* (empty). ꑭꑵꑭ *Khedhār* (elephant catching trap). ꑭꑳꑵ *Khāchsyāng* (a typical common Chakma basket with pores). ꑭꑳ *Khāl* (a canal). ꑭꑵꑵꑵ *Khāk-keim* (a typical bamboo chip used to clean). ꑭꑵꑭ *Khāgārā* (reed). ꑭꑷꑭ *Khagharhā* (back of knee). ꑭꑵ *Khāi* (he/she eats). ꑭꑳ *Khārhoo* (bangle). ꑭꑲ *Kharha* (sour). ꑭꑵ *Khegha* (blunt). ꑭꑳ *Khuch* (foot print/step). ꑭꑷꑷꑳ *Khattāl* (quarrel some female). ꑭꑳ *Khul* (head). ꑭꑳ *Khām* (post). ꑭꑳ *Khātthā* (exercise book). ꑭꑭ *Khan* (stammerer). ꑭꑵ *Khandhā* (a small digging rod). ꑭꑲꑵ *Khangadhā* (hocky stick). ꑭꑲꑳ *Kharham* (wooden sandal). ꑭꑳ *Khāllyā* (empty). ꑭꑳ *Khollyā* (pocket/shoulder bag). ꑭꑭ *Kher* (grass). ꑭꑵꑭ Kheir (eating). ꑭꑳ Khut (broken grain of rice). ꑭꑳ *Khāttyā* (closed, especially eye). ꑭꑴ *Khujhee* (happy). ꑭꑳꑭ *Khutthur* (seventy). ꑭꑷꑵ *Khenggrang* (a typical Chakma musical harp). ꑭꑳ *Khutthwo* (Younger brothers/younger cousins of father). ꑭꑲ *Khurwa* (address to younger uncles) ꑭꑳ *Khām* (post). ꑭꑵ ꑵꑭ *Khoda dena* (to poke). ꑭꑳꑵ *Khachshyak* (behaviour). ꑭꑳ *Khāllyā* (state of emptiness). ꑭꑲꑵ *Kharhach* (expenditure). ꑭꑲ ꑍꑲ *Kharha gulwa* (sour fruit). ꑭꑳ *Khullyā* (state of openness). ꑭꑲꑳ *Khurwal* (axe). ꑭꑳꑳꑵ *Khormoch* (melon). ꑭꑵ *Khach* (eczema). ꑭꑳꑵ ꑍꑳ *Khammrang gach* (a tree). ꑭꑴ *Khājhi* (snacks taken with wine) ꑭꑵ *Khai* (eats). ꑭꑵ *Khwai* (popped corn). ꑭꑵ *Khwhei* (we open). ꑭꑳ ꑫꑵ *Khāch Jāga* (Govt. land). ꑭꑳ ꑭ ꑭꑭ *Khāch na garānhā* (not to fear/care). ꑭꑳ ꑵꑵ *Khāchsya pādhā* (tobacco leaves). ꑭꑳ *Khājhā* (a busket). ꑭꑳꑲ *Khājhur* (dates). ꑭꑳꑵ *Khālhik* (but). ꑭꑳꑵ *Khilhik* (betel roll). ꑭꑳꑭ *Khāmhār* (hut/house of agricultural land). ꑭꑲ ꑴꑷꑴ *Khāra Pānhi* (alkali/ash water). ꑭꑵꑳ *Khātdya* (food). ꑭꑵ *Kheyi* (eat (we)). ꑭꑵꑵꑭ *Khekkreck* (a toy gun made of bamboo). *Khengedha* (ꑭꑵꑵ (thin). ꑭꑳꑵ *Khilhik* (roll, especially betel). ꑭꑵꑭ/ꑭꑳꑭ *Khirgi* (window). ꑭꑵꑵ *Khabang* (head gear). ꑭꑵꑭ *Khabhar* (news). ꑭꑵꑭꑳ *Khach-khachsyā* (rough). ꑭꑳꑵꑵ *Khachsya beng* (frog). ꑭꑳꑵꑷꑭ *Khochsya Gandrhak* (sulphur). ꑭꑳ *Khaghā*, (roll. ꑭꑳꑭ *Khajhāl* (great strong man). ꑭꑳꑭ *Khajharānā* (explore) ꑭꑵ *Khak* (fold). ꑭꑵ ꑫꑭ *Khak Kānā* (folded eared). ꑭꑭ *Khalhā* (dry fry). ꑭꑳꑭ Khalghānā (to shake). ꑭꑭ ꑍꑲ *Khanhā gulwa* (a vegetable fruit). ꑭꑭ-ꑭꑭ *Khan-khan* (stammering) ꑭꑷꑭ. *Khudhonā* (to bite especially by a snake/ to perforate). ꑭꑳꑲ *Khujhurha* (retail/uncountable). ꑭꑳ *Khul* (head). ꑭꑷꑳꑷ *Khulho chārhā* (piece of scull). ꑭꑳ *Khulee* (headed, female). ꑭꑳ *Khulhi* (chanber/cabin). ꑭꑷ *Khulo* (headed, male). ꑭꑳ *Khuni* (murderer). ꑭꑳ ꑴꑴꑷꑳ *Khut pingirhyā* (tiny ant).

3. Words with the letter H : In Changmha/Chakma the words with the letter H should be pronuced as in English Hour, Honour (a silent H) : ꑳꑶ *Hābhā* (air). ꑳꑷꑷ *Hāchswonhi* (a medicinal herb). ꑳꑭ *Hādārā* (walkable). ꑳꑵꑳ *Hādha Pādā* (palm). ꑳꑳ ꑳꑵ *Hādhā-hādi* (regular walk). ꑳꑭ ꑴꑷ *Hadhar bārhā* (beyond the limit). ꑳꑵ *Hādhee* (elephant). ꑳꑳꑵ *Hādhe-pādhey* (busy hand). ꑳꑍꑲ *Hādhurwa* (hammer). ꑳꑭꑷ *Hāgārhā* (frequent stool easer) ꑳꑭꑷ. *Hāghānhā* (to ease latrine). ꑳꑳ *Hādānā* (to walk). ꑳꑭꑵ *Hājāri* (thousandth). ꑳꑵ *Hājhā* (salt forming wet place). ꑳꑳꑷ *Hālhānā* (to lean/to bend). ꑳꑵꑳ *Hajham* (digest). ꑳꑷꑷ *Hājhāngmhā* (the deity of wild boars). ꑳꑴ *Hājhee* (lough) ꑳꑴꑵꑴ *Hājhee-rujhee* (pleased) ꑳꑷꑷ. *Hājhwalhee* (a silver ornament for the neck). ꑳꑭ ꑭꑵ *Hak Kadhā* (true version). ꑳꑭꑳ ꑳꑭ *Hakka-hākkhi* (more argument). ꑳꑭꑳ *Hakkhā* (Habul bubble/ Hooka). ꑳꑳ *Hāl* (plough). ꑳꑳ ꑴꑷꑷ *Hāl Pāloni* (a traditional Chakma cultural rite on Jhum

cultivation which falls on the seventh of *Ājhār* where the *Gojhen*, the Almighty, *Mā Lokkhi*, the goddess of wealth, the instruments of cultivation, the sky, *Bajhampudi*, the earth, etc., who are belived to be instrumental in jhum cultivation are worshipped with rice, new vegetable from a jhum, meat, fish, egg etc., *Hāl-chāch* (ploughing), *Halgā* (the rope/band worn on the neck of a cattle), 𑄣𑄨𑄎𑄢𑄧𑄟𑄳𑄦 *Hālgā* (neck band of a cattle), 𑄣𑄨𑄎𑄢𑄧 *Halhā* (cat, male), 𑄣𑄨𑄎𑄢𑄧𑄣𑄨𑄎 *Halhāhal* (strongest poison), 𑄣𑄨𑄎𑄢𑄧𑄇𑄪𑄚 *Hāllwa* (plougman), 𑄣𑄨𑄎𑄢𑄧𑄟𑄳𑄦 *Hām* (a plateform/storey), 𑄣𑄨𑄎𑄢𑄧𑄟𑄳𑄦𑄢𑄧𑄣𑄨𑄎𑄢𑄧 *Hāmāttal* (under the platform), 𑄣𑄨𑄎𑄢𑄧𑄟𑄳𑄦𑄘𑄳𑄦𑄟𑄳𑄦 *Hāngānā* (to burn), 𑄣𑄨𑄎𑄢𑄧𑄟𑄳𑄦𑄘𑄳𑄦𑄟𑄳𑄦𑄣𑄨𑄎𑄢𑄧 *Hāngār māch* (shark), 𑄣𑄨𑄎𑄢𑄧𑄟𑄳𑄦𑄘𑄳𑄦𑄟𑄳𑄦𑄣𑄨𑄎𑄢𑄧𑄟𑄳𑄦 *Hānggāmā* (disturbance), 𑄣𑄨𑄎𑄢𑄧𑄟𑄳𑄦𑄘𑄳𑄦𑄟𑄳𑄦𑄣𑄨𑄎𑄢𑄧𑄟𑄳𑄦𑄘𑄳𑄦 *Hāngyā* (a platform made to saw timber), 𑄣𑄨𑄎𑄢𑄧𑄟𑄳𑄦𑄘𑄳𑄦𑄟𑄳𑄦𑄣𑄨𑄎𑄢𑄧𑄟𑄳𑄦𑄘𑄳𑄦𑄟𑄳𑄦 *Hanumān* (Hanuman), *Hār* 𑄣𑄨𑄎𑄢𑄧 (bone), 𑄣𑄨𑄎𑄢𑄧𑄟𑄳𑄦𑄘𑄳𑄦𑄟𑄳𑄦

6

Religious Belief of The Chakmas

Chakmas identify themselves as a Buddhist by religion. But their actual practices do not make them identical with the thought of Buddhism. Except for the performances like *Sāt Dinnhyā* (the seventh day rite for the departed, after the death of a family member), *Phāreikh* (listening to *Parittās*, the religious discourses), *Chāmanhi* (becoming temporary *Mainjhyāng* (novice) for about seven days), Offering *Dānā* (gift) like *Putgalik Dānā* (offering to single or less than four monks), *Sangha Dānā* (offering to four or more monks), *Kathin Chibar Dānā* (offering of monks' rob making within one day) from the next day of full moon day of *Ashwina* to full moon day of *Kārtikā*, which was also introduce in the 1970s by Ven. Vana Bhante and Buddha Pujas on certain *Purnimā* (full moon days) and other Buddhistic rites like *Sibali Pujā*, dedication of *Bat Gāchutswarga* (dedication of banyan tree/peepul tree), *Hājār Bātti* (dedication and burning of thousand lamps/candles), *Tāngon Dān/Pharā Dān* (dedication of banners), *Phānach* (dedication of papermade hot balloon), etc. The other practices hint them at animism and Orthodox Hinduism.

The Chakmas were traditionally Hindu before 1856. Their Hinduism was of orthodox nature as stated in the *Puranas*. But the name of some gods, goddesses and other characters differs from the present Hinduism and its literature. As per *Bijak*, many Chakma rulers were ardent follower of Hinduism. They practised animal sacrifice and other form of god worship. They worshipped *Gozen/Gonghei*, the Almighty God and *Ma Lokkhi*, the goddess of wealth very frequently. *Indra, Chandra, Borun, Sani, Rahu, Ketu, Pavan* and the epic and characters of *Ramayan* and *Mohabharata* are always mentioned in their day-to-day life and in their old literature. Even in their folk ballad *Geingkhulee* and other folk literature like *Gojheno Lamha, Lokkhi Palha, Srichti Potthom* and the *Bārhamhāches* prayers are made to Hindu gods and goddesses. The composer of *Buddha Lāmhā* also took Buddha as an incarnation of *Vishnu* and made prayers to Hindu gods and goddesses. The Hindu gods and goddesses like *Barmhā* (Brahma), *Bishnu* (Vishnu), *Sip* (Siva), *Lokkhi* (Laxmi), *Sarasatti* (Swarasati), *Durgā, Kāli*, etc., were always revered by the Chakmas. They worshipped *Kāleia (Saudāgochchyā), Parameswari, Ochsyā* and *Michchinghyā* at the time of marriage. *Gongā*, the water goddess, *Bhudho*, the ghost, *Biātrā* and other deities were worshipped in every illness. *Gangā, Biatrā, Roāproo* to ward off

misfortune. Thirty-six deities of a *Thān* or habitation at the time of *Thānmānā, Kālā Khedar* to deactivate a haunted place and numerous spirits like *Khāgini, Mohini, Dein, Jugini, Puri (fairies), Jakgyo* (demons) at various illness.

Though at present Chakmas identify themselves as Buddhist, Buddhism was a side religion to them. They practised the Buddhistic *Rauli Dhānmā* side by side of Hindu practices. They applied Buddhism mostly for family rituals in death and treatment. Their traditional monks, the *Luries* performed the Buddhistic rites by reciting from their 36 traditional Buddhist scripture *Āgar Tārā (written religion)*. It is said that up to the Chakma ruler Kalindi Rani, many Chakma rulers were the followers of Hinduism. The Chakma practised their traditional Buddhism for death rite and salvation of a deceased soul at *Sātdinnyā, Karma, Gārhi Tānā. Bhāt Dyā, Jādi Pujo, Dhamma KāmaPujo*, etc. On the other hand, they appeased *Gonghei, Mā Lakkhi, Gangā, Bhoot, Kāleiā, Parameswari, Ochsyā, Saudāgachsyā, Kāli, Tridep, Saraswatthi, Mralā, Kālā Khedhar, Chelā, Sibāngsā*, thirty six spirits at *Thānmānā, Jakkkhyo, Puri, Khāgini, Mohini, Dein, Jugini, Biātrā, Roāproo*, etc., with lamps, flowers, sweetmeat, popped rice, sacrifice of animals like chicken, goat, duck, pigeon, etc., for protection, at illness and release of hold at illness.

Chakmas worshipped the Almighty God called *Gonghei/Gozen/Gosāin* without any form. It was later replaced with the photo or image of the Lord Buddha. During my childhood and until 1969, there was no photo or picture of Buddha at our home. Though every first fruit or harvest was offered to the *Gonghei* first and then to *Mā Lokkhi Mā*. The *Gonghei* was offered on a *Mājā* (canopy) made on the *Berchāgā* (wall/fence) of *Singgobā* (drawing room) and *Mā Lokkhi* was offered in a rice container called *Chol Lei* at the *Matdhya Gudhi* (middle room). The *Gonghei* was earlier offered wine with rice, meat, fish, curry, oil lamp, flowers, etc. *Mā Lokkhi* was offered rice, meat, egg, lamp, crab, grass-hoppers, rice beer called *kanjee/jogorha*, water and other curries but not shrimp or rosselle leaves. During first start of paddy harvest, pig or chicken and at least one crab is sacrificed called *Dhān Hāt Dyā*. Mā Lokkhi was worshipped every Thursday. The deities like *Gongā*, are always appeased with *Bhāt Jarā* (rice pouch), *Cherāk* (oil lamp), flowers and sometimes with sacrifice of animals like chicken, goat, etc., at birth, illness and for protection. *Bhoodha* is offered cock, pig, lamps. *Kāleiā, Saudāgochjchyā), Parameswari, Ochsyā* and *Michchinghyā* are worshipped at marriage and every year at *Chumulang* for prosperous and peaceful family life at the time of marriage and yearly Puja. They are identified with Siva, Durga, Ganesha and Michchinghyā (the human husband of Lokkhi as per Lokkhi Palhā). Kāleia is sacrificed a cock, Parameswari a hen, Michchingya a cock or hen and Ochsya with an egg. Ganga, Bhooda, Biatra, Roaproo are appeased at *Mādhā Dhwā, Bur Pārā*, etc., for purification and ward off of misfortune. Thirty-six deities are worshipped at *Thān Mānā* (appeasement of deities of a place). Mā Lokkhi Mā is worshipped for prosperity and good harvest with *Jagarhā* (rice beer), egg, flower, rice and curry on Thursday. She is also sacrificed chicken and pig at the time of harvest. Tri dev (Brahmā, Vishnu and Sivā), *Bhoot, Prżt, Dyo, Puri, Sijhi, Jokghyo, Mongshā, Biātrā, Roāproo, Nārenghyā, Tridep, Trinhāth, Kāli, Durgā* the fairies and witches at illness, *Hājangmhā, Khegā, Bhoghā, Ulombatya, Nimuchchyā, Kālā Khedhar, Hoiādevedā, Deins, Paris* and other deities and spirits were appeased at illness, for protection, blessings, etc. These deities are worshipped as per the myths and *Pālhās*, and other *Pujo Bijak* (details of a puja) preserved by the *Ojhā* and *Vaitdyas* (exorcists and healer). An Ojha is also a Vaitdya. All these deities are found in the Puranas, may be in different names. These deities are worshipped with oil lamp, flowers, egg, sweetmeat wine and sacrifice of animal like chicken, duck, pig, goat, pigeon according to the likes and dislikes of the deities as written in the *Pujo Bijak*. Even in the *Gojhena*

Lāmhā, the saint poet *Sip Charan* composed his prayers for the *Gozen*, the Almighty God. He had also put prayer to *Bar Kamal, Phool Kamal* and *Neel Kamal* who are none other than *Brahmā, Vishnu*and *Siva*. In every *Geingkhulee* singing, the line *'Tāgal Dhārhei Kharsilot, Bachsi Ma Saraswatthi mar jwilot'* is always recited as a prayer to Saraswati, the Goddess of learning, the Hindu goddess to sit on the tongue of the singer and dictate the ballad. So, it seems the Chakma were basically Hindus.

The Chakma king Sukhdeb Roy was said to be an ardent follower of Hinduism and during his time *Tripureswari* temple, a Kali temple was constructed and where *Uttora Kāli* was worshipped at Rajnagar. Normally Kali is regarded as *Dakshinā Kāli* (face southward) but the *Kali* of the Chakmas is said to be faced northward. There is a legend on it (as told by Late Doyal Karbari (Kudugo Goza, Khojhalhogutthi) of Tuichawng) when there was time for Kali Puja after the installation of Kali idol, Chakmas took preparation to stage dance and drama in front of the Kali idol. But the priest (a Bengalee Bhattacharjee Brahmin) and the management already hired drama party from Chittagong and the Chakma were not allowed to perform in front of the idol. They were asked to perform at the backyard of the temple. In the midnight to everybody's astonishment, the idol was found faced northward! The fence of the temple was immediately removed and from that day the Kali idol was known as *Uttora Kāli* and it was believed as a Living Idol. People used to swear in the name of *Uttora Kāli* to convince others. Chakma queen Kalindi is also said to be an ardent follower of Hinduism. When her husband Dharammya (Dharam Bux Khan) fell sick, she reportedly performed many rites including sacrifice of animals to *Mā Kali* and other Hindu deities. But Dharam Bux could not be cured. And so, she lost her faith in Hinduism and became a Buddhist. She invited Ven. *Saramedha Mahathero* from Arakan in 1856 and brought reformations in the Chakma Buddhism by making him Raj Guru. She even reportedly ordered disrobing of *Lurees*, the traditional Buddhist monks who were not observing *sheelas* and as a result, the traditional Chakma Buddhist priests, gradually faded away from the society. The last *Luri* I had seen was one Punong Chand at Matrisora in 1965. As per Dr. Jyotirmoy Chakma, Assistant Professor of Govt. Kamalanagar College, there is one living *Luri* at Sailengta, North Tripura.

The Chakmas believe in Karma and rebirth and the existence of Heaven, Hell and *Preda Luga*. They believe that a person may get heavenly abode or hell and the form of *Preda* after death against the deeds he/she had committed. Belief is that a *Preda* does not get food or clothes and appear in frightful form before a relative; so that *Dānā* (gifts) are offered in their names for Salvation (mukti). So the Chakmas offer *Dānā* for the departed soul at every religious rite and at the time of *Sāt Dinnhyā* or *Karma* (dedication rite for a departed soul). Therefore, *Dānā* is always given to the monks for the *nyatis* (clansmen) with the prayer *"Idhangbonyātinahotusukhitāhontunyātāyo"* (that with the virtue of this offering let my departed clansmen become happy). And *dānā* is encouraged to be given to the monks believing them to be pious and virtuous person. It is widely believed that one may earn more virtues by giving away *Dānā* (offering) to a pious person then to a common person.

As per *Bijak*, Vijoygiri, the regent of Chakma kingdom, while on expedition from Champaknagar (the second capital of old Chakma kingdom), to conquer new land was accompanied by seven wise men including a *Moinjhyāng* (*samanera or* novice monk) to perform religious rites at the time of death and other religious occasion. He carried with him the holy book *Āgar Tārā* (Written Religion). The scripture of *Āgar Tārā* is related to common purposes like death rite, marriage, treatment, ascending of throne by a king, funeral rite, etc. It is also said that the *Moinjhyāng* was

asked to put *Guch* (the back tuck), at the lower rob by Vijoygiri for easy walk and running at the time of warfare. For which they became *Luri/Rari* or *Raulee* and lost two sheelās or precepts. A Buddhist monk does not tuck the end of his lower robe at the back, but a Luri tucks it. And so, a *Luri* observes only eight *Sheelas* (precepts) whereas a *Moinjhyang* or *samanera* (the novice monks) observe ten sheelas. There is also a belief that the *Luri* religion was actually the religion taught by *Rāhulā*, the son of Sakya Muni Buddha to his clansmen, the *Sākyās* and the Chakma being believed to be descendent of Sākyās inherited it. Further, the robe of a monk or novice is shown in special design but the robe of a Luri has got no design but only three flower designs at three corners and the other flower design is said to have been taken away by Gautami, the grandmother of *Rāhulā* and step mother of Siddhartha Gautama.

Buddhism is regarded as the reformation of the *Sanatan Dhamma* (true religion) and the Hinduism is regarded as the oldest *Sanqtan Dhamma*. Though the Chakmas were basically Hindus, they have accepted the five precepts of Buddhism, the *Pancha Sheelas* in their own way in their day-to-day life. The five precepts of (1) not to kill living beings, (2) not to steal, (3) not to tell lies, (4) not to commit adultery and (5) not to consume intoxicant to the extent of losing reason is thought to everybody from the childhood. But these are not strictly followed in the day-to-day life. There is relaxation for a common man but the monks are expected to observe them properly. It is said that the monks need to observe 227 Sheelās. Some old common people do not kill animals during Rainy Season if they vow to observe *'Sādāng'*. The old folk also observe *'Uposatta'* called *'Asta Sheel'* observing eight precepts during *'Āngocjsyā'*, *'Punnimā'* and *'Achtami'* (New moon, full moon and eighth day of the moon) at the temple or home. They also try to avoid killing of any animal on these days. The Chakmas rear animals like chicken, duck, pig, dog, goat, buffalo, cow, etc. Except the cow, cat and dog, other animals are reared for the meat only. The cow is reared for milk and ploughing of field and the cat and dog for hunting and watch. They also hunt and eat some insects, fish, snail, jungle animals like deer, *Changarā* (sambhars), *Gaba* (*Methun/Goyāl*) snake, birds, fouls, and almost all animals except monkey, tiger, vulture, and crow. It is believed that rearing animals or hunting animals for food need not be strictly followed by a lay man. It should be strictly followed by the monks for spiritual gain. Choosing killing for a livelihood or as a profession is not encouraged. It is also believed that killing an animal is also a form of giving salvation from the animal life so that it can get a better life with the virtue of satisfying others' hunger. An animal hunted by a Chakma is shared with at least between *tin gutthi* (three lineage of people) as per tradition. My mother told us one incident that before her marriage, her mother (my grandmother) once advised her - 'Daughter! being a family-holder you need to kill chicken, etc., living beings to feed children, family members and for entertainment of quests, but you should slaughter them not taking them as a living being but as 'cutting/cleaning a vegetable'. It means 'the mind set should be clear' as stated in the first *Gāthā* of Dhammapada - *'Mano pubbanggamodhammamanosettwamanomaya'* that the mind advance in every action, that the mind is the main, mind involves every action, if you do anything with good mind the result will be good, if you do anything in cruel mind the result will be bad. And a good result comes from the action of a good mind and a bad result comes from the action with a bad thought. Therefore, as per custom, while slaughtering an animal after the first stroke at the belly some leaves are poured on the wound saying *'darudaru'* (medicine medicine) which means they divert the *chitta* (mind) to good thought for applying medicine on a wound. Even in the *Chumulang* rite the *Ojhā* (the priest) of a *Chumulang* puts prayer for the sacrificed chicken for their better birth in their next life while performing *Sudhur Māri Denā* (destroyal of enemy/

offence). One Professor M.S. Mishra of Kurukshetra University, Haryana also told us on 29th January, 2012 in the Seminar of Manuscriptology that in Buddhism taking meat is not prohibited. In the royal palace of Ashoka, the great 1,000 peacocks were killed everyday for the royal family members before he had embraced Buddhism, it went down to 100 peacocks everyday after he had become a Buddhist. In Buddhism the existence of *Bhoot, Preta, Yaksha, Naga,* etc., *sattās* are accepted. Buddhism propagates to overcome them through '*metta*' (friendship) and forbids sacrifice of animal to them. But the Chakmas sacrifice animals to release their hold to cure an illness. They also use *mantra, tonā, āng* (magical writings) and medicinal *tālliks* to cure a patient. But unnecessary killing is not encouraged. Stealing is also not encouraged in the society. In case of telling lies it is said that telling lies is not so a sinful act to save own life or lives and properties of others from destruction.

Though sexual relationship without marriage is prohibited, sexual relation of a widow/ widower, unmarried and a young person is taken leniently, while awarding punishment at the time of trial. In case of taking intoxicants like wine and other substances, it is seen that the base of hospitality of the Chakma lies with the offering of wine and good food with meat, fish and other delicious courses to a guests and friends. It is also used as a means of enjoyment and merry making and also offered as a gift to honour an official, a means to beg pardon for a misdeed. It is necessary to initiate talk for a marriage proposal. Hence, it seems, the society does not take the consumption of wine badly. It is consumption of intoxicants like *chura*, and *matjhya* in the *Pancha Sheela* states that one should not become *Pamad* (mad or loss knowledge) like King *Dātthānā*, who is said to have eaten up his own son as snack under the influence of drunkenness. In *Mahā Mangal Suttā* also '*Matjhyā Pānāsasanjamho*' (consumption of matjhya wine in limit) is described as *Ethang Mangalam Muttamang* (one of the best beneficial act). So, drinking in limited quantity was never prohibited in the society. In a feast only one to two *Khāp* (a cup made of bamboo tube measuring about 100 ml) is offered just before feast as *Pet Tādānā* (worming up of stomach). A person who drinks excessively is taunted by the society calling *Mat Pāgālā* (mad of wine), *Madey Khā* (eaten by wine), etc. Though now-a-days it is advocated for total prohibition. Here my belief is that the Chakma Buddhism is not extreme abstinence or prohibition, but to follow the middle way and if total prohibition must be a rule, one would not be able to take even medicines of alcohol content. And in such case Homoeopathy medicine should never be taken by a Buddhist as the base of all Homoeopathy's Mother Tinctures is 'alcohol'. Total abstinence or prohibition is meant for the monks only for their spiritual gain. Even the Luri/Raulees who observed eight *Sheelas* had to be strict in the observance. They are said to ask an edible thing with different name like *Kolatthuropanhi* (water of plantain flower curry) for rice beer, *Tulit Tāngyā* (hung at the roof top column) for dry shark meat, etc., from the *Lukthak* (a helper and ex-Luree) in observing the Sheelās.

In short, the practice of Buddhism by the Chakma tribe is not the Mahayana or Hinayana school of Buddhism but the practical Buddhism of a common man. They follow the middle path and believe in *Kamma* and *Dānā* to the monks to overcome the sins which they might have committed in their family life as a lay man. It is said that, except the five sinful *Pārājikā* acts, the other sins may be overcome with good deeds and *Dānā* (offering and charity). If it is not a fact, *Angulimala,* who is said to have killed 999 people, would not have attained *arhanthood.* Hence right *Kamma* or right action is the true Buddhism.

After the advent of Ven. Sadhananda, Vana Bhante in the seventies Therovada is strongly practised among the Chakmas. His preaching influenced many of his disciples like Ven. Nandapal,

Ven. Yoga Shiddhi, Ven. Dharma Tsso, etc., who have made many people religious. Some people gave up meat and fish and stopped rearing cattle, pig, chicken, duck and even catching of fish in the river. They even do not hunt animal in the jungle or kill any animal. As a result, meat and fish has become very costly in the Chakma inhabited areas. I am afraid people will suffer from malnutrition very soon due to protein deficiency among the Chakma. Since Chakma people do not produce alternate source of protein.

Luri Dhamma or the Religion of a Luri: The Luri practice is assumed to have started from Rāhula, the son of Siddhartha Gautama. But Luris were in existence in the world from time unknown. They were actually created by the Hindu god Brammha which means a Luri is a Saint. They believe in the Almighty God the Gonghei or Gojhen. They believe in the traditional myth on the creation of the universe and all the gods and goddesses of Hinduism. They believe that Lord Buddha was the incarnation of Vishnu. They do not administer Sheela or precepts like the Theravada monks but propagate Dānā (offering), Sheelā (precepts) and Bhābana (meditation). According to them when Rāhula went to Buddha and asked for inheritance of parental properties, Buddha ordained him. He gave twenty-eight Āgar Tārā to Rahula written on Palm leaves in the name of twenty-eight Buddhas'. He was also given four lotuses. But one of it was taken by Gopa but she could not retain it and so only the stick of the flower is made on the Theravada monks robe at a corner. So the Luri robe has three flowers at three corners. According to Luri, they are practising the male religion and the Therovada monks are practising the female religion practised by Gopa. Their rob has twenty-seven labels as Buddha had asked Gopa to wear tattered and labelled robe. The Luri do not object to appeasement of traditional deities with sacrifice of animals or taking of wine in limited quantity. They prohibit taking of beef, dog and monkey. Their sole duty seems to be to bring prosperity to people, salvation of a dead relative and their souls, cure from ailments and protection from harms from the spirits. They believe that they are superior to the Theravada monks and one Luri is equal to five monks. And a dedication of Dānā to a Luri is equal to Sangha Dānā to five Teravada monks. The names of some famous Luris are:

1. Arhā Luri of the time of Bijoygiri.
2. Phorā Cheng Luri of Dhrung Kul.
3. Chāndochsyā Luri of Chandraghona.
4. Dāukya Luri.
5. Chitrang Luri of Chitmarang.
6. Basandar Luri.
7. Badollyā Luri.
8. Hārbhāngā Luri, who wrote Āgar Tārā on Palm leaves.

7

Myths and Traditional Beliefs of the Chakmas

Traditionally, the Chakmas used to believe the creation of the universe as stated in the old *Puranas* of the Hindu mythology. Though, some of the names of the gods, goddesses and other deities vary from the *Puranas*, the power and functions of the deities are almost same. As per old literature like *Sristi Pattham, Lokkhi Pālhā, Sristi Utpattiāā Pralay Pālhā*, etc., the creation of the universe was as under:

At the initial stage, there was nothing called universe. It went from the state of *Andhakār, Dhandhakār, Khwakār* and *Nirākār*. There were only nine rays. At the reaction of nine rays *Gojhen, Niranjana the Almighty* was formed with the sound of *Ung*. At first *Gojhen Niranjan* took out a drop of sweat from his body and it floated and *Niranjan* made it water drop with the sound of *Ung*. Afterward, *Niranjan* thought over it and it was transformed into ocean. The ocean roared with sound and formed foams. With the foam. He created the first creation which is known as '**Tengrāmā Ādām**'. While thinking he scratched his navel and some dirt came out to his fingers. And with that dirt, the Almighty *Niranjan* created the Earth. *Niranjan* threw a string of hair from his head in the ocean and it became the tube of the lotus and at the end of the tube, tender lotus leaves was formed and later lotus bloomed. *Niranjan* then sat on the lotus and created *Brahmā* from the dirt of his right hand. *Niranjan* also created *Vishnu* from the dirt of his left hand and *Sivā* from his mouth. These three were formed as his own various form. *Brahmā*, the creator, *Vishnu* the saviour and *Sivā* the destroyer.*Brahmā* emitted light from his body. Niranjan was staring at the light emitted from *Brahmā*. On opening the left eye, the moon was created. On opening the right eye, the sun was created. He then stood up and saw his shadow. He suddenly saw the reflection of his body and enquired who that was? And as per his shadow *Kedugā* was created. But *Kedugā* was sexless. So, *Niranjan* made the female organ by piercing his two thumbs in between the legs. While making the female organ on *Kedugā* blood dropped out. From there the blood flew up and 27 *Nakshatras* were created.

To preserve the creation, *Niranjan* then asked *Kedugā* to marry *Brahmā*. But *Brahmā* denied to marry her as he already called her Mother. She was then sent to *Vishnu*. *Vishnu* also denied to marry her as he had also addressed her as mother. At last, she was sent to *Sivā* who had also

addressed her as mother. But *Sivā* agreed to marry her on the condition that she dies and reborn for hundred and eight times, he will preserve 108 bones from her every birth and keep two names secret. He will also make a garland of the bones and wear it. That he named the last name as *Durgā*. Now *Niranjan* realised that the creation will be intact. Afterward, *Niranjan* is said to have measured the earth in the form of a *Ghuwopuk* (dung beetle).

After meditating for five lakhs thirty-six years, he created the thirty-three crore of gods. He spent crores of years with those gods. He then finding with his knowledge created a flower tree on the ocean and that flower tree was known as *Pādichibyeng Phoolgāch*. He then sat on meditation under that tree and thought about more creations. He created the earth with the foam. The first creation was known as *'Tengrāmā Ādām'*. First, he made two dots on the left which became North and South of the earth. At the right he made two dots which became heaven and earth. After creating the earth, he changed his position and from his *'Diyoghu'* (meconium) he created a pair of owls. He then asked the owl to visit the earth. The owls visited the earth within nine *'Danda'* and reported that it is wide and beautiful but tender. When the owl asked what they should eat, the *Gojhen Niranjan* asked them to remain chanting *'Tin Gudo Nāng'*. Afterward, he sat on meditation and created *Kāla, Barun, Indra,* etc. He then again created two *Khanjans* (wag tail) from his ear wax and asked them to visit the earth. The *Khanjans* visited the earth within eight *danda* and reported that the earth is wide and beautiful but tender. So *Gojhen Niranjan* created rock, stone and hills on the earth. He also created eight days. Keeping one with him. When the *Khanjan* asked what they would eat, the *Gojhen* asked him to live six months on shore and six months on the hills.

Afterward there was no activity for sometimes. He then asked *Brahmā, Vishnu* and *Sivā* to churn the ocean with the gods where they found the main seeds and sprouts. *Niranjan* called Brahmā from the heaven and asked him to hand-over the seeds to *Pavan* who threw it on the hills, mountains and plains. *Niranjan* now urinated on the ocean and the owl formed from it. He also gave life to it. He then again asked *Brahmā, Vishnu* and *Sivā* to churn the ocean again for the second time. Now they found some more seeds, foetus and eggs. So, from the seed the plants, from the foetus and eggs other living beings were formed.

Now the Almighty started creation of human beings. He created seven pairs of human figures and kept aside to give life on the next day. But on the next day, he found the figures were broken by the *Bhoot* (ghost). So, he again created the human and made pigs to guard the human, but the pigs could not control it and he cursed the pig that with their meat, at human after death rite, they will get salvation. So, he created black dogs to keep watch on the human figure and drive away the ghosts. He also said to the dog, if you bark at night the spirits like *Bhoot* (ghost), *Debedā* (spirits), *Siji, Mongshā* will run away in fear. He then created the human beings and more on the next day. He gave eye to the figures and placed thirty-six letters at different part. The figure could move but there was no life. So, the engineer of the gods *Kālu Kāligochchyā* was summoned from the heaven and who gave life to human at below the left breast. On getting life, the figures had movement and *Niranjan* asked them to talk. But their first word was– Oh Gojhen Bhāt! (Oh God rice). But rice can be provided only by *Lokkhi*, the goddess of wealth who was staying far away in the midst of the ocean. So, the Almighty called all the gods and planned in a meeting as to for how many days they can feed the human before the arrival of *Lokkhi*. King *Kup* promised for twelve years, the fruits for eight months and the bamboo for six months. *Sorbhe* (a kind of fig), *Erei* (river bank fig), *Jogonāa* (fig) and *Kolā Gāch* (plantain shoot) promised for six months. But on the first day itself people started vomiting after consuming *Sorbek, Egei* and

Jogonhā fruits. So, on being reported to the *Gozen*, he kicked the *Sorbhek*, *Erei* and *Jogonhā* trees and cursed them that they will grow in leaning position. That the *Kolagāch* (plantain shoot) will be wranged before taking raw. *Niranjan* then called *Dhyon Goru* (the Kamdhenu). *Dhyon Goru* reached with Sivā. Sivā brought water with the help of the *Dhyon Goru* and called the men to drink it. But before they could drink, the calf of the Dhyon Goru drank it. So Sivā scolded the calf and the *Dhyan Goru* did not like it. She gave milk and made a sea of milk and the human took it. Now the human will be able to wait for *Lokkhi*.

Lokkhi was living at the ocean. *So Gozen*, the Almighty Niranjana called the gods like *Hāttyā*, *Mattyā*, *Gongā*, *Biatra*, and *Kāleiā*. *Kāleiā* enquired – Father, why have you called us? *Gozen* said – Who will be able to bring *Lokkhi* to the earth among you?Kāleiā replied – If you permit, I will bring her. But I need a boat of *Sobon* tree and a paddle of *Pobon* tree. But where to get the boat and paddle of *Sobon* and *Pobon* tree? No one recognise the *Sobon* and *Pobon* tree. So, it was decided to call *Kāli Kāmāchchyā (Biswakarma?)*, the engineer of the heaven. The *Bāttwaā Peikh* was sent to heaven as messenger to call *Kāli Kāmāchchyā*. After taking all information from the Bāttwā Peikh, the messenger, *Kāli Kāmāchchyā* got ready with his apparatus to came down to earth and dig out the boat. They roamed in the jungle in search of *Sobon* and *Pobon* tree. *Kāli Kāmachchyā* and his companions were now very tired and fell asleep in the jungle under a big tree. Only *Godā*, the *Rong Bārhoi* (the painter carpenter) was awoke. He had the knowledge to understand the birds and animal's language. On the tree under which they were resting, there was a vulture nest. *Godā* heard the conversation of the vulture chicks. They were talking that "these people will destroy our nest since it is the *Sobon-Pobon* tree for which they came here". So *Godā* gave them pieces of flesh by cutting his calves. For this act *Godā* became the great donor. *Godā* then woke up all his friends on the next morning. They started to search the *Sobon-Pobon* tree. *Godā* then showed the tree to *Kāli Kāmachchyā*. *Kāli Kāmachchyā* enquired from *Godā Rong Bārhoi* as to how he could recognise it. *Godā* then explained everything. They then cut the tree and *Kāli Kāmachchyā* started digging the boat first by taking measurement of length and breadth. He was also helped by the companions. The boat was ready very soon. It measured about seven *Biyong* (measuring about six feet per biyongie the measure of between two spread hands, i.e., end of middle finger to middle finger). Now Kāli Kāmachchyā asked for help to draw the boat from the hills to the sea. Many gods came to draw the boat. Now *Kāleiā* set off from human abode. There all the human beings were found assembled. There Kāleiā declared that he was going to fetch *Lokkhi*, but before going off, he placed the term that if he is able to bring *Lokkhi*, he should be worshipped before *Lokkhi*. Man promised to worship him before *Lokkhi* if he can bring her to them.

Kāleiā set off on the boat to invite *Lokkhi* to human abode, taking the name of *Pavana*, the god of air. He then reached the sea but could not find any shore. So he became thoughtful and put prayer to *Gongā* Maa (the goddess of water) that she should take her to *Lokkhi*. Suddently, there was a cyclone. *Kāleiā* was not in a position to stay still and the cyclone took away the boat speedily. Hence, he put prayer to *Gongāt* again to save him from disaster.

At last the abode *of Lokkhi* was visible. He saw light at the abode of *Lokkhi* and reached there. On reaching there *Lokkhi* asked about the purpose of his going there. *Kālei* informed her everything. Now *Kāleiā* was the guest to *Lokkhi* and she asked him to take bath. In the meantime, *Lokkhi* cooked rice and curry for him. She kept aside the water after washing the rice and made it *Mat* (wine). She also kept the excess water after boiling the rice and made it *Jogorhā* (rice beer). *Lokkhi* first offered *Kāleiā* the *Mat* and *Jogorha*. *Kāleiā* drank all the wine and beer and became

drunk. In a drunken mood, he first addressed her as Mother and later as Older sister. He also addressed her in many names like *Lokkhibi, Chikkobi* under drunken state. He even proposed her to have sex with him. So *Lokkhi* got angry and denied to come with him less he may again commit disregard to her in the way. On the next morning *Kāleiā* again requested *Lokkhi* repeatedly to come with him. But *Lokkhi* denied to come with. So *Kāleiā* had to return without *Lokkhi*. On reaching human abode, Kāleiā was enquired as to why *Lokkhi* did not accompany him. *Kāleiā* responded with a lie that she was not well. On knowing the fact *Niranjan* scolded *Kāleiā* for such behaviour.

Now *Gozen* selected *Biātrā* to go to *Lokkhi* and bring her. But *Biātrā* also put a term that the human should also sacrifice a cock for him after they have worshipped *Gongā*, the water goddess. To which the human agreed and *Biātrā* set off for *Lokkhi* with that Seven *Biyong* boat, decorating it with golden clothes. *Kāleiā* also accompanied *Bātrā* who put prayer to *Lokkhi* and then to *Pavan*, the god of air. He then went in speed rowing with the paddle and reached to the abode of *Lokkhi*. Now *Lokkhi* treated him like her treatment to *Kāleiā* and offered him wine and beer. But *Biātrā* denied to consume it saying he had never tested it. He then requested *Lokkhi* to come with him telling about the misery of human and *Lokkhi* agreed to come with.

Therefore, *Lokkhi* was getting ready to come to human abode. She took with her thirty-six kind of paddy seeds including king of paddy *Kāmrāng*. She also took with her *Sāngi Rangi* paddy. She also invited birds and animals to come with her. Now *Lokkhi* called the jungle foul, the jungle boar, the crab and other animals. Out of them the foul, the boar, the turtle and the elephant were found ready to accompany her.

The spider which came out from the nose of *Sivā* was asked by *Biātrā* whether he can make a railling, so that she can use it as a handle. The spider made a bridge from one shore to another with the fibre of the belly. She also asked *Hanumān* and *Lāghā* (baboon) monkeys to help her to cross the ocean. *Sivā* also asked them to make a dam to facilitate the coming of *Lokkhi*. So Hanumān carried mountains, stones and boulders and handed over it to *Lāghā* monkey for placement. The *Lāghā* takes it with his left hand and keep it in place. On seeing the *Lāghā* monkey doing everything very easily with the left hand, *Hanumān* got angry and put three-four hills on *Lāghās* head. He also asked him why he does so. So the *Lāghā* explains before *Hanumān* that if he touches the earth with right hand, it will melt down. *Hanumān* wanted to know the cause and *Lāghā* answered him that it was due to the boon of *Gozen*, the Almighty. He also said that when the *Gozen* was creating the earth, he went to *Niranjana* and asked for some dirt from his navel and instead he gave him the boon that if I touch the earth with the right hand, it will melt down. So he had promised to *Gozen* that he will never touch the earth with the right hand and do everything with the left hand. And from that day he keeps the right hand upright. Now Honuman and the *Lāghā* monkey could complete the making of the dam.

Lokkhi then called *Biātrā* and said, "I will not go by boat as it may not be able to bear all my provisions. I will also not go by the dam as it may tremble and move. My legs will tremble if I go through the dam holding the railing made by the spider". So *Lokkhi* said I want to go on my dear pigs back. She also took with her the crab.

The animals like elephants, horses, buffallos, cows, etc., also followed her and walked through the dam. The birds also flew along the dam. Now *Biātr* called the turtle and it floated. The crab sat on the turtle and above the turtle the pig and above the pig a *Meh Chhagoli* (a little bird which bleet like a goat) and above the *Meh Chhagoli Lokkhi* took her seat. Hence, they

started coming along the dam floating, catching the railing made by the spider. It is said that from that day, the turtle had the scratch mark of the crab and the crab had the hoof mark of the pig on its back. So *Lokkhi* came to the earth sitting one upon another. She carried her properties like paddy seeds and other plant seeds on the boat. *Lokkhi* was at the foremost and *Biātrā* paddled the boat after her. They reached the human above after about five months.

The first information of *Lokkhis* arrival to human abode reached to the wild birds and animals. And they sang with joy. The *Dobhā Kādhee Bhirech* (spoon tail) danced with joy. The *Ketkettyā* (Horn Bill) gave her a stool to sit on. The *Ālsiā Pejā* (owl) hooted with joy and invited *Lokkhi* to sit on the stool. So *Lokkhi* sat on the stool and called the animals and birds one-by-one. At first, she called *Biātrā*, the son of *Gongā* and told him—"In the worship of gods you will be known as *Ochsyā*. You will get the first offering from the human. Now she called the turtle and blessed to able to live on plain land and in water. The crab was blessed with big claws and the pig with lots of fat. She also told to the *Meh Chhāgoli*, on seeing your nest in a jhum, the human must worship it sacrificing a pig taking it as my presence. She also blessed the spider that without his presence a *Dhamma Kāmaw Pujo* will not be complete. *Kāleiā*, though a drunkard was also blessed that if the human without any children worships him with a five fist *Mālhā Sugor* (castrated pig) in the *Hoiyā Pujo* will get children. Lokkhi named the spoon tail as the king of birds. That's why the spoon tail kicks the other birds and the *Sottā Peikh* supplies food to her. The horn bill was blessed to live in the *Olong* of big tree. Now she called the owl and asked her to inform the human about her arrival, hooting. So, the owl went to the human and informed about the arrival of *Lokkhi*, hooting. But at dawn it felt lethargic and slept in the bushes. On knowing about the arrival of *Lokkhi* the human were happy with joy and they decided to offer a golden crown to the informer. So they made a golden crown and searched for the informer. In the early morning they saw the *Khurollyah* (wood pecker) pecking on a *Bhuro* tree and they took him as the informer and crowned him. Therefore, we find the wood pecker with beautiful crown till date. On knowing the fact *Lokkhi* called the owl and asked him not to feel sorry for the crown and told him to remain with her and carry her on the back and roam with her to every corner of the world, hooting and waking up the lazy people. Hence owl hoots early in every morning and wakes up people.

While *Lokkhi* was coming to human abode, *Sani* also accompanied *Biātrā* with the plea to test the human as to whom they love more, *Lokkhi* or him. On the arrival to human abode, on the bank of a river, *Sani* took the form of a little girl and splashed water on the way. As a result, *Lokkhi* slipped and all her paddy and other vegetable seeds had fallen. Because of this she asked the villagers to collect the fallen seeds. Some came with *Mejang* and some with *Lei*. The people who came with Mejang could not collect all seeds as it fell through the holes and the people who came with *Lei* could collect all the seeds. The uncollected seeds also sprouted and became animals feed. On reaching on the earth, *Lokkhi* taught the human being to cultivate foodgrains, fruits and vegetable. She fed the hungry human beings as her own children. So, she was named as *Mā Lokkhi*.

After some years *Mā Lokkhi* was ready to go back to *Baikunda* so the human asked her not to leave the earth. On it, *Mā Lokkhi* asked the human to worship her with eggs chicken, pig and crabs and also offer wine and beer and she will bless such persons. She also warned not to take the wine excessibly but in limited quantity or she will curse such persons. From that day *Mā Lokkhi* was worshipped with eggs, chicken, pig, wine, etc., along with rice and other courses. *Mā Lokkhi* does not like shrimp, frawn, roselle but grasshopers.

On the earth, *Sayambu Monu, Satarupā* and others were formed. *Satarupā* is said to be a creation of *Brahmā*. With the union of *Satarupā* and *Sayambu Monu*, one son named *Nilamba Monu* and one daughter *Subeshā* were born. *Nilamba Monu* had four sons, *Manava, Danava, Rekkhasa* and *Gandharva*. Human beings are the descendents of *Manava*. During this stage, there was no illness or death on the earth.

When Gojhen *Niranjana* decided to become formless, he took the shape of a carcass and was floating. He first went to Brahmā who hated the foul smell and he got four mouths. When he went to Vishnu, he cleaned the body and when it went to Siva, he decided to burn it down. So, the body was burnt by *Vishnu* and *Sivā*. *Sivā* recited Āgar Tārā *mantra* at that time. On the next day, they found the Idol of Gojhen at the burning place. From that day Gonghei Idol was worshipped.

As there was no illness or death on the earth, the population increased day-by-day and the earth could bear it no more. So judging the situation, *Brahmā* and *Vishnu* went to *Sivā* and asked to destroy some of the earth population. But *Sivā* denied doing so. So they asked *Subeshā* to do so. But she also denied destroying anybody. Rather she went on meditation to gain more power.

Judging the situation, *Brahmā* and *Vishnu* hatched a conspiracy and drew a leg from the middle of *Subeshā* which remained as she is kicking any one who came in front of her. As a result, no god came to bless her. After meditating for many years when no god came to bless her, she took her life, crying. It is said that she had shed 64 crores drops of tear which became 64 crores of diseases for mankind. After Subeshā had died, her bodily parts became spirits like – witches, yakshas, demons, fairies, ghost and other spirits. And the spirits started hunting human beings in the form of illness, accident, misfortune, etc. It is said that from the nerves, witches were formed, from the veins, the fairies and other spirits and from the flesh, the ghosts were formed. So human started dying day-by-day out of illness and world population became less.

One day *Sivā* and *Parvati* were discussing about this condition of human beings. *Sivā* told *Parvati*about the cure of the human from illness. When they were did cussing about it, *Minno Nath* went there in the form of fish and heard about everything. He relayed it to his friend *Gurgho Nāth* that an illness may be cured with mantra and medicines. Which knowledge should be gained through meditation and that method was spread to nine lakhs of saints and sages. They meditated and learnt the art of healing. So, the healing process is not same and it differed among the nine lakh saints. They also believe in *Phārā* and *Dajhā* (planetory disorder), *Phee* and *Balā* (acquiring of misfortune and ill luck), etc. To get relief from these, they perform *Pujo* and rites like *Burpārā, Mādhā Dhwā* and also bind *Tābit* (talisman), use *Āng* (magical pattern) for protection.

***Khumho*:** They also follow many prohibitions called *Khumho*, as may be laid down by the *Vaitdyas* at the time of *Bur Pārā*, after a tiger's attack at other rites. For example, (1) the *Kangsurigutthi* of *Barbwagoza* cannot saw pumpkin, (2) *Kudugo Gozā* people cannot weave a *Kulo* (shieve), (3) *Pedāngsuri Gozā* people cannot eat snake meat, (4) *Pirhyā Bhāngā* genus people cannot saw pumpkin, (5) *Komreng* and genus people cannot make *chāng* (flatform) for a gourd plant, (6) People of *'sigiryāpuno'* genus cannot make *'uttwa'* (flatform made above the oven to dry meat fish), (7) People of *'Naduktwa'* cannot make measuring basket, (8) the *'Khojhāl'*gutthi people of *Kudugo Gozā* cannot offer common rice at a *'Sāt Dinnyā'* to their departed relatives reportedly being not able to go for pilgrimage to Gaya and offer *Pinda*from their genus. The prohibition was removed by Shri Indra Lal Chakma S/o Lushai Mohan of Diblibagh in 1994 by offering *Pinda* at Buddha Gaya, (9) the people of *'Semo'* genus cannot touch a

'khanjan' (wag tail). It is said that a wag-tail fell at a *'Bhāt Dyā'* rite and it was ascertained that the wagtail was the wife of the *Bhāghinā* (sister's son) of the progenitor of *'Semogutthi'* (genus). "As per custom the wife of a sister's son should not be touched or the teeth will fall. (It is a fact that my elder brother Sashi Bhusan and cousin brother Deputi Bhusan both from 'Semogutthi' found a nestful of wag-tail eggs in a stream and not knowing the prohibition, swallowed the eggs in 1965 at Matrisora. Within two three days their teeth fell down. After about six months, with much effort, by brushing with mouse excreta their teeth started growing and regained the teeth). There are also some prohibition under Khumo to some genus like some cannot touch an owl, some cannot touch 'Mān Kuju' (a big taro).

Phee/bolā/bhārbwa/pānhishwanā/phārā/dajhā/khumho: Apart from above, the Chakma take finding of dead animals on any place as Taboo and ill-fated like *Sambhar, Deer, Monkey, Monitor Lizard, Tortoise, Snake, Birds,* etc. For which they drive away the ill luck called *Phee* with the rite of *Bola Kada.* There are also some other *Phee Bola* like 1. seeing dead animals like *Gui, Dur, Huring, Chongora,* etc., 2. *Chilphee* (sitting of a kite on a roof), 3. *Mānei phee* (death of a person in a house from other *gutthi*), 4. *Chāngphee* (killing by an elephant), 5. *Māngphee* (entry of king in a common man house), 6. *Nāgaphee* (entry of snake in a house), 7. *Lo phee* (falling of blood from unknown sourse in a house), 8. *Uiphee* (entry of black ant in a house), 9. *Sigira* (sitting of a falcon on the roof of a house), 10. *Mhollha Phee* (sitting of a vulture on the roof), 11. *Kurhoi Naram Badā Pāriley* (laying tender egg by a hen), 12. *Jāmā Badā* (If a domestic hen lays twin egg), 13. *Kugur Chālatudhile,* (If a dog climb the roof), 14. *Dhāgedhi Kalātthurnighilile* (if a plantain flowers from the side), 15. *Herākujutphulphudhile* (if an Elephant taro flowers), 16. *Bākphee* (after attack and killing by a tiger), 17. *Undurphee* (At biting of clothe by rats), 18. *Barmhā Phee* (If a dwelling house burns in fire), 19. *Marā Phee* (on the death of a family member), 20. *ByāniPhee*, 21. *Byāh Pheeetc* are known as *phee.* (a) Entry of a new born mother without *Kajaipānhee,* (b) Bringing in of a dead body from outside, (c) Giving birth of a baby by a outsider in the house, etc., are *Balā.* All unusual happening and things totaling thirty-six are phee and bolas. They also believe in misposition of a house called *Bharbhwo.* That a person should not construct a house between brothers, sisters and brothers, in between people of same *gutthi.* That the younger should not construct a house or make a jhum or garden below an elder where the water from elder's house or jhum/garden flows through the house or land of the younger. It is believed that the younger has got no strength to endure water from the elder and it is harmful for the younger relative and his family members.

***Dajhā*:** Frequent illness, disturbance of family peace, death of parent, poverty, etc., are known to be due to planetory disorder called *Dajhā.* Death of parent is called *Matri Dajhā/Pitri Dajhā.* One suffer for six years, due to *Chandra Dajhā,* one suffer for sixteen years, due to *Mātri Dajhā*-eighteen years, 101 years in *Pitri Dajhā,* 19 years in *Guru Dajhā,* 20 years in *Sukra Dajhā,* 20 years in *Sani Dajhā, 12* years in *Rāhu Dajhā* and 19 years in *Kedu Dajhā.* Due to *Rahu Dajhā,* a house burns, due to *Chandra Dajhā,* one suffers from various ailment and involves in litigation and losses, due to *Mātri Dajhā* one suffers from various ailments, due to *Pitri Dājhā* one cannot get proper yield from agriculture, Due to *Guru Dajhā* one earns bad name and stigma, faces loss,in *Sukra Dajhā* one takes the good as bad and the bad as good, in *Sani Dajhā* one receives injury, due to *Rāhu Dajhā* one suffers for a long time from illness and bodily, get nightmare, house burn. In Ketu *Dajhā* one dies.

A *Dajhā* should be removed with *Mādhā Dhwa* and *Grichthi Chumulang. Phee/Bolā* should be removed with *Mādhā Dhwa* and *Bur Pāra. Mādhā Dhwa* literary means washing of heads

and is worship of gods and deities. *Bur Pārā* is exchange of life for life by sacrificing animals. *Bur Pārā* is practised in *Phee* and Bolā. Mādhā Dhwa is practised to ward off *Dojhā*. The Chakmas also observe *Perā* and *Jugini* before start of a travel or start of work. They maintain certain prohibitions called *Khumho*, which are reportedly instruction of an *Ojhā* after performance of *Bāgho Bur*. They also observe omen at the time of travel or going for marriage proposal *Bo Ānh*. To come across empty water pot or the dead person in the village, the dead animal, etc., is believed to be bad. Full pot, corn full bag, etc., are believed good.

As per different *Pachjhans (tales)* or *Pujo Bijaks* of various spirits, the owner of all offending places is *Kālā Khedhar*, the son of *Kājol Pudi*, a daughter of *Mokkhyā Rājā* (*Daksha* of Purana?) who had one hundred daughters and married to different men, gods, *Rākshashas*, *Dānavas* and various spirits. The wife of *Sivā*, the mother of *Ravana* (of Ramayana fame) are also said to be daughters of *Mokkhyā Rājā*. Out of the hundred daughters, seven became fairies, five went with the spirits of *Hājā* and *Pir Khānā* (salt forming and muddy places), the skin disease causing places, seven went with the *Deins*, the witches (blood sucking spirits), other daughters are *Khāgini*, *Moginhi*, *Jugini*, etc. *Kālā Khedar* is said to be the son of *Kājal Pudi* and Sage *Sukra Chārjya*, the guru of demons. The lordship of the *Dujha Jāgās* (offensive places) are said to have been given to *Kālā Khedhar* by *Bāngāli* and *Chāngāli* as a compensation for his mother *Kajol Pudi*, who died in their battle over their father *Mokkhya Raja's* kingdom. The *Dujho Jagahs* are those places where the body part of *Kajol Pudi* strewn over the earth and the parts of the *Chhalang* (shade of skin) of *Sibang Pudi* who left on the earth while going to the *Pādāl* (Nether land) making thirty-six kinds of marks on the Earth and those marked places became *Dujho Jāgā* and the Chakmas called it *Chhotrich Maghām*. If a person encroaches such places, by construction of house making of Jhum, cultivation, etc., the spirits catch hold of them and causes illness and death unless such a place is inactivated by applying magic or by worship and sacrifice of animals called *Jum Mārā* or *Jāgā Mārā* to *Kālā Khedhar*. Therefore, the Chakmas perform many *Pujo* and rituals for blessings of the gods, goddesses and spirits with lamps, food, flowers and sacrifice of animals. In a *Pujo* like *Chumulang*, *Mādhā Dhwā*, *Bur Pārā*, *Bolā Kādā*, *Dhān Hāt*, *Hoiā*, *Gongā Pujo*, *Thān Mānā*, *Dibuchsyāsugor*, *Reido Sugor*, *Bhut Pujo*, *Mralā Pujo*, *Jokkyo Devedā Pujo*, *Puri Pujo*, *Deino Pujo*, and many other *Pujos* they sacrifice animals like pig, goat, chicken, duck, pigeon, etc., to get protection, release from the hold of spirits, relief from misfortune, sickness, and causing harm to enemy. In a *Thānmānā*, a pujo for protection of a village, a total thirty-six spirits are worshipped.

It is also said that the master of all ill-fated offending places is *Kala Khedar*, the king of witches. He is the son of *Sighi Pudi or Sibong Pudi*, a daughter of *Mokkhya Raja* (Daksha of Purana?). It is also said that when *Bangali* and *Changali*, the two sons of *Mokkhya Raja* were fighting for the throne and shooting arrows at each other, one of their sisters *Sighi Pudi*, entered in between and she died from their arrows. So to compensate it, they promised their nephew *Kala Khedar*, an illegimate son of *Sage Kashyapa* and *Sikipudi* to be the master of all offending places and he will get the share of all offerings of the human being to spirits. Therefore, while offering anything on an offending place, *Kala Khedar* is offered a cock.

Pujo or worship: A *Pujo* is performed to appease the deities and also to appease the disease-causing spirits. Methods of all *Pujos* are not same. Some are performed with idols and some without. The performance depends on the *Bijak* or life history of the deities. As to what they like and what they dislike. The life history of the deities and the method of *Pujos* are kept preserved by the *Vaitdyas* in the form of *Pujo Bijak*.

'khanjan' (wag tail). It is said that a wag-tail fell at a *'Bhāt Dyā'* rite and it was ascertained that the wagtail was the wife of the *Bhāghinā* (sister's son) of the progenitor of *'Semogutthi'* (genus). "As per custom the wife of a sister's son should not be touched or the teeth will fall. (It is a fact that my elder brother Sashi Bhusan and cousin brother Deputi Bhusan both from 'Semogutthi' found a nestful of wag-tail eggs in a stream and not knowing the prohibition, swallowed the eggs in 1965 at Matrisora. Within two three days their teeth fell down. After about six months, with much effort, by brushing with mouse excreta their teeth started growing and regained the teeth). There are also some prohibition under Khumo to some genus like some cannot touch an owl, some cannot touch 'Mān Kuju' (a big taro).

Phee/bolā/bhārbwa/pānhishwanā/phārā/dajhā/khumho: Apart from above, the Chakma take finding of dead animals on any place as Taboo and ill-fated like *Sambhar, Deer, Monkey, Monitor Lizard, Tortoise, Snake, Birds,* etc. For which they drive away the ill luck called *Phee* with the rite of *Bola Kada.* There are also some other *Phee/Bola* like 1. seeing dead animals like *Gui, Dur, Huring, Chongora,* etc., 2. *Chilphee* (sitting of a kite on a roof), 3. *Mānei phee* (death of a person in a house from other *gutthi*), 4. *Chāngphee* (killing by an elephant), 5. *Māngphee* (entry of king in a common man house), 6. *Nāgaphee* (entry of snake in a house), 7. *Lo phee* (falling of blood from unknown sourse in a house), 8. *Uiphee* (entry of black ant in a house), 9. *Sigira* (sitting of a falcon on the roof of a house), 10. *Mhollha Phee* (sitting of a vulture on the roof), 11. *Kurhoi Naram Badā Pāriley* (laying tender egg by a hen), 12. *Jāmā Badā* (If a domestic hen lays twin egg), 13. *Kugur Chālatudhile,* (If a dog climb the roof), 14. *Dhāgedhi Kalātthurnighilile* (if a plantain flowers from the side), 15. *Herākujutphulphudhile* (if an Elephant taro flowers), 16. *Bākphee* (after attack and killing by a tiger), 17. *Undurphee* (At biting of clothe by rats), 18. *Barmhā Phee* (If a dwelling house burns in fire), 19. *Marā Phee* (on the death of a family member), 20. *ByāniPhee*, 21. *Byāh Pheeetc* are known as *phee.* (a) Entry of a new born mother without *Kajaipānhee,* (b) Bringing in of a dead body from outside, (c) Giving birth of a baby by a outsider in the house, etc., are *Balā.* All unusual happening and things totaling thirty-six are phee and bolas. They also believe in misposition of a house called *Bharbhwo.* That a person should not construct a house between brothers, sisters and brothers, in between people of same *gutthi.* That the younger should not construct a house or make a jhum or garden below an elder where the water from elder's house or jhum/garden flows through the house or land of the younger. It is believed that the younger has got no strength to endure water from the elder and it is harmful for the younger relative and his family members.

***Dajhā*:** Frequent illness, disturbance of family peace, death of parent, poverty, etc., are known to be due to planetory disorder called *Dajhā.* Death of parent is called *Matri Dajhā/Pitri Dajhā.* One suffer for six years, due to *Chandra Dajhā,* one suffer for sixteen years, due to *Mātri Dajhā*-eighteen years, 101 years in *Pitri Dajhā,* 19 years in *Guru Dajhā,* 20 years in *Sukra Dajhā,* 20 years in *Sani Dajhā, 12* years in *Rāhu Dajhā* and 19 years in *Kedu Dajhā.* Due to *Rahu Dajhā,* a house burns, due to *Chandra Dajhā,* one suffers from various ailment and involves in litigation and losses, due to *Mātri Dajhā* one suffers from various ailments, due to *Pitri Dājhā* one cannot get proper yield from agriculture, Due to *Guru Dajhā* one earns bad name and stigma, faces loss.in *Sukra Dajhā* one takes the good as bad and the bad as good, in *Sani Dajhā* one receives injury, due to *Rāhu Dajhā* one suffers for a long time from illness and bodily, get nightmare, house burn. In Ketu *Dajhā* one dies.

A *Dajhā* should be removed with *Mādhā Dhwa* and *Grichthi Chumulang. Phee/Bolā* should be removed with *Mādhā Dhwa* and *Bur Pāra. Mādhā Dhwa* literary means washing of heads

and is worship of gods and deities. *Bur Pārā* is exchange of life for life by sacrificing animals. *Bur Pārā* is practised in *Phee* and Bolā. Mādhā Dhwa is practised to ward off *Dojhā*. The Chakmas also observe *Perā* and *Jugini* before start of a travel or start of work. They maintain certain prohibitions called *Khumho*, which are reportedly instruction of an *Ojhā* after performance of *Bāgho Bur*. They also observe omen at the time of travel or going for marriage proposal *Bo Ānh*. To come across empty water pot or the dead person in the village, the dead animal, etc., is believed to be bad. Full pot, corn full bag, etc., are believed good.

As per different *Pachjhans (tales)* or *Pujo Bijaks* of various spirits, the owner of all offending places is *Kālā Khedhar*, the son of *Kājol Pudi*, a daughter of *Mokkhyā Rājā* (*Daksha* of Purana?) who had one hundred daughters and married to different men, gods, *Rākshashas*, *Dānavas* and various spirits. The wife of *Sivā*, the mother of *Ravana* (of Ramayana fame) are also said to be daughters of *Mokkhyā Rājā*. Out of the hundred daughters, seven became fairies, five went with the spirits of *Hājā* and *Pir Khānā* (salt forming and muddy places), the skin disease causing places, seven went with the *Deins*, the witches (blood sucking spirits), other daughters are *Khāgini*, *Moginhi*, *Jugini*, etc. *Kālā Khedar* is said to be the son of *Kājal Pudi* and Sage *Sukra Chārjya*, the guru of demons. The lordship of the *Dujha Jāgās* (offensive places) are said to have been given to *Kālā Khedhar* by *Bāngāli* and *Chāngāli* as a compensation for his mother *Kajol Pudi*, who died in their battle over their father *Mokkhya Raja's* kingdom. The *Dujho Jagahs* are those places where the body part of *Kajol Pudi* strewn over the earth and the parts of the *Chhalang* (shade of skin) of *Sibang Pudi* who left on the earth while going to the *Pādāl* (Nether land) making thirty-six kinds of marks on the Earth and those marked places became *Dujho Jāgā* and the Chakmas called it *Chhotrich Maghām*. If a person encroaches such places, by construction of house making of Jhum, cultivation, etc., the spirits catch hold of them and causes illness and death unless such a place is inactivated by applying magic or by worship and sacrifice of animals called *Jum Mārā* or *Jāgā Mārā* to *Kālā Khedhar*. Therefore, the Chakmas perform many *Pujo* and rituals for blessings of the gods, goddesses and spirits with lamps, food, flowers and sacrifice of animals. In a *Pujo* like *Chumulang*, *Mādhā Dhwā*, *Bur Pārā*, *Bolā Kādā*, *Dhān Hāt*, *Hoiā*, *Gongā Pujo*, *Thān Mānā*, *Dibuchsyāsugor*, *Reido Sugor*, *Bhut Pujo*, *Mralā Pujo*, *Jokkyo Devedā Pujo*, *Puri Pujo*, *Deino Pujo*, and many other *Pujos* they sacrifice animals like pig, goat, chicken, duck, pigeon, etc., to get protection, release from the hold of spirits, relief from misfortune, sickness, and causing harm to enemy. In a *Thānmānā*, a pujo for protection of a village, a total thirty-six spirits are worshipped.

It is also said that the master of all ill-fated offending places is *Kala Khedar*, the king of witches. He is the son of *Sighi Pudi or Sibong Pudi*, a daughter of *Mokkhya Raja* (Daksha of Purana?). It is also said that when *Bangali* and *Changali*, the two sons of *Mokkhya Raja* were fighting for the throne and shooting arrows at each other, one of their sisters *Sighi Pudi*, entered in between and she died from their arrows. So to compensate it, they promised their nephew *Kala Khedar*, an illegimate son of *Sage Kashyapa* and *Sikipudi* to be the master of all offending places and he will get the share of all offerings of the human being to spirits. Therefore, while offering anything on an offending place, *Kala Khedar* is offered a cock.

Pujo or worship: A *Pujo* is performed to appease the deities and also to appease the disease-causing spirits. Methods of all *Pujos* are not same. Some are performed with idols and some without. The performance depends on the *Bijak* or life history of the deities. As to what they like and what they dislike. The life history of the deities and the method of *Pujos* are kept preserved by the *Vaitdyas* in the form of *Pujo Bijak*.

8

Vaitdyali and System of Treatment of the Chakmas

The Chakmas believe that the cause of all illness and harm are the act of a human, a deva or spirits. So, to get relief from such harm one should try to cure it with medicines, or drive away the spirits applying mantras, get protection wearing *Āng* (*Yantras*) in the form of *Tābit/Kabach* (talisman), by binding on the body or burying at the place of habitation or kill the disease causing spirits by calling and bind them in the process called *Khāng* (if it is with an egg) *Tonā* (if in other process), or offer *Pujo* to get protection and appease them with *Pujo* and sacrifices to release their hold.

A deva or spirit may cause harm if their habitation or place of dwelling is invaded by making jhum, garden, construction of house. Also if the habitation is made dirty by encroaching it or by easing urine, latrine, etc., in such a case they hold such a person and try to eat him up or cause harm. It is also believed that the spirits go for hunting human and if any one falls in their way are bound to acquire illness.

The following are the gods, goddesses and spirits who can protect the human, cause harm, possess or hold and for which *Pujo* or worship is performed for protection and for the appeasement of the spirits. All *pujos* are not the same. Some are performed by making idols and some without and are performed as per *Pujo Bijak* where the likes and dislikes of the deities are written. The *Pujo Bijaks* are preserved by the *Vaitdyas*. Some of the deities are given below with their powers.

1. *Kāleiā*: He is the son of *Chandi*. He is believed to be the master of family life and worshipped during *Chumulang*. He likes pig, cock and wine.
2. *Parameswari*: She is the wife of *Kāleia* and worshipped during *Chumulang*. She likes hen and goat at *Hoiā*.
3. *Ma Lokkhi Ma*: She is the goddess of wealth and worshipped at harvest and *Hoiā*. She is also offered *Bhāt* (rice and curry) regularly on Wednesday with rice, curry and one

egg. She likes hen, pig at harvest. Also *Kānjee* and *Jagarhā*. She does not like shrimps. She likes crabs and grasshopers.

4. *Gangā Ma*: She is the water goddess. She likes chicken, rice, lamp, flowers, goat, etc. If she is displeased she can cause water born diseases, fever, cold, cough, lump, tumour, etc. Her sons are *Bhoot, Biatra, Ājrel, Nimuchchyā.*

5. *Bhoot*: He is said to be the son of *Gangā Mā* and a hunter. Before offering anything to *Bhoot, Gangā* should be worshipped first. *Bhooda* can cause fever, lump, tumour, etc. *Bhoots* are said to be 1200 in number. Some names of the *Bhoots* are: *Chelā, Chekkhang, Mhekkhang, Rengyā Bhoot, Āokya Bhoot, Padhar Bhoot, Jamgali Bhoot, Megulhee Bhoot, Khyang Bhoot, Barshellya, Chelā, Dibuchsyā Bhoot, Tinbuchsyā Bhoot, Ājrel, Nimuchchyā Lāgochsyā, Chwai Bhoot, Pāga Bhoot I, Nāsi Bhoot, Rang Bhoot, Bāndar Bhoot, Magani Bhoot, Kānnyā Bhoot, Hāchsyā Bhoot, Nāchchyā Bhoot, Chandra Bhoot, Siji Bhoot, Mwan Bhoot, Kon Bhoot, Āpta Bhoot, Bāyu Bhoot, Pancha Bhoot, Motyā Bhoot, Chhāgoli Bhoot, Nimuchchya Bhoot, Ājrel Bhoot, Niguchchya Bhoot, Morā Bhoot, Mak Bhoot, Nijo Bhoot, Rājā Bhoot, Dein Bhoot, Roangyā Bhoot,* etc.

6. *Biāttrā & Rwāhproo*: Identified with Rahu and Ketu and son of *Gangā*. They are also said to be the planetary deities. *Biāttrā* likes intestines of small chicken which has just come out from an egg and which has not touched the earth. It should be offered opening from the back. They can cause still born babies, deformities, accident, loss, damage, etc.

7. *Dhal Gangā or Dhaleswari*: She likes white hen. If not available, other chicken should be made white by painting with white flour. She can cause typhoid fever. She is sometimes identified with *Saraswati,* the goddess of learning.

8. *Dein:* They are the witches. They can cause circulatory diseases like rheumatism, paralysis, gout, lumps, tumours, skin diseases, etc. They like chicken, pigs. They are said to be 13,000 in number and are *Kājal Pudi, Sibangpudi, Phejari, Gandhakelā, Surjyakelā, Chandrakelā, Khukkyang, Sājani, Nājoni, Hājongmā, Lulangsu, Kāligā, Dipuri, Sighidhwach, Kālā Khedar, Indragupta, Ulidenya, Seji, Mongsā, Ulanga, Nāridyang, Ālhang, Chembak, Dipuri, Sāpuri, Sāhāpuri, Sibangsa, Kushkhang, Alhang, Chembak,* etc. They are said to cause blood circulatory diseases like rheumatism, gout, paralysis, blood flow, blood cloting, etc. The seven sisters cause skin diseases like leprosy, white patches, boils, abscess, tumour, lumps, etc.

9. *Puri*: The fairies. *Sapuri, Alim, Bhoot, Dyo, Kal, Sunjukya, Kenhei,* etc. They cause mental disease. The male fairy causes cyclone. They like flowers, sweetmeat, cakes, pigeon, goat etc. They can cause mental diseases.

10. *Pret:* They like egg and intestines of animals. They can cause boils and also appear in frightful manner. They are said to be 1300 in number and are *Chilāng, Cherheng, Chirhing,* etc. They are said to make horrid sound, fearful appearance, and cause boils, carbuncles, etc.

11. *Siji Mongsha*: They cause uneasiness in children and child colic pain sleeplessness, etc.

12. *Edā*: Spirit of bravery. In absence of *Eda* a person will tremble in fear. It can be called back with a *Pujo* called '*Edā Dāgi Denā'* (to call back *Edā*, the spirit of bravery) with a full cooked chicken, cakes, sweetmeat, coconut, biscuit, sugarcane, money, etc.

13. *Ājurho:* He is the spirit of wine and distillation. If he is displeased, one will not get enough wine in distillation. He is offered chicken.

14. *Than:* The quardian of a place and offered pig. They are thirty-six in number.
15. *Hājangmhā*: Deity of wildlife. If she is displeased, hunters cannot hit any wild animal. She can also let loose ferocious animal like tiger to kill human being and send wild animals like boars to destroy crops.
16. *Jokkhyo*: They are the treasure guards. They are said to nine crores and nine lakhs and are the soldiers of Devi. They are the guards of treasure and lure the human with it. It can hold a greedy person luring with treasure and make him mad. Offered duck, black goat, etc.
17. *Bajhampudi:* It is Vasumati, the earth. She is worshipped for good harvest with chicken or pig.
18. *Chandi*: She is the master of weapons and accident. She is sometimes called Kali or Ketuga. She is offered goat.
19. *Ochsya*: He is idenfied with Ganesha and offered egg.
20. *Michchingya*: He is the human husband of *Mā Lokkhi*. If he is entertained, *Mā Lokkhi* is bound to bless such a family and is believed never to fall under the clutch of poverty. Offered a cock.
21. *Biātra*: Planetory deity causes *Dajhā* and immature death. Likes hen and intestine of small chicken.
22. *Chelā*: The big ghost. Likes pig.
23. *Ājrel/Nimochya*: Disease causing spirit, a dein, likes pig.
24. *Nārengya/Bar Shellya*: Disease causing spirit, likes cock.
25. *Kālā Khedar*: Master of haunted place. Likes goat, cock.
26. Seven sisters (fairies): Cause of mental illness. They like flower, popped rice, sweetmeats, pigeon, etc.
27. *Mochdyā*: Master of tiger and other ferocious animals. Likes cock.
28. *Kālubang*: Cock and hen.
29. *Moginhi*: White hen
30. *Sip Kumori*: White cock.
31. *Phool Kumori*: Hen.
32. *Bar Kumori*: Hen.
33. *Jal Kumori*: Hen.
34. *Undur Kumori*: Hen.
35. *Bhoot Kumori*: Hen.
36. *Hāttyā –Motdyā*: One cock and one pig.
37. *Chekkhang*: Son of Bhoot. Hen.
38. *Mhekkhang*: Grandson of Bhoot. Likes egg.
39. *Chilang*: Preta. Egg.
40. *Chirhing*: Son of Preta. Egg.
41. *Alhong:* Grandson of preta. Egg.

42. *Mātri*: They are said to be 1200 in number and are *Hāttyā, Mottyā, Ijingyā, Ijingi*, etc.

43. Planetary deities: *Biātrā, Rwāproo, Mrolā, Mroli, Krenghā, Krenghi, Pormāmoch* are Planetory deities related with child birth and child disease.

Khāgini, Moghini, and Jugini are the daughters of *Mokkhyā Rājā* (Daksha?) *Khegā, Bhogā,* and *Ulombotyo* are *Khāginis. Khuskhang, Ālong, Chempāk,* and *Sibāngsā*, are the *Deins. Chelā* and *Chekkhang*, are the *bhoots. Hāchdyā, mochdyā, Ijingyā,* and *Ijingi* are the *Mātris. Bhoot, Chelā, Byātrā, Ājrel, Nimochyā, Dhal Gangā* are the children of Gangā. The number of the spirits are said to be 1200 *Mātris,* 1300 *Deins*, 2000 *Khāginis,* 12000 *Bhoots*, 13000 *Prets,* etc. It is said that *Dākshā* or *Mokkhyā Rājā* had one hundred daughters and two sons. Out of them, mother of *Ravana*, wife of *Kāsyapa, Kājal Pudi* and *Sibang Pudi* are main. Some were married by the devas, seven sisters namely *Sājoni, Nājoni, Phejori, Surjyo Kelā, Chandra Kelā, Siki Pudi* and *Kānjan Pudi* went with the witches, five sisters namely, *Iyāndi, Chandi, Sep Pudi,* etc., settled in *Hājhā, Pihr Khānā, Kuluk, Deldeli,* etc., *Khāgini* and *Moginhi* became eater of puja offered by human. Seven sisters *Phool Kumori, Bar Kumori, Sil Kumori, Mech Kumori, Bat Kumori, Bini Kumori,* and *Jal Kumori* went with the fairies

These deities and spirits are said to possess different powers. They cause different illness to human beings and on being offended by encroaching their place of habitations or falling in the way of their hunting. Therefore, the names of illness are named as *Ājhar* (affect), *Gulhe* (pallet/ bullet shot), *Dhorā* (hold), etc. The place of habitation of spirits is known as *Mogham* and thirty-six are main. So the main *Moghams* are collectively known as '*Chhatrich Moghā*': They are: (1) *Bādol Khāt* (Bats cave) – the eye, (2) *Tārā pochchyā gāt* (a hole, the anus)—ear hole. Den of bats, (3) *Biji Khāt* (the ear), (4) *Byāttrā Bhidyā*—the knee, (5) *Cherāk Ghar*, (6) *Chhinā kijing*–the neck, (7) *Debedā Gourh*, (8) *Dyo Dhulon*–the elbow: A tree whose both ends are rooted and a stream flown between or whose middle is up. The swing of *Diyo*, the male fairy, (9*) Tārā Pochchyā Gāt*–a pit, the nave, (10) *Gera Aruk*–the figure of a millipede, the backbone, (11) *Gongā–Damdamā/Mājā*-triangular stream source, (12) *Hājā*–Pihr Khānā the salt forming stream or place. Female organ, (13) *Heil Gāch*–a big evergreen trees, it is believed to be the abode of ghost, (14) *Jāmā Bāch*–Paired bamboo, (15) *Kājhee*–the rope (four limbs), (16) *Kāmār Dogān*–the cockynes, (17) *Kara Mādi*, (18) *Khār Chhāgoni* (ash strainer), (19) *Kodoro Tong*–the holes of pigeons, (20) *Ubho Dogān*–(navel)–Den of porcupine, (21) *Kuung Gāch*–Legs. Where two lines of trees, three each are found, (22) *Māgeim*, (23) *Manap Āruk*–(the body)/Munichsyora/ Nimuchchya Āruk–skeleta figure made by six tillas, (24) *Tudhing Khalā–the ankle*, (25) *Nāga Khāt*–a place where water flows from two sources of a cave, i.e., the nose), (26) *Nah Tānā*–the Chest, (27) *Neil Chumo Gāt*–(mouth to ass), a tunnel, a borrow, – the mouth, (28) *Pāāh Murho*–the three hiils formed like the posts of a oven, (29) *Pāgochyā Gāch*–(parasital trees), abode of ghost, (30) *Ubudho gāt* (the anus, (31) *Puri Khāt*–Den of fairies, (32) *Puri Khalā*–the field of fairies, (33) *Rādhā Ghara Chuk*–a hill top, the head, (34) *Rijhyang*, a water fall–armpit, (35) *Sāmugho Leijha Bach*–snail tailed bamboo, and (36) *Tāng Mhāng Ghāt.*

Apart from the above, the places where like *Bhet bhedi* (clayee place), *Bāndar morā* (dead monkey), *Bilei Jhām māchchyā* (jungle cat jumping place), *Changarā Marā* (dead sambhar), *Gui Marā* (dead monitor lizard), *Chānnwa Bāch* (a place where four bamboo leans forward and at the top a spider weaves a net), *Pāgala Gour* (mad person grave), *Peikh Marā* (dead bird), *Phārāngi Gour* (leper's grave), *Pwa Kābā* (baby grave), *Murho Shelhoch Khāt* (eel pond on a hill), *Bāmhoch Khāt, Sil Kugur Khāt* (gecko like lizard *cave*), *Ui Phut* (bubble forming clay), *Dur Morā* (dead tortoise), *Sugor dyā bheedha* (the hillock on which finding of pig was decided, etc., are

also believed to be haunted and not good for habitation and so are avoided for construction of house or cultivation.

In addition, the Chakmas take finding of dead animals on any place as taboo and ill-fated like Sambhar, Deer, Monkey, Monitor Lizard, Tortoise, Snake, Birds, etc. For which they drive away the ill-luck called *Phee* with the rite of *Balā Kādā*. There are also some *other Phees like: Balā phee* (phee acquired on seeing certain things), *Sigira Phee* (on sitting by a falcon on the roof top), *Chil Phee* (on sitting by a kite on the roof), *Kugur Phee* (climbing of a dog on the roof), *Mhollha Phee* (sitting of a vulture on the roof), *Mora Phee* (on occuring death in the house), *Biani Phee* (entry of a mother in the house without purification rite/on giving birth of a child), *Byah Phee* (entry of newly wed couple without Byah Bur), *Manei Phee, Chang Phee* (on killing by an elephant from the family), *Bāk Phee* (on killing by a tiger from the gutthi), *Mang phee* (on entry of a king in common man house), *Nāgā Phee* (on entry of snake in a house), *Lo Phee* (on finding blood in a house), *Ui Phee* (on entry of black termite in a house), *Gui Phee* (on seeing a dead inguana lizard), *Dur phee* (on seeing a dead tortoise), etc., totalling thirty *phee*.

A human may cause harm by physical attack, *Mandar* (magical chanting), *Jādu* (administration of corrosive substances) or *Tonā* (applying black magic on the supposed body of a person in which portion of wearing clothes, hair, nail, soil from foot print or soil from place of urination is necessary), *Chāllān* (deputation of spirits) *Bāān* (releasing of *Bāān*, literally arrow in the form of black magic), etc.

As per belief, a human may be harmed with *Mandar* (magical chanting), *Jādu* (administration of corrosive substances) or *Tonā* (applying black magic on the supposed body of a person in which portion of wearing clothes, hair, nail, soil from foot print or soil from place of urination, etc., is necessary), *Chāllan* (deputation of spirits) *Bāān* (releasing of *Bāān*, literally means release of an arrow in the form of black magic), etc.

The Chakmas believe in cure from illness with the help of a *Vaitdya* (physician). A *Vaitdya* uses trational healing method called *Vatdyali*. A *Vaitdya* believe that a person does not get sick without any cause. The causes are either attack by animal, worms or insects, planetary disorders, hold of gods, goddesses and spirits for offending them by trespassing their habitations and also by human beings. So, they generally use *Mandars, Tālliks, Pujo, Khāng, Tābit, Āng, Tonā,* etc., to cure a person. It is also believed that a person may be caused harm with *Jādu, Tonā* and *Chāllān*. They also resort to different methods to diagnosis to ascertain a disease like checking of pulses, physical examination, administration of *mantra* chanted materials, binding of talisman, *ganānā* (calculation), *Dāban* (a process in which mantra chanted things like nail, a *gheelyā*, an *Ānā* (mirror), etc., are asked to look at by a person born under the zodiac, *Tulo Rajhi* (scale), *Khurhee Hādhānā, Bān Tulheedenā*, application of magical writings called *Āng, Mutdro Chumo, Sinān*, etc. Apart from applying/ administering medicines as per *Tālliks*, they also apply *Mantras* on thirty-six important vital points called *Chattrich Moghām*. The number thirty-six is very popular among the Chakmas. Their letters are thirty-six in the alphabet, the *Dujho Jāgās* (haunting places) are thirty-six, the *Jabins* (vital body points) are thirty-six, Paddies are thirty-six varieties, Deities of a *Thān* (place) are thirty-six, the longest *Tāngon* (banner) offered is thirty-six hands measured, etc.

And these elements are influenced by external forces like spirits, deities, gods, goddesses, etc., from time to time. If our *Cherāk*, the lamp of knowledge is inactive, we get sick. If our lamp of knowledge is bright, we can avoid illness and save ourselves from the influences of spirits

and deities. The Chakmas believe that the cause of all illness and harm are the act of a human, a deva or a spirit. So, to get relief from such harm one should try to cure it with medicines, or drive away the spirits applying mantras, get protection wearing *Āng* (Yantras) in the form of Tābit (talisman), get protection by binding or burying an *Āng* and medicine around the house or place of habitation or kill the disease causing spirits by calling and bind them in the process called *Khāng* (if it is with an egg) *Tonā* (if in other process), or appease them with Pujo and sacrifice of animals to release their hold.

A deva or spirit may cause harm if their rules are violated or their habitation or place of dwelling is invaded by making jhum, garden, construction of house, etc., or making dirty by easing urine, latrine, etc., on such place of habitation. In such a case, they hold such a person and cause *Ājhar* (influenc/affect) to kill by causing illness. It is also believed that the spirits go for human hunting and if any one falls in their way, is said to be attacked by them with *gulhee* (pallet/shot/bullet). Therefore, the names of illness are sometimes named as *Ājhar* (shelter/affect), *Gulhee* (pallet/bullet), etc. Due to planetary misposition, one may also suffer.

Pujo or *worship:* A *Pujo* is performed to appease the deities disease causing spirits. Methods of all *Pujos* are not same. Some are performed with idols and some without. The performance depends on the *Bijak* or life history of the deities. As to what they like and what they dislike. The life history of the deities and the method of *Pujos* are kept preserved by the *Vaitdyas* in the form of *Pujo Bijak.*

On illness and at distress: (1) Bhat Jora, (2) Gonga Pujo, (3) Bhoodo Kurho, (4) Bhoodho Sugor, (5) Chela Sugor, (6) Dibuchsya Sugor, (7) Reido Sugor, (8) Kali Chhagol, (9) Mrola Pujo, (10) Eda Dagoni, (11) Khang, (12) Adrik Khang, (13) Kali Chhagol, (14) Chumulang, (15) Gristhi Chumulang, Trinat Pujo, (16) Tridep Pujo, (17) Jum/Bhui/Jaga Mara, (18) Puri Pujo, (19) Sajho Kurho, (20) Ghar Band, (21) Para Bon, (22) Madha Dhwo/Bur Para/ Bola Kada/ Phee Kadana, (24) Eda Dagana, (25) Sindi, (26) Mogini Pujo, (27) Deino Pujo, (28) Prettya deveda pujo, (29) Haja Kuluk Marana, (30) Thānmānā.

While performing a *Pujo*, the *Oujhā* puts prayer before the deity for the release of hold stating that the offering is on behalf of the patient and if the patient has offended knowingly or unknowingly, he/she should be pardoned the ignorant man/woman. That deity should be pleased with the offering. If the *Pujo* is with the sacrifice of animal, the *Ojhā* will say that he is offereing life for life, blood for blood, eye for eye, flesh for flesh, liver for liver, etc., the patient should be released the hold.

The followings are the materials generally used in a *Pujo*:

1. *Dāli:* Sacrificial animal like chicken, pig, goat, duck, pigeon, etc.
2. *Phool Pāghor*: Flowers of different colours, except of thorny and bitter plants.
3. *Memā Michshri*: Sweetmeat and materials made of sweet.
4. *Gheelā-Kojoi Pānhi*: The water prepared by dipping carnel of GHEELA, a round shaped fruit (horse chest nut like), KOJOI, a tamerind like jungle fruit found on thorny creeper, raw turmeric, metal like gold and silver which is regarded as secred and suitable purifying a place.
5. *Mārei:* Piece of bamboo chips decorated with downward bristle and which is posted on the sacrificial platform.

6. *Āk Pādā*: Tips of leaves like jack fruit or similar thick one used to test whether the sacrifice is read of different colours like red, black, yellow accepted.
7. *Pāllyāng*: A bamboo plaited flat form used to put *Pujo* materials.
8. *Dwa Pallā Pāllyāng*: Two storyed bamboo plaited platform.
9. *Ubho Cherāk:* Oil lamps whose wick is of spinned cotton thread and which stands upright.
10. *Mukti:* Idol made of clay or rice flour.
11. *Ābedhi Sudho:* A thread which is spunned by a girl who has not attained puberty and it is regarded as secred thread.
12. *Āgā Pādā*: The tip portion of plantain leaves which is spread on the platform of a *Pujo*.
13. *Gongā Ghār*: A bamboo platform erected on the bank of a river or stream for the purpose of sacrifice of animal. It may be triangualar or square in shape.
14. *ChoL* (rice): Usually five measures. It is remeasured after the Pujo is over to test whether the *Pujo* was fruitful. If it is fruitful, the quantity of rice is believed to increase.
15. *Rāngā Kālā*: Thread string of different colour like red, black, yellow, green, blue, orange, purple, etc.
16. *Tengā*: Money.
17. *Khoi:* Popped rice.
18. *Kābar*: Clothes of different measures depending on the *Pujo*.
19. *Ādārhā*: Provisions of *Pujo* material like rice, curries, sweetmeat, etc., put as offerings.
20. *Ghat*: Water pot with mango leaves, durba grass, etc.
21. *Tabā:* A pot, earthen or metal.
22. *Chharha*: Earten/metal lid of a pot.
23. *Chārhā*: Broken piece of earten pot.
24. *Āk Pānhi*: Unused water freshly brought from river or stream.
25. *Mutro Chumo*: Small bamboo cylinders meant to put medicines; and
26. *Pujo Bijok:* The life story of the deities and spirits and the procedure of performing *Pujo*.

The Chakmas traditionally believe the hold of gods and spirits in every illness, accident, misfortune, etc. Hence to free the body from the hold and influence of spirits they appease, worship the spirits and also apply *Mandar, Dāru* (medicines) and various form of magic in the form of Talisman, *Āng* (yantras), *Tonā*, Chāllān, etc. They also use *Jādu, Tonā, Chāllān, Mantra* and medicines to destroy and control an enemy. A person who performs *Pujo* and appeasement of spirits is called an *Ojhā* and a person who prescribes medicinal *Tāllik* (medicinal formula) and apply *Mandar* (magical chanting) is called *Vaitdya*. A person may be bot a *Vaitdya* and an *Ojhā*.

The *Vaitdyas* are traditionally thought and trained by a *Guru Thāghur* (Master Teacher), who is a veteran and experienced *Vaitdya*. *Vaitdyali* is both *Bhāledi* (welfare) and *Kubidi* (destructive). The initial stage of teaching starts with *Tālliks* and *Mandars*. A *Shichjhya* or student apprentice is first taught *Tālliks* and the less important mantras. The teacher teaches the main course only when he has full confidence on the *Shichjya* (student) that he is faithful and he will not cause any harm to others without a legitimate cause. Since as per traditional belief, if a Shichjya causes

any harm to others without a legitimate cause, the teacher also gets the share of the sin and one should cause harm others with full ability only if (1) Own livelihood is taken away, (2) Own land is grasped, (3) Own wife is taken away, (4) harm is caused to self, and family members and (5) Showing anus with humiliation is regarded as the most grave offence. A *Shichjya* should apply all his knowledge to harm such humiliator other wise all his teachers will also go to hell! On the other hand, if a person does not apply the harmful knowledge to harm any body, he gains the virtue of looking after an Arhant monk. Earlier, while learning *Vaitdyali*, a *Shichjya* had to undergo meditation under the guidance of the *Guru* in the deep jungle where '*Kabā patra ba nei, Dhinghi kilyā Ra Nei* (where there is no sound of crow, sound of leaves and no sound of paddy pounding (people), at *Sajhān Khalā* (the cremation ground) and on *Tāngyā Magadā* (on a hung dead body).

The Chakmas traditionally believe that a human body is formed of five elements—Water, earth, air, fire and ether. According to *Vaitdyali*, a human body is consist of: (1) Forty-nine varieties of *Bāyu* or air, (2) Fifty-two *Bāzār* of market, (3) Fifty-three *Gallis* or streets, (4) Nine *Darajas* or doors, (4) Eight *Gudhi* or rooms, (5) Seven *Tālā* or locks, (6) Five *Chābhi* or keys, (7) Thirteen *Khils* or nails, (8) Eighty *Khāmbhā* or posts, (9) Seventy-two thousand *Nāri* (pulses, nerves, veins, arteries). Out of which ten are main (10) Three *Bichchans* or beds, (11) Five main *Muni* or sages, (12) Five *Prāna Bāyu* or life air, (13) Seven *Sāgar* or seas, (14) Eighteen *Maghām* or abodes, (15) Nine *Chanda* or moons, (16) Three *Tari* or boats, (17) Kāmāni, (18) *Bālhuch* or pillow, (19) *Mālum*, (20) *Nāngal*, (21) *Dogan* or shop, and (22) *Monurhā*, etc. The *Vaidyas* name them differently, may be to hide from common man. There are 59 *Bāyusor air*: out of which, ten *Bāyus*, namely (1) *Prāna*, (2) *Aprāna*, (3) *Samān*, (4) *Adhyāi*, (5) *Nāg Kumbha*, (6) *Debadatta*, (7) *Dhananjay*, (8) *Grān*, (9) *Agrān*, and (10) *Apeyā Vasanta* are main.

Pran Bāyu sits at heart, *Jibadhwach Bāyu* sits at Kidney, *Dhanwantari* at Ingilā, *Jbauna (Sibasthan)* at Pingila, *Basanta* at *Jibadhwach*, *Susharma* near the navel, *Jibadhwaj Bāyu* forms from *Anāuch Chakra* (navel) and *Yama* takes away life and life is lost after *Mālum* has fallen.

***Nāri*:** As per scripture, there said to exist seventy-two thousand *Nāris*. Out of which *Ingilā*, *Pingilā*, *Susharmā*, *Gāndhāri* and *Indrāni* are the main five Naris. Susarmā Nāri has gone through the throat. On the way, it meets *Tribei Ghāt*, on its North is *Dumdubi Bāzār* (Monurhā Ghāt), *Man Manurhā* remains there.

***Jabin Parichay*:** At Solar flexus remains *Parameswar*. There *Man Pawan Gulo* sits opposite the liver which is called *Niranjan*. Under the right nipple remains *Tin Tari*, Liver remains opposite thesolar flexus. The liver is also called *Tin Tari*. Above the liver is *Thāgur*, the heart. Under the left nipple is *Dumdubi Bāzār*. Below that is Navel which is called *Sivasthan*. Eyes are known as *Surjyo Tapta Nāri*. *Ingilā* is male *Nāri* and *Pingilā* is female *Nāri*.

They also have different name for the bodily parts: Right fingers–*Ingilā*, Left fingers–*Pingilā*, Middle finger–*Indriya*, Thumb–*Bharani*, Index finger–*Lānguli*, Index finger–*Lāla Khudho*, Stalk of liver–*Saramhā*, Liver *Tin tari/Āp/ Rohini Chandra*, Diaphram (Sānei)–*Thāghur bed*, Heart–*Thāgur*, Lungs–*Dyo dhwach*, *Ālgā Jwil–Fire*, Throat–*Tribeni Ghāt*, End of navel–*Tin Tari*, Back which cannot be touched–*Gupta Dwar/Sristi Barmhā*, Two eyes–*Two lamps*, Forehead–*One lamp*, Eyelid–*Phajhari*, Crown of head- *Cheir Chandra Nāl*, Two nostrils–*Air canal*, Front of nose–*Nāga chopchobi*, Lower lup–*Ghandhi*, Two nostril–*Maldwar*, When four ways meet–*Srigalā ghāt*, Tear–*Ulambattya Chandra*, Ālgā jwil–*Ādi Chandra*, Upper jaw–*Own Chandra*, Mouth–*Pavan*, Kidney-*Niranjan*, Life–*Bayu Niranjan*, Chhānei–*Kedugā*, Day–*Father*, Night–*Mother*.

Bāzār: *Chaidannya Bāzār*–Dhakdhaghi, Dumdumi Bāzār–Under the left nipple, Machtaba ghāt–Jaw, *Ananta Dwar*–Below the nipple, *Bhru Dwar*–Chest, Jhunuk Dwar–End of breech of nose, *Singha dhwani Bāzār*–Khagarā (back of knee), *Lahittya Bāzār*–Chest, *Tyari Bāzār*–Leaf of hand, *Patda Muni Ghāt*–Heel, *Dagini Ghāt*–Elbow, *Mathurā Khandha* Bāzar–Left buttock, *Jhumjhumi Bāzār*–Left nipple, *Jhunuk Bāzār*–Right arm pit, *Brammhā Chakra Bāzār*–Navel, *Mathura khanda Bāzār*–Right buttock, *Indra Bāzār*–Back at 15 knots, *Nasikka Bāzār*–Above two eyes, *Sip Bāzār*–Back at 12 knots, *Sammati Indrapuri Bāzār*–At the spleen, *Kailāsh Puri Bāzār*–Navel and crown, *Nagendra Bāzār*–Right nostril, *Mahendra Bāzar*–Neii gorā (back of the head), *Lāhuttya Sringghi Bāzār*–Back, below nine knots of the hump.

The *Guru* teaches his *Shichjya* about the functions and locations of the above vital parts of a body with the help of an anatomy chart called *Mānāp* (Anatomic chart). A *Mānāp* is said to be of two kinds, i.e., *Jedā Mānāp* (live) and *Marā Mānāp* (dead). The vital points are known as *Jāgā-Jabin* and the most important or vital parts of the body and the *Vaityas* (physicians) on which blow air chanting Mantras are 36 in numbers. These 36 points are also called *Chhatrich Maghām* or *Jabin*. They are: 1. *Tāllo* (Crown of head), 2. *Bāng Chokh* (Left eye), 3. *Dein Chokh* (Right eye), 4. *Kobāl* (fore head), 5. *Bāng Kān* (Left ear), 6. *Dein Kān* (Right ear), 7. *Bāng Nāga Phalā* (nostril), 8. *Dein Nāga Phalā* (nostril), 9. *Mu* (Mouth), 10. *Thughurhee* (Chin), 11. *Tadā* (Throat), 12. *Demi* (below the neck), 13. *Bāng Kangadhā* (end of Collar bone), 14. *Dein Kongodhā* (end of collar bone), 15. *Bāng Bagal* (Arm pit), 16. *Dein Bagal* (Arm pit), 17. *Bang Hadho gabhi* (End of left wrist (front), 18. *Dein Hado gabhi* (front end of right wrist), 19. *Buk* (Chest), 20. *Bāng Dudho Mādhā* (Left nipple), 21. *Dein Dudho Mādhā* (right nipple), 22. *Gupta Dwar* (Back, between two shoulder blades), 23. *Bāng Dudhottole* (Three fingers below the left nipple), 24. *Dein dhago harho thum* (End of right rib), 25. *Lheplevi* (Solar flexus), 26. *Nābhi* (navel), 27. *Tal Pet* (three finger below the navel, i.e., Abdomen), 28. *Bāng Ādhu* (Knee), 29. *Dein Ādhu* (knee), 30. *Bāng Jam dwar* (between the Thumb and index of foot), 31. *Dein Jam Dwar* (between thumb and index of foot), 32. *Bāng Thengha Pit* (Back of feet), 33. *Dein Thenga Pit* (back of feet), 34. *Bāng Telodi* (ends of thigh), 35. *Dein Telodi* (end of thigh) and 36. *Puno Tinjurhi Hār* (cocynx). These are nothing but parts of the body according to their functions.

Most of the above bodily parts are located on the crown ear, nose, eyes, throat, back of throat, shoulder, between shoulder blades, elbow, chest, nipples, solar flesus, below the left nipple, naval, cocynx, thigh end, back of knee, joint of feet, feet wrist joint, skin, etc. The *Vaitdyas* generally blow air on these parts with magical chanting called *Jhārhānā* to cure and protect a patient.

The *Guru* also teaches his students as to how to identify the cause of illness whether it is *Mānei Karam* (caused by human being) or *Deva Karam* (caused by spirits. If it is caused by *Manei*, it can be cured with *Mandar* (magical chanting) and *Dāru* (medicine). If it is *Deva Karam* (caused by spirits), identifying its power, the hold is released with *Mandar* (magical chanting) and appeasement with *Pujo* (worship), *Dāli* (sacrifice of animal) amd *Dāru* (medicine). An experienced *Vaitdya* is supposed to diagnosis an ailment by touching the nerves of a patient. He also applies the following methods to ascertain the cause of illness:

(a) Tābit Bānhi Denā: In this method, a talishmen is bound on the patient and who is supposed to disclose the cause of illness.

(b) Dāban Chānhā: In this process, mantra chanted oil is applied on a *gheelyā*, nail or a mirror. A person born in the zodiac of *Tulā* (scale) is only supposed to see the cause on the mirror, nail or *Gheelyā*.

(c) *Dāru Bānhi Denā*: In this process, certain medicine (mantra chanted) is bound on the patient and who is supposed to disclose the cause in sleep.

(d) *Khurhee Hādhāna*: In this process a *tulā rāshi* man is possessed with spirit and he is supposed to go to the offending place where the spirit held the patient.

(e) *Bān Tulhee Denā*: In this process a *Tulā Rāshi* born man is possessed with spirit and he is supposed to disclose the cause of illness while under the possession of the spirit.

(f) *Mralā Chānha:* In this process, a bamboo stick is chanted with mantra and the stick is measured every time asking question. If any difference is found in the measurement, the cause is ascertained.

(g) *Ganānā*: It the process of calculation observing certain sign and symbols.

(h) *Tel Parhā, Nun Parhā, Pānhi Parhā*: In this process, oil, salt, water, etc., are chanted with *Mandar* (magical chanting) and the patient is asked to taste it. The cause is ascertained with the feel of taste by the patient.

(i) *Badā Tonā*: In this process, an egg is chanted with *Mandar* and the egg is broken. The cause is ascertained on seeing certain spot, colour, etc., on the yolk.

The *Vaidyas* also believe in the hold of spirits if a patient does not get cured within stipulated time and also after application of *Bājeiā* (Time tested) medicines as per *Tāllik* (medicinal formula). Medicine is prescribed after the symptoms and signs of the patient are found to be identical as is written in a *Tāllik*.

The followings are the terms used in *Vaitdyali*:

***Tāllik*:** It is the traditional medical formula preserved in Chakma script. It contains the name of the ailments, symptoms and complications. It also contains the names of medicines and how to apply it and what other simulteneous food, drink, medicines should be taken with the main medicine and what should not be taken with the medicine. The medicines are of two kinds, *Banājā* (fresh plant, shrub, herbs) and *Pājārhi* (preserved herbs, seeds and chemicals). The simultaneous food, drink and medicines are called *Unumān* and the prohibition is called *Bājhā*. In the Chakma system of treatment, a patient is generally prohibited taking of turmeric, chillies, sour material, greasy and oily materials and sometimes meat and fish. It is only in case of *Rangā Pirā* (jaundice), sour vegetable and crabs are encouraged to take.

Example of typical *Talliks*:

1. *Tallik Ranga Pirar: Lakkhyan: Jar hai, Halattya gurhi Mudey, Bal parey, Chokh holottya hai, Ghum ejhe. Tār Dāru: Rohn–sāt kājhā, Gul murich–sattwa, Sobona sindur, Magardhwaj, Bobo Turing sāt āgā. Iyanhi bādi sāttwa buri bānei ekkwa ekkwa garhi diney tin bār modhu di khāi.*

   -Formula for jaundice. Symptoms: Fever, Urine becomes yellow, weakness, Eyes become yellow, Feels sleepy. Medicines: Seven cloves of garlic, seven nos, of black peeper, *swarna sindur* (a chemical), *Makardhwaj* (a chemical), seven shoots of *Bobo Turing* (a shrub). Grind it into a paste and make seven balls and dry in the sun. Take one ball at a time thrice in a day with honey.

2. *Tallik – Disti= Behajami. Lachkhyan: Hajam na hai, Nābhi cheirho kittyā suloi, pirā garhey, Pet dum dhochsya hai, Ghana Ghana hagey, Hāgānhā heel na hai, bech haley khengedhā hai, Nittwa pet purey, Kai-ekkhān tyan kheley bech hai. Dāru: Rohn sāt*

kojhā, Gul murich sāttwa, Mengani pādā sātthān, Nāgo ruborādi gulo sāttwa, Kumochsyā ludi sāt chāgā, Ādā sāt chāgā āā Kettrāngā sāt chāgā. Ei dāruhi nighuch garhi bādi sāttwa buri bānei ekkwa ekkwa garhi dine tin bār tyana jhullhoi khāli pede khāi. Tyāna jhul na pelhey garam pānhi di khāi. Je tyānhān kheley bech hai se tyana jhullhoi kheley gam.

Bājeiā: *Formula for indigestion.* Symptoms: Cannot digest food properly, feels ache and pain around the naval, forms gas, passes stool frequently without satisfaction. In chronic cases losses body weight, Craves for eating frequently. Stomach gets irritated on taking certain food. Medicines: Garlic seven cloves, Black pepper seven nos., *Mengani* (*Centelia asiatica*) seven leaves, *Nāga rubo-rādi gulo* (Grass balls, literally nose ornament ball) seven nos., *Kumachsyā ludi* (a thorny shrub, literally crocodile tailed creeper) seven slices, *Ādā* (ginger) seven slices, and *Kettrāngā* (a ginger like bulb) seven slices. Pound all these medicines into a paste, make seven balls and dry in the sun. Dose: Take one ball at a time in empty stomach thrice in a day with curry soup. If soup is not available take with warm water. It is advisable to take it with such curry soup on which intake the stomach irritates or upsets. In case of minor, the dose should be decreased.

Note: According to traditional belief, one gets indigestion with the evil vision of craving by a human or spirit. Such evil vision is called *Disti*. And if there is an evil vision, such food if taken remains undigested in the stomach causing tumour and other ailments. It is therefore advised by the Chakma elders that before taking any food one should keep aside or throw away some portion of the food to be taken with the wish to ward off the evil vision or *Disti* and with the prayer to immunity to such evil look and the human or spirit should satisfy with the thrown away/kept aside portion.

This *Tallik* is time tested and it is found to have expelled undigested food which was taken three to six months earlier and to cure the patient completely.

3. *Tāllik Jdu bich tulanhee/Bhach garanhi. Dāru: Dein Kurhee, Jhari Pachchyā Changarā sing, Mukta sing, Tuttyā, Bāngorhi Bhāngā Kher. Iyānhi bādi sudhobiji pramān buri bānei diney 2/3 bār pābhi di khāi.*

- Formula for poison adjuvalent/digestion of corrosive. Medicines: *Dein Kurhi* (a sea snail) fallen horn of sambhar, copper sulphate, *Bāngorhi bhāngā kher* (a herbal grass literally broken bangle/*churi* grass). These medicines be pounded into a paste and made cotton seed sized balls and taken one ball at a time 2/3 times daily with water.

4. *Tāllik Purush Tulonee/Mardāni jur garanhi: Dāru – Rwahn, Pārā, Prāngā, Kājā Gulmurich, Lang, Pibai, Tuttyā, Udho Naksa, Sigirāsik, Chhatti Māresh, Karengā, Tech Madan, Dānā Kābhur. Ei dāru udho naksa bharey jaghā di chinhi di bādey, kāpāch dānā promān pramān buri bānei ekkhwo ekkhhwo garhi diney 2/3 bār chinhi di khai.*

- *Formula for vitality:* Medicines – Garlic, mercury, pranga (a herb), green pepper, clove, nutmeg, pipul, copper oxide, otter pizzle, sigirasik (a herb), Chhatti marech (a herb), star fruit, Tech madan (a preserved herb), camphor cube. These medicines should be taken in otter fizzle weight and pounded with sugar and made cotton seed size balls and taken one ball each 2/3 times a day with sugar.

5. *Tāllik Pāgal Kugure kāmārlye: Dāru–Bhādho māchsyā āgārbwā puk-sāttwa, Bānāch kābara chhei, Rwahn, Gulmurich, Jāllyā morā, Khāidye midhyā, Sudo biji dānā,*

Ānnhwa, Muli. Iyānhi bādi kāpāch dānā pramān buri bānei gārām pānhi di khāi. Kāmrenei sāt din haley teh khābāi. Patthame tinwa ek laghe khābāi, jere ekkwah ekkwah khābāi diney tin bār. Dāruye dharily, tughut tughut hāgey, mudey.

- *Formula for rabbit dog bite:* Seven nos. of *Āgārbwa Puk* (a Spanish fly like insect which causes blister), ash of *Bānāch Kābar* (a synthetic cloth), garlic, black pepper, spider shed, jaggery, kernel of cotton seed, carbon of chimney and yeast. Pound it and make cotton seed sized balls and take with worm water. Medicine should be started after seven days from dog bite. First three balls should be given at a time. Later, one ball each, 2/3 times daily. If the medicine works, the patient will have frequent loose motion and urination.

6. *Tāllik hār bhāngā: Dāru – Kujhi kurho hār, pubho sāmugha chha, badā rāngā kujhum, Ulu sigon, kijing sinā pādā, dhingi shāga murho. Iyānhi nighuch gurhi bādi, garam gurhi, um um bānhi thoi.*

- *Formula for bone fracture:* Medicines – Bones of small chicken, snail lings of round snails, yellow yolk of egg, jelly of *Ulu* (elephant apple), *Kijing Chhinā Pādā* (a shrub) and roots of *Dhingi shāk* (a fern). Pound these minutely and heat it in plantain leaves and bind luke worm on the affected part.

7. *Tālik Sālābāndhā: Dāru: Sāmuk, Bātbāttyā shāk, Jhārbwa bei shāk, Lājāri pādā, Bāngarhi bhāngā kher. Iyānhi bādi banhi thaih.*

- *Formula for phimosis:* Medicine–Snail, *Bātbāttyā shāk* (vegetable herb), *Jhābwa beishak* (a vegetable herb), *Lājāri pādā* (touch me not), *Bāngarhi Bhāngā kher* (a herb, literary broken *churi grass*). Pound these and bandage.

8. *Tāllik Bich Bāt: Lachkhyan–Pet Pirā garhey, Suloi, Parāi. Dāru–Beich tengā, Tadegā jwil shāk, Chidirā bei shāk, Chhāgala kān shāk, Kādā māreich, Chigan Tenga, Kāngārhā gheeluk shāk. Iyānhi ujhi khāi, guli dey.*

- *Formula for Bich Bāt (Gastritis):* Symptoms. Stomach pains, aches, burns. Medicines–*Beich tengā* (literally 22 coins a parasital herb), *Tadega jwil shāk* (literally parrot tongue leaves, a brahmi like shrub), *Chidirā Bei shak* (a herb, literary mixed coloured leaves), *Chhāgala kān shāk* (literally goat's ear leaves), *Kādā māreich* (a thornygree amaranth), *Chigon Tengā* (literally small coin, a parasital shrub), *Kāngārhā gheeluk shāk* (literally crab's fat leaves). Take these after boiling and massage the water.

9. *Tāllik Jwjar haley, dharā thāghiley. Dāru: Phejerā khajā, Dubo meloni, Kādā marech, bhul kajai, todega jwil shāk, barsi āl ludi. Iyānhi chumot ujhi gudei khāi.*

-*Formula for fever with body ache Medicines–Phejerā Kajai* (a shrub), *Dubo meloni* (a herb) *Kādā Mareich* (a thorny vegetable), *Bhul Kajai* (a shrub), *Tadega jwil shāk* (literally, parrot tongue leaves), Barsi alludi (literally fish hook spur creeper). Boil it in bamboo tube, pound it and have it.

10. *Tāllik: Dāda sehrey udho serhey jwil udilhey. Dāru– Jwal, Gul Murich, Tuttya. Iyānhi Bādi bajhei de.*

- Formula for tumour between the teeth/between lips and gum. Medicines – *Jwal (jamal gota)*, clove and copper oxide. Pound it and apply on the tumour.

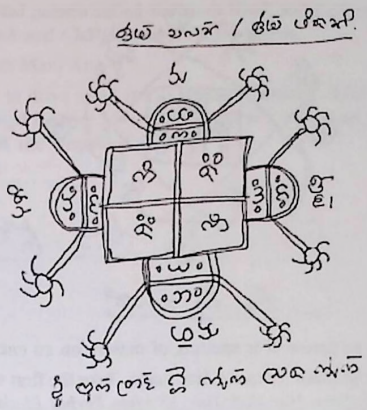
11. *Tāllik sat bajānhi. Dāru– Ek chilly marā gāch, Barmhā jāl, Renigkhang ghādu, Cheir chattā, Tāngmhāng ghādu, Sirchindhyā.Iyanhi ghahji khāi, Ujhi gādhey, Ghaji guli de.*

- Formula for sensitising. Medicines – Half dead tree, *Barmhā jāl, Reingkhang ghādu, four kind of Chattā, Tāngmhāng ghādu,* and *Sirchindhya.* Boil the leaves and branches and take bath, struck the roots on stone and make syrup and take, struck the roots and make a paste and apply on the affected part.

12. *Tāllik Mumbal: Laskhyan (symptoms)* –Outside of throat swells, Root of ears swells, Can't swallow, Throat pains, Root of tongue swells, Erruption at the root of tongue. *Tar Daru (medicines) – Alla pada, Pagra kot, Jei Phal (nutmeg), Piboi (peepul).* Pound these tith the juice of Kangarha ghiluk shāk or Deino Hat Pa and do *mum* (keep in the mouth).

Jādu: It is drugging of an enemy with corrosive poison or other substance to cause harm. Typical Jādu: 1. Administer this *Āng* writing on a *Pān* leaf and the enemy will go mad.

Tonā: It is spelling magic on certain object, taking it to be a supposed spirit or enemy to cause inactivate or cause harm. By doing so, it is believed that the cause of illness will be destroyed or driven away and the enemy will be harmed, destroyed. *Tonas* are named as *Beng Tonā* (applied on frog), *Mukti Tonā* (applied on idol), *Samuk Tonā* (applied on snail), etc. A *Khāng* with an egg is also a *Tonā.* Typical Tonā: 1. Take urinated soil of an enemy. Bundle it with the leave of black *Dhatura* and put it inside an egg of a black hen and chant the Mantra on it. Bury it for a week. Take it out after a week. If you dry it fuelling on the oven, the enemy will dry up. If you dip it in water, the enemy will swell into a giant. (The mantra is not given here as it is not permissible to teach a harmful thing except to a disciple; from the Vaitdyali point of view). 2. Take one *Gārbo Sāmuk* (a big snail), take seven nos. of *Mwan Kādā* (thorn of a thorny tree), chant the *Mantra* on it for five times. Pierce the thorn around the mouth of the snail to cause bleeding to the enemy. 3. *Muk Jari Tonā: Ung hung kar, phalanar (name of the patient) muk jari, kut jati, bich jonyo, bisha sarpa, chat pira, bak jal, oghoi jonyo, mu pira, ei bich korlyum nirbich. Ung swaga pwo.* It is a mantra for mouth ulcer. *Tela Nādā* (cotton soaked in oil) is applied on it with this mantra after *Nijhi Dinei* (making prayer hovering it on the patient) then hanged it above the oven. It can also be done by taking seven measure of *Ābedhi Sudho* (cotton string spun by a small girl who has not attained puberty and regarded as secred). The oiled cotton and the strings should be chanted with the mantra and it should be knotted with this mantra and hung above the oven. *'Ung Hung Kār, Phalanār (such and such) Panja Prān Rakkhyā Jār.* 4. *Chāllān*: It is the process by which spirits are deputed to a certain enemy or place to cause harm to enemies. Typical Chāllān: 1. *Jam Chāllān:* (Deputing Yama, the god of death to cause death of the enemy). Procedure: Collect the *Charrha* (Piece ofbroken earthen pitcher shell) from a deadbody burning place. Write the following *Āng* (magical design) on it. Sacrifice a *Sonnyo Kurhwo Chha* (just shell out chick who has not yet touched the earth) on the writings chanting *'Ung Hung Kār, Phalanā Hai Jama Sangār'* (Ung hungkar, let such and such is killed by Yama). If you want to do it against one family it should be buried at the root of the middle king post of the enemy's house. If you want to do it against the whole village, bury it at the middle of the village along with the sacrificed chicken, chanting the mantra. While doing it the doer must know his protection in the form of binding a talisman, on his body, or bind protectional medicine or set off from his house chanting protectional mantras. Otherwise the spirit may cause harm to him instead of the enemy.



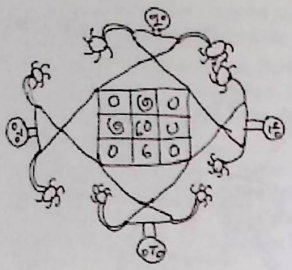
Jannyo Chāllān: Take seven finger length of *Midingā bamboo* tube. Write the mantra on it. Take the skin of a *Khachsyo* frog and fill it with *(a) urinated soil of the enemy, (b) Ludi Mwan Chattā,* and *(c) Gach Mwan Chattā.* Put it inside the tube and chant it with the mantra. Also write the mantra on tender plantain leave and put it as a lid on the bamboo tube. Dip it in *Cheikcheguli* (dirty soil). Mantra: *Ung jhing jhing, Ee jhi jhi, Alim Khar Bibi podei, Ung jhing jhing Ee jhing jhing khar bibi podei.* The enemy will get herpes on his organ. For given relief, break open the tube and flow it in the river.

Phrāngi Chāllān: Take soil from a *Hājā* (salt forming streamlet) chant it with the following mantra and throw it on the place where the enemy washes his face in the morning. The enemy will get Phrāngi (leprosy). Mantra–*"Ung Simei Pudi, Kanjan Pudi, Tumhi Sāt Pudura ma, Ut Pudura Ut, Dhar Pudura Dhar Phalanāre* (such and such. i.e., name of enemy) *māri mui jam ghar. Dwāi Simei Pudi Kānjan Pudi! Mā Bajhampudi Sākkhi".*

Pet Pirā Chāllān: Challan for causing colic. Take a *Kurhi Kurhwa Āl* (spur of a hen) and chant '*Oong Nā Pattwa Tāli, Phalanā Grang Gri. Ung Swā Hā*' on it and twist it. The enemy will get colic.

Purhuch Mārei Dyani (to cause irrectile disfunction): Search for a shoot of *Kumachsyā Ludi* (literally crocodile creeper) and chant "*Oong Namo Brahma Mārang Bich, Phalanār Āng Purujhat Mārang Khil, Chal Mā Brahma Chal. Ā Ee Hung Kār*" on it and twist left side, chanting for five to seven times.

Gangā Chāllān: Write this *Āng* on the *Kum Bhāngā*, a piece of broken earthen pitcher of a dead burning ghat. Take a *Pāllyāng* (a bamboo tape plaited tray meant for *Pujo*. Above the *Pāllyāng* spread a *Tala Chānnwa* (the lower canopy made on the burning place of a dead), above it put the *Āng* written on the *Kum Bhāngā*. Now sacrifice a chicken to Gongā, the water goddess with the prayer to cause harm to the enemy. Now take out the *Tala Chānnwa* and place it on the roof of the enemy. The enemy will die of water born diseases like diarrhoea, vommitting, cholera, etc.



***Bāān*:** *Bāān* is literary an arrow. It is spelling of mantra on an enemy to cause harm.

Typica *Bāān*: 1. *Hāgārhā Bāān* (to cause diarrhoea). Take the first wax of fly bee and chant *'Krekra Krekri Kritol Sra Si Sree, Har Bich Har, Ei Mum Porhāi Phalanār Bich Angge Dhar'* on it. Administer it in a hooka. The enemy will get diarrhoea.

Kāch Bāān (causing cough): Take stool of cat and chant–*"Kāch Chhila Kāchswa, Phalanārhe Mārilung Sugheyā Jugini Chāllān. Phalanārhw Mārilung Kach Bāān. Kār Gyān? Sitdhi Sri Rāmar Gyān. Oong Swāgā Phwā"* on it and administer. The enemy will get chronic cough.

Galā Kādā Bāān: Done to a singer. Chant–*'Surjya Mukkhe Jabang Kadhā Rājā Mukkhe Het Mādhā, Māllyung Thādhāl Bhāngilo Jwil, Phalanār Mukkhe Mārang Bachjra Khil. Ooong Swāgā Phwā'* and cry a *Reing*. The singer will not be able to sing anymore.

Chant–'Oong Hoong Ānji Guru Oong Kung Ring Hari Hari. Oong Khā Ling Ling Swā' on a glass of water and drink it. It will cure *Galā Kādā*. Clove may also be taken chanting this mantra.

Chandra Haran (to cause change mind). *Chant – 'Oong Oong Nirbān Nirbānu Phalanir Apta Chandrā Āi Ma Sidhu'. Āi* take long breath and swallow. The girl/woman will only like you.

Majarā Bāān. Chant–*'Oong Samakhāng Krimāng, Kāi Ling Srā Ling Phalanā* on the left little finger or *Ludi Bandor Tālā* and twist to left side. The enemy will get twisted.

Sapda Bāān (stoppage of sound): Take first rice, from the cooked pot and chant—*"Oong Ānā Siā Nā Si Gu Khāng, Hillā, Phalanār Rā Bandh Hillā Hill, Dwaii Dharma*, and administer to the enemy. He will not be able to make sound and go mad".

BAND is the rocess of binding with mantra to read further or to stop further action. Typical band: (1) Take wet lime and chant–*"Ung Sri Rame banela kundali, Lakkhane dilho dak, ei kundlai Barho bajhar sang thak. Juni ei kundali bhangi jach, Sri Ramar madha khach"*. Now apply it on a boil circling the lime around and chanting the mantra at every circle. The boil will not spread any more. Peduli band (to stop delivery of a pregnant woman): Chant – *'Dumey buney kedhā, Chānāle Bune chei, Phalanir pwa ujoni Jai'* on the belly of the pregnant woman upward and she will not be able to deliver her baby.

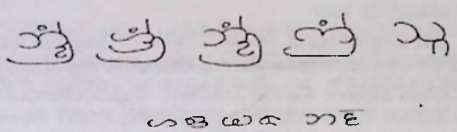
Chant 'Dumey buney kedhā, Chānāle Bune chei, Phalanir pwa Lāmani Jā' on the belly of the pregnant woman downward and she will be able to deliver the child. This is done in enmity with the pregnant woman by the maid.

Āng: It is the megical pattern called *Yantra* in Hindi and Bengali. It is used in talisman and for protection from *Tonā* and *Chāllān* and from the spirits.

Typical *Āng*: 1. Jum Mara Ang.

This *Āng* is meant to drive away spirits from a offending *Jhum*. Write it on slate stone and put with it skin of *Mulugā Bāndar, Mwan chāttā, horse's stool, iron oxide*, and *Luri mādhā kher (a herb)* and bury it at the suspected spot.

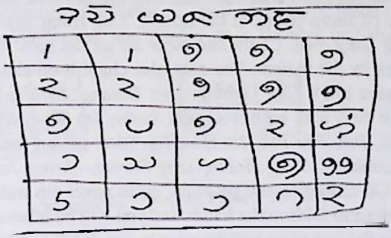
Ang 2. Hājā Mārā:



Write it on a *Ulu Pāghor* (petal of elephant apple) or on an egg of black hen. Add *Tāngmāng ghādhu* and *Tei Udol* with the *Āng* and bury it on *Gaba Hājā* (salt forming streamlet where methun visit) *and Heidho Hājā* (salt forming streamlet where elephant visit).

Ang 2. Jum Mara: Write this ang on slate stone and bury it on a Tuesday or Sun day on the middle of the plot. This is meant for making a land unfertile, when own selected plot is snatched by others.

Āng 3. Duch Mārā Āng to drive away bad element of a place or land, Write it on a *Chhara* (earthen lid of a pot). Sacrifice a black chicken to *Kālā Khedhar*, the owner of all offending places and bury it at the offending place.



Khāng: It is a kind of *Tonā* where the disese causing element is called and destroyed. It is done for skin disease like ring worm, eczema, absceses, and sometimes for cough, colic pain, etc.

Typical Khang: 1. Take seven strands of *Ābedhi Sudho* (cotton spun by a girl who has not attained puberty) to the measure of the patience (head to toe). Divide it into three equal portions. Now take one duck egg or black hen egg and hover over the patient with the prayer to enter all the disease-causing elements in the egg. Now take down the egg touching the patient head to toe. Coil the thread strand one-by-one around the egg chanting–*"Ung Shring Shring Mārang, Haringa Puk Mārang, Na Murhwa Na Kuri Puk Mārang, Sāt Chharā Puk Mārang. Ung Kār!*

Kār Gyān? Sitdhi Shri Rāmar Gyān. Ung Swāgā Phwa." With other portion, of seven strands cover the pot with the seven leaves of *Ochjyang* and bind the pot chanting the mantra. With the rest seven strand, bind seven bundles of bamboo chips. Now cook the egg burning the bamboo chips. When it is cooked, open and examine the egg. If you find black spot, it is the hold of spirit of a muddy place, if white spot, it is the hold by *Gāngā*, if it is red spot, it is the hold of *Dein*, the witch. Now hung the pot with the egg above the oven for seven days and flow away it in the river after seven days.

Kājhan: It is the method of making a *mantra* chanted thread for a child with pneumonia type chronic cough worn around the body.

Typical *Kājhan*: Take nine strings of *Ābedhi Sudho* to the length of the patient. Chant this mantra on the thread for nine times and make one knot at the end of every chanting.

*Mantra: Kāch Kājham Kājhani, Kājham Jamdhoot, Āndhār Gharey Kāch Kājham Kāleiā Chandir Put. Baney Kājham Ban Bilājhi Hāttey Diyā Tāli, Pānhit Kājham Pānhi Kumari – Thādhāl Bijali. Phalanār Jwar-Jāri, Piry-Dhiryā Bhachtha Haiyā Jwak.*After chanting is over, cross bind it (*bāghāmochsyā*) like the sacred thread of a Brahmin, on the patient. It should be done on Tuesday or Saturday.

Mandar: A *mandar* is the *mantra* or magical chanting. *Mantras* are spelling of orders and invoking power of the mythological deities like *Rama, Brahmā, Vishnu, Sivā, Durga, Kali, Hanuman, Ganga, Manasha*, some sages, *Yama, Ravana*, etc. etc. Some *mantras* also have Mohamedan terms like *Alla, Mohammad, Lai La Illalla, Bismilla, Rahaman, Phir*, etc. Some contains Burmese language and some with Buddhistic terms.

Typical example of Mandar (mantra) (a) Pet Phuleyā Nun Parhā: (Chanting on salt for diarrhoea): *Ung TutthāThutthā Shrābang Thutthā Ung Swāgā Phwa.* Chant this mantra on salt and take a pinch once a day. (b) *Āt Kabāli Tel Parhā*: (Chanting on oil for migraine). Take some mustard oil, dip cotton on it and chant this mantra on it: Ung Eikul Oikul Gangar Kul Hā Lailhung Tel, Phalanār Āt Kabali Mādhā Pirā Pādāl Purit Gel. Ung swāgā Phwa. Massage it on the forehead. (c) *Galāt Kādā Bājhiley* (If thorn struck at the throat). *Ung Hung Ānji Guru, Ung Khung Ring Hari Hari. Ung Kā Ling Lang Swa.* Chant and blow air on the spot. You may also chant it on water and give it to drink by the patient. You may also chant it on cloves and give it to eat. (d) *Sābey Khudhiley* (on snake bite). *Ung Galang, Ung Dalang, Shrāba Dalang Dalang. Dalang Mi Swāgā.* With this give bind with hair or *Ābedhi Sudho.* (e) *Sābey Khudhiley* (on snake bite): *Ung Nākrasu, Nā Krapik, Pik Shre Pik, Tik Shre Tik.* Blow air on the bitten spot with this. (f) *Jāmāl Gātrik* (on any problem): *Oong Hoong Yeng Shring, Shring Jang Shri, Oong Hang Rā Kring Mang Hoong Rā.* On falling in any problem, go to navel dip water of a river or stream or of a pond and chant this mantra folding the hands and you will be relieved. If there is rainy cloud, chant this mantra making fist and there will be no rain. (g) *Jāl Tulonhee* (to cause hunger). Take fistful of rice or boiled rice water and chant—'*Oong Jwalanta Barmha Akgni Jwal, Ut Manurha Hārang Hār. Oong Ut, Phalanār Bāyu Āi. Oong Swāgā Phwā*' and administer it to a patient who does not like to eat. (h) *Dhakdhaghi Tulonhee* (to place the crown of a child) Chant–'*Oong Ang Pujhang Barmhā Barmhā Ghara Pānhi, Ujani Udhok Tāni*' on a glass of water and apply it on a downed crown of a baby. You may also suck it chanting the mantra five to seven times. You may also pound the leaves of *Bāngālee Kudhu* and *Lajari Kher* and apply it on the crown.

10. *Parhā*: Reading out and blowing air on the material or spot on food, drink, medicines, etc.

Typical *Parhā*. 1. *Byātrā Chol Parhā. Jum Mara.* (Chanting on rice to ward off offending spirits from a Jum). Take rice, chant this mantra on it. Pour it in five *Āttugā Midingā Bāch* (topless *Mitingā* bamboo) and bury it in the four corners of the *Jhum* and one at the middle. *Mantra*— '*Ung Thik, Bramhā Vishnu Siba Barey, Kali Jugey Satya Chaley Phalanār Jumo duch gun rakkhyā garhey. Ung Swāgā Phwa'.*

Bhāp Lonhā: The process of inhaling vapour of medicines or steam bath.

Bānhee Thonā: To bandage.

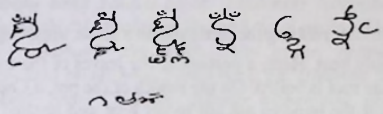
Phāgu: Powder.

Su Gorānhā: To functure with a redhot pointed stick especially a boil, carbuncle, etc.

Rokkhyā Bānānhā: The process where the *Vaitdya* paste underground honey fly wax on the *tigini* (tip of hair) with medicine like mustard seeds, etc., of a child for protection.

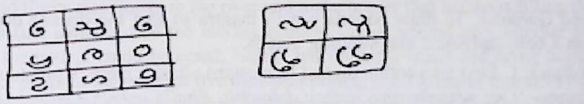
11. *Tābit/Kabach/Lhāppwai*: It is talisman or amulet worn to ward off evils and harm. Here *Ang* or magical writing with chanting of magical sound is applied.

Typical Tabit: 1. *Gā Band.*

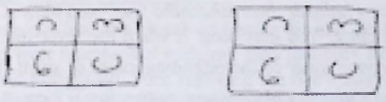


Write the above *Āng* and pour it in a *Tābido Khul* with *Jārbwa Pwa neii* (navel of illegimate child of *Bhādo* month), *Sannyo Kalā Gāch, Sannyo Arjun, Sannyo Kereit.* Give life to the tabit with *Telhāk* or *Teimbreing* and bind it on a Tuesday or Saturday. It is for protection.

12. Tābit against *Bāān/Tonā*: Write these two *Āng* and pour it in a *Tābido Khul* with *Jārbwa Pwa neii, Chānāla Hār, Jarma Bhumi Mādi, Sājongyā Rubo*. The *ang* should be placed one up another down and the medicines in between. *Lhāppoi* may also be made with it. It should be given *Jip* (life) with *Telhāk* or *Teimbreing* and bind it on a Tuesday or Saturday.



13. *Tābit, Āt Kabāli* (for migraine): Write these two *Āngs* on palm leaf or *Pi* leaf and make talisman on a Tuesday or Saturday. Give life to it with *Telhāk* or *Tembreng*.



14. Tabit. *Edā* (for driving out fear in a child). Write '*Ung kese, Ung Sāngkā, Ung Swati Li, Ung Swāghā Phrā'* on palm leaf and make talisman and bind it to a fearful child on a Tuesday or Saturday giving life to it with *Telhak or Tembreng.*

15. *Tābit Pwa Kānileỵ* (If a child cry incessantly): Write *'Oong Meng Thwā, Meng Thwā Oong Swāgā Phwā* 'on any paper or palm leaf and make a talisman. Invoke power to it with *Telhāk* or *Tembreng* on a Tuesday or Saturday and bind it on the cradle of the child for five days. If you keep it for more than five days, the child may go dumb.

16. *Jhārā*: The art of blowing air after chanting mantra on a person or on the affected part of the body.

Typical *Jhara*: (a). *Ghā Rakta Band Garanhi* (to stop bleeding of a wound). (b) *Rakta mā rhei rakta mā, Tumhār pudeỵ gallhyā ghā, Jiyhat rakta siyhat jā.* Blow air on the asffected part. (c) *Ragani mā rhei Ragani mā, tar putrai gallhya ghā, hāra rakta chāmha ghā, neelo ghā, kuro ghā, jeikhāner rakta seikhāne jā.* Blow this mantra on the soil taken from the middle of an oven and apply the powdered soil on the injury.

17. *Buri*: The medicinal balls (tablets). It is generally in the shape of cotton seed, plum seed, jute seed, etc.

18. *Ghaji Khānā*: To take after rubbing the medicine on a stone, applying water making syrup.

19. *Garam Denā*: To apply heat. Here, a portion of the leaves of the medicine is bundled in cloth, another portion with the root is boiled. On the mouth of the pot, a *Chābārh* bamboo plaited mat with hole is put. Above it the bundles are put to get heat and applied on the affected part.

20. *Lwah Dāk Gorānhā*: It is the process by which a red-hot iron is dipped into the medicinal syrup.

21. *Lep Denā*: To apply medicine water on affected part.

22. *Guli Denā*: To apply a medicine and massage.

23. *Kābānā*: To puncture with a tip of hot red metal especially on a swollen part in sprain, etc.

24. *Pātti Denā*: To cover a wound with a medicinal leaf to suck the pus, etc.

25. *Band Gorānhā*: To draw boundary with mantra so that the disease does not spread, especially on a boil, carbuncle and swelling glands.

Typical Band: 1. First take cotton dipped in mustard oil on a piece of plantain leaf, chant it with this manra– '*Ung sungchungya nalhey dola-doli, Bhajhi udhich Khodhar hugumey. Ung swaga pwo'.* Apply it for flow out a lump. 2. Now collect yeast, piece of skull of a dead, coal of dead burning post. Grind it and make boundary around the lump chanting– '*Ung hung man Kubarāi, Ung kāre Bramhā Bareỵ tibi karhang thir, Ung kārey tibi karhang band. Ung swāgā pwa'.* 3. Collect rice, mustard seeds and fresh turmeric. Pound it and make a pulp. Bind it on the lump to cure it. 4. *Jwar Band (*stoppage of fever*).* Chant –*'Oong Hoong Kār, Phalanār Jwar Chhārkhār. Oong Hoong Kār, Phalanār Jwar Bhachtha Gar'* and blow it on crown of the head, eyes, ears, nose, throat and chest. You may blow it when the fever just started.

26. *Duch Mārā*: It is driving away of the offending cause or spirit from a place.

Hājā kuluk mārani: Hājā Kuluk is a place where salty water is formed. The Chakmas believe such a place to be the source of skin diseases like leprosy, eczema, white patches, etc., and it is the den of the witches like *Kājal Pudi/Kānjan Pudi* and *Simei Pudi/Simei Pudi.*

Mantra: (Ung Jalera Kijhi-mijhi Khudhera Kijhi-mijhi, Ei Khut Paranghar Kār Lāgi? Hājā Kuluga Lāgi. Hājā Kuluk Mari Jwak, Kājal Pudi, Sibang Pudi Udhi Jwak. With this mantra, strong wine, broken rice and ash water should be chanted and strewn on a *Hājā Kuluk*. It should also be thrown on self.

28. *Sinān*: It is chanting of mantra on water of a container, generally a pitcherful to give bath to a patient for cure or for early recovery. In a *Sinān*, rice, flowers and lamps are also used. After chanting mantra on the water, the *Vaitdya* blow air on the vital parts of the patient. The patient is also asked to drink it and later bathed.

Chhai Chakra Sinān: *Ung gut lārang, mu lārang bāyu karang thidhi. Phalanār ulambchtya manurā, thāghur bichchhoni, kāyā niranjan karhiācham thidhi.Jwilvā tole thidhi karam Gangā aa Bhagiradi, Nābhimuley thidhi karham Bramhā udhok jwali. Nājhigātte thidhi karam pavan dwi sar, Chokkhu matdhye thidhi karam dwi kālāchān. Kandha mule thidhi karam choidanyo gojhain, Tālumule thidhi karam (pholonar) kāyā niranjan. Mālumette thidhi karam ek chakrā diyā. Dwi hātte thidhi karam Ingilā, Pingilā, Sujarmhā, Gandhāri. Ei chāri nāri dhariyāchhe Mahā Prabhu Sip, Kāyāa Charma Dhoriyāchhe Bichsunu Niranjan. Rakta māngsa dhariyāchhe Kedugā Devi Mā. Benu benu bātdya bājok (Pholonar) Nikunjha mandire. Man houk thir, Sahachsra dwarajā houk thidhi. Jwalanda Bramhā tip di jwalok bāati nitti nitti. Sarilette chhai chakra karam thidhi. Andhakār dur houk Sibho gyane, Bramhā hungkāre. Jwali udhok Manipuri bāzār. Sulho kelā thidhi houk purna houk ga. Hinanda Bajhanda thidhi houk jwalok man pobon. Sulho kelā, chāri Chandra, thāahur bichchhoni, madhurā nagari thidhi houk. Jilvā tole bajhok gangā, Jalanda bramhā thidhi houk jwalok bātti nitti nitti. Chhai chakra thidhi houk bājok dumdumi bzār. Sulha kelā thidhi houk Bājok Madhurhā nagari. Chhatrich maghām, bāunna kājhee, tippānna galli, baunna bāzār kariyacham thidhi. Manipure bātdya bajok nitti nitti. Ādi-Anādi barey Gurghanhādhe parhe pānhi Durgāi dilho bar–Purna houk phlnār kāyā niranjan. Ādi-Anādi swāhā. Ung Sibho gyān, Barmhā Hungkār, Bishnu Ungkār.*

Translation of Chhoi Chakra Pānhi Parhā (Sinān): This *Pānhi Pārha* (water chanting) is performed for a bed rident patient who is very weak and suffering for a long time. For performing this rite, first a pitcherful of water is to be carried from the river/stream. Before filling the pitcher, the filler should throw rice/flower to the river and make prayer that he/she is filling the water for such and such (the patient), that the mother goddess *Gangā* should give him/her pitcherful of water so that the patient could be cured. He/she will then fill water and bring home and place it on two tips of plantain leaves. Now five measures of rice, 3/5/7 kinds of thornless flowers, three wicked oil lamps on shell of oisters will be arranged on a shieve. The rice is to be made a human figure, above that the water pitcher is placed, in which rice, a coin, flowers will be poured. Now the *Vaitdya* will make prayer for the cure of the patient and will also aske the patient to pray. Now the Vaitdya will sit folding the legs and facing the pitcher and start chanting the *mantras* stirring with the tender shoots of bamboo called *Podonā dik/Mhiyho dik or a Thorn of sting ray* and blow air at every pause marked bypunctuation.

UNG, I am moving my lips, my mouth to restore air and health of the patient. I am also restoring the mind and liver functions of such and such (patient). I am restoring water under the tongue, fire at the navel to light up. I am restoring the two airways at the nostril, the sights at the two eyes, the sense at the throat, the body at the crown. I am also restoring the neck making a whirl at the Demi (back of the neck), veins and nerves at the two wrists. The master of the four main nerves –Ingila, Pingila, Susurma and Gandari is Siva, the master of skin is Vishnu and the

master of blood and flesh is Keduga. Let there play musical instruments in the heart, and the mind is restored. Let the thousand doors are restored, let the oven is ignited and burning. Let me restore the six circulatory systems in the body. Let the dark go away with the knowledge of Siva, with the Ung sound of Vishnu and with the Hung shout of Brahma and the navel becomes active. Let the sixteen arts of the body are restored and the body become complete. Let the respiration and aspiration is restored and the mind lighted on. Let the sixteen body arts, four kinds of liquids, the liver functions, the heart are woken up and lighted and remains lighting under the tongue. Let the six circulations are restored and the heart beats properly. Let the Chhatrich Maghām (thirty-six vital points) are restored, the fifty-two Kājhees (ropes), fifty-three Gallis (streets), fifty-two Bāzār (markets) of the body are alright and the heart beats are proper.With the blessing of the Almighty, Gurghonath I have chanted the water. With the blessings of Durga let the health of such and such is restored fully. Swaha of the Almighty. With the *Ung* knowledge of Siva, Hung sound of Brommha and *Ung* sound of Bishnu.

Afterward he will vow before the water pitcher and also ask the patient to make prayer for cure. Now he will take some water in a glass and ask the patient to drink some. He will also wet his right thumb in the water and wet the vital points of the body one each chanthing *mantra* on the wet thumb and blowing air on the thirtysix points making a left side round (anti clockwise) of the thumb. The points are:

(a) *Ung Mastakette Siba baise. Ung kār Pavan thidhi haiā jā.* Blow on the crown (b) *Ung Karnette Kāliā baise U Poi Ong Ing Swā.* Blow on both ears. (c) *Ung Nāsikātte Nityānanda Madhu Kare Pān. Ing Ong Swā.* Blow on both nostrils. (d) *Ung Chokkhe Pralay Baise Prabhu Nijo Hungkar.* Blow on both eyes. (e) *Ung Jwilbhātte Amullya Baise Udhok Jal Bharok Gangā.Sāgara Bādājhe Udhilo Jal Āi Gangā Āi.* Blow on the mouth. (f) *Ung Nābhi Moole Mahā Bramhā Thidhi Haiye Chakra Sār. Ing Ang Rosul ĀllĀh. Dasami Dach Dwār Bhiriyā Thāk. Ung Swāgā Phwā.* Blow on the navel. (g) *Ung Jang Kang Ang Swāgā Phwā.* This mantra is for recitation and blowing of air on the water glass before giving to drink.

In other *Sinān, mantra* is blown on crown, forehead, eyes, ears, nostrils, tip of nose, neck, throat, between shoulder blades, chest, solar flexus, nipples, three fingers below the left nipple, navel, three fingers below the navel, end of thighs, back of knee, ankles, above the feet. For all the vital points, various sounds are to be made. This process is called *Jāgā-Jabin thik garhi denā* (literally to correct place and land, the vital points of the body). After blowing of air is over, the patient is asked to drink a little chanted water and afterward bathed with it. The patient is then asked to get up pressing the upside-down pitcher and the performance is over. Now the rice agains are measured. If the rice is found more than five measures, it is good for the patient. If not, it is bad. The rice is cooked and offered 'syong' before the *Gonghei/Gozen*/Buddha as a Pujo.

The followings is the list of some of the medicines in local names as used by the Chakmas: Ābāng Kher, Ābhing (ophium), Achchyang Gāch, Āchswal Gāch, Āchswatta Bat (peepul tree), Achta Dhādhu Jāran (oxide of eight metals), Ādā, Dyo (dry rotten ginger), Ādā, Go (expired ginger), Ādā, Jeit (common ginger), Ādā, Sil (ginger of rock), Ādā, Sut (dry ginger). Ādhā Tarā, Āgājha Bāch (thunder stone), Āgājha Bāch Pochyā Gāch (thunder struck tree). Āgārbwa Puk, Āgoni Kudhu Gāch. Āgoni Tidyā, Ājaba Sābha Pit (gall of phyton), Ājaba Sābha Tel (fat of phyton), Ājhām Khera, Gāch (assam grass), Ājhām Khera, Ludi, Ājhār, Dik Rāngā, Ājhār, Ludi, Ājhār, Sil, Ājhār, Heil, Ājhār, Mwan, Alelham, Āllā Pādā, Ālu Nāk (shoot of potato), Ālwa Chol (unpolished rice), Ām Karhat (mango tender leaves), Ām Krut, Ām Shrudi, Āma Barā (mango

seed), Ama Bwol, Āma Chhāl (mango bark), Āma Dik, Āma Lat, Amaludi (amla), Āmbhoch Shāk, Kālā, Āmbhoch Shāk, Jeit, Āmbhoch Shāk, Kuguro Chedo, Āmeloni, Āmilyā, Jeit (rosselle, common), Āmilyā, Kālā (rosselle black), Āmilyā, Meghat, Āmilyā, Mormochchyā (rosselle, cruncy), Āmilyā, Rāngā (rosselle, red), Āmilyā, Sorbwa, Āmilyā, Sugor (rosselle, pig), Āmilyā, Dhup (rosselle, white), Āmrā Gāch (amda), Āmrā Gulo, Āmrā Ludi, Ānāja Dik, Ānāshogā Puk, Āngār Gāch, Āngār Kheer, Āngār Pādā, Āngarha, Kung Gājha (charcoal of funeral post), Āngur (grape), Ānnhwa 9 Black of smoke, Apbra Jāran (oxide of Abra), Aphal (malberry), Āreing Pān (climbed pan), Arhā Bāch, Arhal Gāch, Arjun Chārā, Āttyā Kalā, Bach (Langoli), Bāch Kāgho, Bāch Tārā Ālu, Badā Kujhum (egg yolk, Badhal Bhāngā (broken bottle), Bāgha Dhālā Ludi, Bāgha Dut (tiger's milk), Bāgha Hādhālā, Bāgha Jwil (tiger's tongue), Bāgha Jwil Kher, Bāgha Tel (tiger oil), Bāgirang, Bahk Gāch, Baitdyo Nhāt, Bājhak Pādā, Bājhak Pāda, Rām, Bāk Chattā, Bāk Kurhi, Bak Phool, Bākrāch, Gāch, Bākrāch, Ludi, Balhā Bāā chhei (ash of wasp nest), Ban Borhoi (jungle plum), Ban Jāmerā (jungle lemon), Bānāch Kābar, Bandaghi swāgh, Bāndar Ghochchyā (Monkey sesame), Bāndar Māji (monkey fly), Bāndar Mhā, (monkey cucumber), Bāndar Murijyā (monkey cane), Bāndar Nāksha, Bāndar Sāngu (monkey climber), Bāndar Tālā, Chigon, Bāndar Tālā, Diyo, Bāndār Tālā, Gāch, Bāndar Tālā, Ludi, Bāndari Murijyā, Bāngāl Chatthā, Bāngāli Kudhu (Bengalee bottle gourd), Banghal Gāch, Banghal Putti, Bāngorhi Bhāngā Kher, Bānyā Swagā, Bar Āgālik, Bar Bāndar Tālā, Bar Benā, Bar Chalhā, Bār Elāji, Bar Kalā, Bar Kegoi, Bar Kuruk Gāch, Bar Kut, Bar Leja, Bar Midhyā, Bar Sudhomā, Bar Tarā, Baranā, Kādā, Baranā Shāk, Jeit, Baranā, Bāch, Baranā, Gāch, Baranā, Tidyā, Bārengyā Ludi, Bārha Parmā, Barhā Sughor, Barhā Sughora Tel, Bramhā Jāl, Bramhā Jāl, Bātbattyā Shāk, Batdhamān Gāch, Battā Gulo, Battā Chhāl, Bāttā Kheer, Bātti Gāch, Bedāgi Chārā (cane plant), Begenhā Pedā Gāch, Begol Biji, Midhyā (Thai egg plant), Begol Biji, Tidyā, Beishāk, Chidiryā, Beishāk, Dhup, Beishāk, Ghorbhwa, Beishāk, Jhārbhwa, Bel Pādā, Belaban Kher, Berguli, Berguli Kher, Bhach Mulo, Bhach Patra, Bhāda Mu, Bhādāli, Ludi, Bhādhāli, Gāch, Bhādhāli, Gandha, Bhalhā Chāmbā, Bhalhā Kadam, Bhamha, Bhangal, Chhāgallādi, Bhangal, Jeit, Bhangar Piji Gāch, Bhāt Jarā Phool, Bheik Gāch, Bherhol, Bar (Castrol, big), Bherhol, Bholā, Bherhol, Dhup (Castrol, white), Bherhol, Kādā (Castrol thorny), Bherhol, Rāngā (Castrol, red), Bheru Gulo Okhra), Bhui Karhā, Bhuichāghoi Gulo, Bhujhurho Gulo, Bhujhurho Phool, Bhul Kadam, Bhul Mārheich, Bhul Patti, Bhulong, Bhurho, Jeit, Bhurho, Montang, Bhut Bolha, Bhut Paan, Bhutta, Chidiryā, Bhuttwa Ludi, Bhuttwa, Darha (127), Bhuttwa, Hārbwa, Bhuttwa, Heil, Bhuttwa, Naram, Bhuttwa, Rāngā, Bhwa Gāch, Bich Chumho, Bich Kādli, Bich Kuju, Bich Pātthar, Bichtrak, Ghorbwa, Bichtrak, Jhārbwa, Bigun Phool (flower of brinjal/egg plant), Bijho Mā (Kāl Pujhok), Bijhu Phool, Bilādi Bāghor (corriender leaves), Bilei Lengur, Birjyo Pārā (mercury), Bāndar Bhāt (monkey's rice), Bobo Turing, Borhoi Chhāl (bark of plum), Borsi Āl Ludi, Budhu Rāngā Sibyāng, Buri Gāch, Cha Āchswa, Cha Chārā, Chagadā Dāt, Chakra Ludi, Chāl Kumurho, Chalhā Kher, Gāch, Chalhā, Kādā, Chalhā, Ludi, hallyā Āgā, (159) Chāmanhi Chārā, Chāmanhi, Guiyo Āruk, Chāmanhi, Kāttolhee, Chāmbā Kalā, Chāmbā Phool, Chānāla Hār, Chanan, Chanan Biji, Chandra Kedu, Chāng Phool Āgā, Changā Subori, Changarā Leich, Changarā Maghach, Changarā Murich, Changarā Singh, Changarā Singh Gāch, Changari Gāch, Chārghi Puk, Chattā, Bāk, Chattā, Bāngāl, Chattā, Chhāgal, Chattā, Gāch Mon, Chattā, Ludi Mon, Chebārajhi Gāch, Cheiyo Dheebhā, Chha Mhāchsyā, Chhāda Kangari, Chhada Kut, (187) Chhada Pangari, Chhādhi Urochsyā, Chhāgala Kān (Phachchya Sugunhi), Chhalak Chārā, Gāch, Chhalak Chārā, Ludi, Chhan Phool, Chhārā Ghar, Chhattich Chharhā Gulo, Chhilona Chhei, Chhini Kheyā Shāk, Chibit Chārā, Chidiryā Bei Shāk, Chidiryā Bhutto, Chidiryā Mhaghamā, Chigon Ghumurho Hāli Kher, Chigon Jecryā, Chigon Junnhyā, Chigon Ludi Sārbwa, Chigon Sudho Mā, Chigon Tengā, Chilo Bāā, Chilo Dwah,

Chimutthyā, Gāch, Chimutthyā, Ludi, Chindirhyā Shāk, Chinhā Juk Kher, Chinhi Bājhon Bhāngā, Chirodā, Choi Ludi, Chokkhyā Ludi, Chumho Phool, Dābā Gātthā Gach, Dābā Kar, Dābā Phool, Dāl Chinhi, Dālham Chhāl, Dālham Dānā, Dāmmwa Nārekul, Danda Khar, Danda Uppan, Dāp Narekul, Darha Bhuttho, Dārmoch, Dāru Gāch, Dattlang Gāch, Debedā Chhārā Gāch, Dein Kurhi, Deina Hāt Pa, Delludi, Dembhal Gulo, Dhāghā Kram Gāch, Dhāk Bengā Leja, Dhān Phujhee, Dhāpri Ludi, Dhār Āgālik, Dhār Pāt, Dhimhyā Tidyā, Dhinghi Shāk, Bar, Dhinghi Shāk, Chigon, Dhinghi Shāk, Kadhee, Dhinghi Shāk, Krangā Kāppyā, Dhinghi Shāk, Murho, Dhinghi Shāk, Kātthwol, Dhingi Shāk, Jeit, Dhān Sābhārhāng, Dhonnyā Jirā, Dhudhurā, Dhumulu Kher, Dhup Chanan, Dhup Chengei, Dhup Hāch-Kurho Bakcharā, Dhup Hānnwal, Dhup Jāri, Dhup Kungari, Dhup Mhaghamā, Dhup Semalkhā, Dhup Shrudi, Dhup Tarā, Dik Kālā Hānnwol, Dik Rāngā Ājhār, Dik Rāngā Challā, Dorjyā Narekul, Dorjyā Phenā, Dubo Mogori, Dubo Kojoi, Dubo Melonee, Dubo Mormochyā, Dubo Nirbhich, Dumor Sumi, Dumur Gāch, Dur Biji Gāch, Durbā, Dutthya Gāmārhi, Dutthya Kāngārhā, Dutthyā Kher, Dyo Koun Dyo Mogori, Dyo Murijyā, Dyo Sigirāshik, Dyo Tarā, Ek Dāchchyā Kuju, Ek Ghuttyā (Kedagi), Elāji, Erei Gulo, Gaba Naksha, Gāch Āngār, Gāch Bādām, Gāch Bāghor, Gāch Bāk Rāch, Gāch Chalhā, Gāch Chambā, Gāch Chhalak Chārā, Gāch Chimutthyā, Gāch Dhingi Shāk, Gāch Huring Singh, Gāch Lelham, Gāch Māloti, Gāch Melonee, Gāch Mhāllyāng, Gāch Mon Chattā, Gāch Mudurho, Gāch Munhi, Gāch Nirbhich, Gāch Ojhon, Gāch Petthyā, Gāch Pujhok, Gāch Sibyāng, Gadā Kalā, Gadā mālāgār, Gajanā, Gāmārhi Chārā,Gandā Harak, Gandā Lo, Gandā Sing, Gandā Tuk, Gandrhak, Gāng Kālā Sonā (Heido Shrada Gach), Gāng Kuju, Gāng Kumochsyā, Gāng Ojhon, Gāng Prejāng, Gāng Rechsyā, Gāng, Mulo, Gāngkuli Shāk, Gānjā, Jat, Gānjā, Rām, Garbha Huring, Gārbwa Sāmuk, Garsang, Jeit, Garsang, Kālā, Garsang, Rāngā, Gāch Bhādāli, Gāch Rānittāk, Geit Dyā Ludi, Gheelyā Ghu, Gheelyā Ludi, Ghochchyā Tanghal, Ghochchyā, Jeit, Ghochchyā, Nāgā, Ghondhi Phool, Ghorā Dubwa Kher, Ghorā Lāt, Ghorbwa Beishāk, Ghorbwa Chhalak Chārā, Ghorbwa Huring Singh, Ghorbwa Kettrāngā, Ghorbwa Sidhol Chumo, Ghorbwa Sigirāsik, Ghreeda Kānjan, Ghreeda Kumori, Ghumhuro Hāli Kher, Bar, Ghumhuro Hāli Kher, Chigon, Ghumonhi Phool, Ghāwa Puk, Go Ādā, Goiyāma Āgā, Gokkur, Goru Singh, Gudandar, Gudhung Māch, Guiye Gillyā Pārbwa Dur, Guiyo Jwil Kher, Guiyo Āruk Āchswal, Guiyo Āruk Chāmenhi, Guiyo Tel, Gul Mahr, Gul Murich, Hāch-Kurho Bakchaāa Shāk, Rāngā, Hāch-Kurho Bakcharā Shāk, Dhup, Hāchswani, Hādhālā Ludi, Hādhi Ba, Hājhang Mhā, Hākkhwan Shāk, Hāngā-Chāngā, Hānnwal, Bar, Hānnwal, Dik Kālā, Hānnwal, Dik Rāngā, Hānnwal, Gāch, Hānnwal, Kādā, Hānnwal, Sungchungyā, Hānnwal, Chigon, Hārbwa, Hārchāngh, Krmāpādā Jāt, Hārchānghā, Bar, Hārchānghā, Chigon, Hārchānghā, Gāch, Hārhikurhi Nal Kher, Heen, Heidho Rāngmhā, Heidho Shradhā Pādā, Heil Ājhār, Heil Bhuttho, Heil Ludi, Heit Kānnol (Bar Bak Rach), Herā Kuju, Hāja Badā, Hānnwal, Ludi, Holodi Ludi, Holot, Hongyā Phool, Dhup, Holottyā, Shoch, Hottyāl Jāran, Hottyāl, Huring Āchswal, Huring Kan Shāk, Huring Singh, Ghorbhwa, Huring Singh, Jhārbhwa, Huring Singh, Ludi, Huringo nalā kher, Ichswar Mulo, Ijhing, Iji Gāch, Iji Kher, Ijya Dār Shāk, Imilhich Kher, Indra Jat, Indra Phāl, Ishap Ghul, āllyā Marā (Chhārā Ghar), Jārol Chārā, Jabakkhār, Jadhā Māngsi, Jaganhā Chārā, Jaganhā Gulo, (429) Jagat, Jal Kachturi, Jalā Mek, Jalachar, Jāli Pāgochchyā, Jām Chārā, Jāmeir, Jāmuro Sāba Chhalang, Jāng Biji, Jangali-Jangal, Jāngāllhyā Shāk, Jeit, Jāngāllhyā Shāk, Maghā, Jāngāllyā Shāk, Jāran, Apbra, Jāran, Banga, Jāran, Lwhā, Jāran, Pārā, Jāran, Rubwa, Jāran, Sanggha, Jāran, Sijhyā, Jāran, Sonā, Jāran, Tāmā, Jāri Phool, Jārola Parchhāllwa, Jat, Indra, Sibo, Jatrich, Jayanti Phool, Jedenhā, Dyo, Jedenhā, Kuchsyali, Jedenhā, Mogoli, Jeerā, Ārjan, Jeerā, Chigon, (Jeera, Dhonnya, Jeerā Kāllyā, Jeerā Māchsyo, Jeerā Methi, Jeerā Midhyd, Jeerā Rāndonhee, Jeerā Rāngā Jeerā Segā, Jei Phal, Jeit Kojoi, Jeit Āmilyā, Jeit Kurhi, Jeit Pātthar, Jeit Sābhāraang, Jeit Tel, Jeit Udol, Jhāmā, Jhanjhani, Kālā, Jhanjhani, Kudugo, Jhārbwa Huring Singh, Jhārbwa Kāngārhā Gulo, Jhārbwa Kogeye,

Jhārbwa Kwo, Jhārbwa Shreephal, Jharbwa Porol, Jhigā Biji, Jhuri, Jiyana Ludi, Jiyhoch, Jokgyo Sāmālhi, Joljoli, Jongi Gharhā, Jugi Mālā, Jumuchchyā Chārā, Junhee Puk, Junnhyā Kher, Junnhyā Kher, Bor, Junnhyā Kher, Chigon, Juro Ālu Biji, Jwol Biji, Kabā Rwahn, Kābhur, Kach Kujhum, Kacharā Nun, Kachchhaba Pātthar, Kachchhap Chānāl, Kachturi, Kādā Baranā, Kādā Chalhā, Kādā Dhābānā, Kādā Hānnwal, Kādā Nāksha, Kādā Phool, Kadam, Bhul, Kadam, Lal, Kādhang Gāch, Kāi Phal, Kajwilā, Kakkheng Chānāl, Kāl Mudurho, Kālā Komori, Kālā Āmbhoch, Kālā Āmilyā, Kālā Baranā, Kālā Bhudhuri, Kālā Biji, Kālā Bilei, Kālā Chhāgala Chit, Kālā Dāru, Kālā Dhudhuro, Kālā Gachsang, Kālā Goru, Kālā Hānnwol, Kala Holot, Kālā Ichswari, Kālā Jamuro Pit, Kālā Jhanjhani, Kālā Kāli Kuchsyāl, Kālā Khullyā, Kālā Kuju, Kālā Kurho Badā, Kālā Kurho Pit, Kālā Lelham, Kālā Mek, Kālā Mhagamā, Kālā Ojhon, Kālā Parmhā, Kalā Peil Phool, Kālā Pongori, Kālā Shrudi, Kālā Sonā, Kālā Thāndāa Mānek, Kālā Tolojhi, Kālā, Herā Kuju Kalātthur Gāch, Kāli Kejhar, Kāli Kujhum, Kam Gāch, Kām Sindur, Kamalā, Kāna Ruborādi Gulo, Kāndep Chārā, Kāndol, Gāch, Kāndol, Heit, Kāndol, Ludi, Kāneiyhā, Kāngārhā Gheelhuk Shāk, Kāngārhā Gulo, Bar, Kāngārhā Gulo, Jeit, Kāngārhā Gulo, Jhārbwa, Kāngārhā, Dorjyā, Kāngārhā, Dutthyā, Kāngārhā, Jeit, Kāngārhā, Mhoi, Kāngārhā, Mon, Kāngārhā, Rāngā, Kanna Phooli, Kap Chinhi, Kār Bāāhch, Karam Phālhā, Karangā, Karengā Kāppyā, Dhinghi Shāk, Kārmā Gāch, Kārmoch Shāk, Kārmoch Shāk, Karna Phuli, Kārpāch Dānā, Kat, Kāt Kuju, Kātthol Dhingi, Kātthyā Dagar, Kāttolhi Kalā, Kech Piji Gāch, Kedā Phakshā, Kedā Phal, Kedagi Gāch, Kedagi Piji, Kedi Jām, Kedogi Piji Gāch, Kegoi Ludi, Kegoi Gāch, Kegoi, Chigon, Kei Chhāl, Keich Piji, Kejhar, Kekrak Shāk, Kent Gulo, Kereda Pānhi, Keredo Chārā, Ket Kettyā, Ketkettyā Tel, Kettrāngā, Khāchchya Pādhā, Khachchyo Gandrhak, Khadhā Jānghei, Khāidey Midhyā, Khajhā Gāch, Khāksi Nimāi, Khāmrāng Gāch, Khanā Gāch, Khanā Mon, Khara Pibirhā, Khara Tel, Khāru Gulo, Khāru Ludi, Kheedak (Rang Gāch), Khettri Shāk, Khidak, Khochchyāng Gāch, Khoi, Khojotti, Khotteyā Pujhok, Khullyā, Khullyā, Dhup, Khullyā, Kālā, Khullyā, Rāngā, Khut Turing, Khydang Petthyda, Khyāng, Mārhech, hyāng Pemhā, Kijing Chhinyā Pādā, Kiliyā Shāk, Kirijyā, Kodora Ghu, Kodora Theng Gāch, Kogeiyā, Kogeyā Biji, Kogeyā Dik, Kogeyā, Lat, Koidhyā Shāk, Kojoi Kojoi, Bāch, Kojoi, Bhul, Kojoi, Bandar, Kojoi Jeit, Kojoi Kum, Kor Phool, Korhoi, Gāch, Koyeng Ālu, Kārmā Pādā, Jāt Hārchānghā, Krodi Chārā, Kudhu Singhor, Kudoni Shāk, Kudugo Bhārhāl, Kudugo Jhanjhani, Kugi Baranā, Kugi Sābhārhāāng, Kugi Sādharak, Kugi Tedhoi, Kugi Udol, Kuguro Cheda Phool, Kuhng Gājha Āngārhā, Kujhi Kalā, Kujhum Gulo, Kujurhuk, Kumbhir Dānts, Kumochsyā Ludi, Kumochsyā Ludi, Bar, Kumochsyā Ludi, Chigon, Kumochsyā Ludi, Kedi, Kumochsyā, Pugho Chhalang, Kumochsyā Pugho Mādi, Kumorha Chām, Kumorha Jwil, Kumurho, Kumurho Shāk, Kunei Gāch, Kurhee, Kurhee, Bāk Kurhee Dein, Kurhi Kurho Āl, Kurho Āl Ludi, Kurho Chit Shāk, Kurho Ludi, Kurho Theng Gāch, Kut Chhadha, Kut Bar, Kutti Jurgo, Kuttyāri Biji Gāch, Lādrā Dānā, Lāghā Bāndara Hāt, Lājāri Kher, Lākkhwa Pedā, Lāl Phāl, Lāl Tidyā, Lang, Lang Phool, Langdrāmā Shāk, Lānghā Hāt Pa, Lānguli, Lat Kogeyā, Lechsyo Dhābhānā, Leichsyo Sibyng, Lelhām Pādā, Lengerhā, Lengerhā, Ubho, Ludi Bāch, Ludi Bhamā, Ludi Chhalak Chārā, Ludi Chimutthyā, Ludi Jalāp, Ludi Kālāsonā, Ludi Korphool, Ludi Māloti, Ludi Mhāllyāng, Ludi Modurho, Ludi Mon Chattā, Ludi Mon Rechsyā, Ludi Nirbhich, Ludi Ojhon, Ludi Rānittāk, Ludi Sārbwa, Ludi Sibhyāng, Lujurukkho, Luri Mādhā Kher, Lwhah Ghu, Lwhah Jāran, Ma Lokkhi Mā Ludhee, Madanmastyo, Bor, Madamnastyo, Chigon, Magara Dhwach, Magha Chumho, Magha Ludi (Barengya Ludi), Magha Putti, Māhl Mājha Pit, Māhl Murho Chagalā, Māhl Murho Tel, Majarā Phal, Mājha Chokpiji Gāch, Majhāpbar, Mājhee Khedāri, Mājhee Mum, Mājhee Bāndar, Mājhee Ghar, Mājhe Gillyā Māch, Mājhul Dānā, Māju Phal, Mālodi Chhāl, Mālodi Phool, Mamin Gāch, (Nirghandā), Mān Kuju, Marā Sibudi, Mārheich, Bhul, Mārheich, Chotti, Mārheich, Heil, Mārheich, Kādā, Mārheich, Rāngā, Mat, Māttya Ānhoch, Meghat Āmilyā, Mek, Mek Jār an, Melonee Pādā,

Melonee, Dubo Menganin Mhaghamā Phool, Mhaghamā Chidiryā, Mhaghamā, Dhup, Mhaghamā, Kālā, Mhaghamā Rāngā, Mhāllyāng Dubo, Mhāllyāng Gāch, Mhāllyāng Ludi, Mhendhori Gāch, Mhoi Kāngārhā, Michchree, Midhyā Dhinghi Shāk, Midhyā Phool, Midhyā Urochsyā, Mijilhik Kher, Moch Gāch, Modhu, Modhu Jokgyo, Modhu Benbeni, Modhu Hājāri, Modhu Jeit, Modhu Majhee, Mogoli Jedenhā, Mogori, Mogori Diyo, Mon Ālu, Mon Bhurho, Mon Chattā, Mon Ijyādār, Mon Kādā, Mon Kāngārhā, Mon Khājur, Mon Khanā, Mon Serā Kalā, Montong Bhuro, Mormochchyā Pādā, Moyura Phor, Mu Ālu Pādā, Mudurho Gāch, Mudurho Ludi, Mujhurināni Muli, Muli Gāch, Muli Phool, Mulo Bhach, Mulo Gāng, Mulugo Bāndara Chām, Mundojāt Kudugo Jhanjhani, Munhee Phool, Munichsyorha Parchhāl, Munipuchchyā Kher, Mur Ādā, Murho Dhinghi, Murich Gāch, Murijyā Chigon, Murijyā Dubo, Murijyā Tāl, Na Puk, Nāblāng Māch, Nāga Ghee, Nāgā Ghochchyā, Nāgaruborādi Kher, Nājoni Kher, Nājoni Pādā, Khochkhochsyā Nājoni Pādā, Pichchhwal Nāksha gāch Nāksha Renu, Nal Khāgrā, Nalām Ludi, Nali Gāch, Narapudi Tidyāa, Nārech Gāch, Nārech Shāk, Nārekul Kuju, Nārekul Dorjyā, Nārekul Gorheng, Narekul Jeit, Neem Chhāl, Neem Gāch, Mohā, Neem Gāch, Jangali, Nhānnyābiji Gāch, Nhunghyā Phool, Nimāi Haksi, Nimāi Jeit, Nirbānha Puk, Nirbhich Nirghanda, Nun Gāch, Nun Jeit, Nun Kālā, Nun Sunduk, Nun Tidyā, Nun Rāngā, Paban Chhāl, Pādālpur, Pādi Gāch, Pāgrā Kat, Pāikh Pādā, Pājārhi Hottyāl, Palāch Dān, Pālhek, Pallā Ludi, Pamalā, Pān Ālu Pān, Āring, Pān Bhoot, Pān Jeit, Pān Māttyā, Pān Gāch, Pāna Gulo, Pāngghā Gāch, Pānhi Porhi Gāch, Pānnhyā Junhee, Pānnhya Puk, Pārā, Pārbwa duro Chārhā, Parchhāl Jārol, Parchhāl Sārbwa, Parchhāl Sātjādi, Peingphool Gāch, Pemhā, Phāchsyā Sughuni, Phagarha, Phālā Chengei, Phala Dānā, Phikrik, Phudhuk Shāk, Phujhi, Phul Chidhyā, Phurchyā Ludi, Piboi, Pichchhol Nājoni, Pichchhol Sibyāng, Pilhoi Shāk, Pilyā Ālu, Pinyāch, Pit Bhālugo, Pit Kālā Chhāgal, Pit Kālā Kurho, Pit Mahl Mach, Pit Moyur, Pit Pharhā Gui, Pit Sābo, Pit Ugol Mācha, Pobon Gāch, Pochtuk Dānā, Pokkhi Chānāl, Prāngā, Prejāng Gāng, Prejāng, Sungchungyā, Pringyā Āgā, Pujhok Bāch, Pujhok Jeit, Pujhok Jhārbwa Pujhok Kāl, Pujhok Khottiyā Pul Gāch, Bar, Pul Gāch, Chigon, Punong Lāmhā Shāk, Putting Jeit, Putting Maghā, Rāch Mandal, Rādā Chulho Phool, Ragach kwa Ludi, Rāja Gāch, Rajha Korphur, Rām Kalā, Rām Subhori, Rām Tenā Gāch, Rāndāl, Rang Gāch, Rāng Mhagamā, Rāngā Ālu, Rāngā Bherhwal, Rāngā Bhuttwa, Rāngā Chanan, Rāngā Chengei, Rāngā Garsang, Rāngā Gulo, Rāngā Jāri, Rāngā jāt, Bārengyā Ludi, Rāngā jāt Borsi Āl Ludi, Rāngā Jeerā, Rāngā Kadam, Rāngā Keich, Rāngā Lājāri, Rāngā Mārheich, Rāngā Nun, Ranga Ul, Rānittāk Rānittāk Gāch, Rānittāk, Ludi, Rānjonhee Chonchani Shāk, Rānonhi Kilonee Shāk, Rechsyā Phool, Rechsyā Phool, Chhādi, Rechsyā Phool, Midhyā Rechsyā Phool, Mon Rechsyā Phool, Tibiryā, Rechsyā Jeit, Rechsyā Kedi, Rechsyā Ludi Mon, Rechsyā, Phujhee, Rehng, Bhudho, Rehng, Proo, Rehngm Badā, Reingkhang Ghādu, Rejhi Gāch, Rejhi Ludi, Rhāmmādu Ālu, Rhāmmādu Shāk, Rhangrānga Pirhyā, Rogoni Pādā Gāch, Rohn Jeit, Rohn Kabā, Rohn Kugi Rojhā Bindu, Rojhā Kānjan, Rojhā Mānekkyo, Rojhā Sindur, Rubor Tālā, Sebha Chhalang, Sāba Ghu, Sāba Pit, Sābhālhā Phool, Sāchchwa Jām, Sak Khāru, Sākkarhā, Sākkarhāa Chhāl, Sākkhyā Talhā, Sālembāt Phool, Sāmalhak Sirhi Gāch, Samar Phal, Sānchāmāni,Sangha, Sāngojha Kādā, Sānhei Phool, Sārbwa Chārā, Sārbwa Ludi, Sārbwa Parchhāllwa, Sārbwa Bar, Sārbwa Chigon, Sārbwa Midhyā, Sārbwa Tidyā, Seclnā Gāch, Segā Jeerā, Seitdobhā Ghu, Sejhak Shāk, Serchan, Serhā Kalā Gāch, Shābhāāhang Jhārbwa, Shābhārhāng Dhān, Shābhārhāng Ghorbwa, Shābhārhāng, Kugi Shejhak Shāk Shighon Shāk, Shree Phal, Shrudi Ām, Shrudi, Bar Shrudi Chigon, Shrudi Dhup, Shrudi Kālā, Shrudi Rāngā, Shyām Āda, Siāl Herā, Siāla Tel, Siba Jat Siba Mādhā Sibyāng Kādā, Sibyāng, Leichsyo, Sidhol Chumo Gāch Sidyā Chul Sidyā Keich, Sigirhyā Sik, Sigiryā Sik, Bar, Sigiryā Sik, Chigon,Sigiryāa Sik, Ghorbwa, Sil Ājhār, Sil Ādā, Sil Bindu, Sil Gāmrhi, Sil Kāghor, Sil Kuju, Sil Phujhee, Sil Prejāng, Sil Pujhok, Sil Tedhoi, Silārajhā, Silo Dhup, Silo Tebā, Simei Ālu, Simei Dik, Simei Mulo, Sip Gāch, Sipphuli, Sirchindhyā, Sobona

Mākkhi, Sobona Phāl, Sobona Sindoor, Soinyo Arjun, Soinyo Kālā, Soinyo Kereit, Sonā Mughi Pādā, Sonājāt Nāgā Ghec, Sonār Tālā, Sonattāla, Sorbhek Gāch, Sorbo Tidyā, Sorcho Biji Dhal, Sorcho Biji, Rāngā, Such Pur, Suchchyā Chhārā, Sudho Ludi, Sudhomā, Bar, Sudhomā, Chigon, Sughor Āmilyā, Sughora Dāt, Sumi Shāk, Sungchungyā Prejāng, Sungchungya Turing, Sur Chān, Sut Pamala, Swet Chandan, Swet ChhālTabhā Lājāri, Tadega Jwil Shāk, Tāl Chārā, Tāl Gājha Singor, Tāl Michrhi, Tāl Pādā, Talajhi Kālā, Talajhi, Dhup, Tāli Chārā, Tang Shāk, Tangga Dānā, Tāngmhāng Ghādu, Tāpsi Ludi, Kādā, Tārā Biji, Tārā Pādā, Tarā Bar, Tarā Chigon, Tarā Dhup, Tech Chhāl, Tech Madan, Tech Pādā, Tedhoi Kugi,Tedhoi Sil, Tedhoi Jeit, Tei Udol, Telchha Ul, Telchha, Gāch, Tellyā Kalā, Tengā Chharā, Tettol Tidyā, Tettwal Midhyā, Thādhā Mānik, Holottyā, Thanda Mānik, Kālā, Thāndhā Mānik, Dhup, Tibiryā Piji Gāch, Tidās Kudhu, Tidyā Baranā, Tidyā Begol, Tidyā Bigun, Tidyā Biji, Tidyā Gulo, Tidyā Gulo Biji, Tidyā Nirbhich, Tidyā Shāk, Tidyāa Bāāch, Tilak Chatchadi, Tin Khollyā, Tin Sigāra Gulhee, Tin Thuppyā Lelham, Tittlang, Tāl Maganhā, Tolojhi Rām, Tonyā Kalā, Tor Moch, Torgi Madan, Toru Ladā, Tri Kut (Bar, Chhada, Hottyāl), Tubi Kar, Turing Khut, Turing Bobo, Turing Sungchunghyā, Tuttyā, Twa Shāk, Ubho Chāngā, Ubho Jonnyo, Ubho Lengerhā, Ubo Khār, Udho Naksha, Udol Dyo, Udol Jeit, Udol Tei, Udol, Bar, Ugol Mājha Leichswa, Ugol Mājha Pit, Ui Murhwa, Ul, Rāngā, Ul Telchha, Ulu Ludi, Ulu Phāghu, Ulu Singhor, Undur Kān, Ul, Undur Ladi, Undur Tala, Ur Phool, Urgo Shāmalhak, Walonho Mādi, Wolhon Shāla Mādi, Yā Huringo Jwil, Ya Huringo Singh, Yoreng Shāk.

The followings are the names of collected ailments available to the present author:

Ābāng, A Jāgā Jonnyo, Ādhu Piryc, Ājhan Pirye, Āgājhā , Agalāni, Agalāni Jāt Gangā, Ājhar, Agalāni Jāt Pet Piryc, Agalāni Jāt Pwa Pirye, Ājāmhi Gangā Gulhi, Ājāmhi Gulhi Parmāmhoch, Ājāmhi Jāt Dyo Krengha, Ājarha Chigutthyā, Ājarha Suloni, Ājinā, Ājrela Dalā, Ārāngā Bat, Bāghei, Bāk Jāl, Bāk Jāri, Bāmonhi Jonnyo, Bāndar Āgājhā, Bānhā Kāch, Bāndar Bhudho Ājhar, Bāndar Pāgal, Bāndar Kāch, Bānhā Kāch, Bagale Badā Pārānā, Ba Pirye, Bar Ghum, Bar Krenghā, Bar Kut Band, Bar Megha Rup Dhādhu, Bar Sijhi Ājhar, Bārgi Pirye, Bārha Jāt Sijhi Ājhar, Bārha Jāt Tākkeit, Bāt Dhādhu, Bāyu Sānnek, Behajami, Beich Jāt Gulhi, Beich Jāt Gulphi, Beich Jāt Jhāgāmā Pirye, Beich Jāt Pāgal, Beich Jāt Pallā, Beich Jāt Tākkeit, Behajhami, Berhā Jonnyo, Beräide Jāt Gangā Ājhar, Bhubandar, Bhudhe Pānhā, Bhudho Dhibye, Bhudho Dichti, Bhudho Gulhi, Bhudho Gulhi Parmāmhoch, Bhut Pāgal, Bich Bāghei, Bich Bāt, Bich Garal, Bich Jar, Bich Jāroni, Bich Pharhā, Bich Tākkeit, Bijho Bhābha Chigutthyā, Bijye Pirye, Bijhe Bāde Ājhare, Bijittyā, Bijyā Ujonnyā Someley, Bijyāt Haidhe Jāt Gangā Ajhar , Bijyāt Haidhe Jāt Pwa Pirā, Bijye Badede Jāt, Gangā Gulhi, Brihach Tattari Jary, Brihachpudi Ājar, Buk Sul, Butdhomā, Chāgā Jāt Bhudho Ābāng, Chāk Bich, Chāk Takkeit, Chāktei Bāt, Chām Māndek, Chandra Dhadhu, Chāt Pirye, Chelā Gulhi, Chemeleng Bāt, Cherā Kāmar, Chet Ereiyā Ājhar, Chhāk Gulphi, Chhadha Kut Band, Chharā Tākkeit, Chharhā Gulphi, Chhatthā Pāgal, Chhattrich Jāt Bhudho Ājhar, Chhattrich Jāt Pallā, Chhāyā Bhudho Ājhar, Chigutthyā, Chigutthyā Ājhar, Chigutthyā Jāt Bhudho Ājhar, Chigutthyā Jāt Ganga Ājhar, Chit Bāt, Chit Sul, Chit Pallā, Chok Ābāng, Chok Ājhar, Chok Pirye, Dābā Pirye, Dābā Piryei Kanna Sul, Dābā Piryei-Tinnwa Piryei, Dādhwoi, Dāl Jannyo, Dāl Jannyo Pwa Pirye, Dalā (Dalā Gulphi, Dalā Jāt Gangā Ājhar Ujonā, Dalā Jāt Romu Ājhar, Dalā Parmāmhoch, Dalā Tākkeit, Dalā Ujonā, Dam, Dāmmwa Jāt Gangā Ājhar, Dāt Pirye, Dāt Suloni, Dein Bāt, Dein Krenghā, Deino Ājarha Parmāmhoch, Deino Ājarhe Tadāt Phejhā Bāchsye Pārhā Pelhe, Deino Ājhar, Deino Dhibhye Deino Dichti, Deino Gulhi, Deino Phāl, Dembal, Dhā Samāidye Jāt Pwa Pirye, Dhādhu, Dhādhu Āchchri, Dhāk Buk Bāchchyānā, Dhakdhaghi Parānā, Dhal Gangā Ājhar, Dhāmhulhu Pirye, Dhel Jāt Gangā Ājhar, Dhoghoni Jāt Gangā Ājhar, Dhoghoni Kāch, Dhonuch Tanggaā, Dhwajabangha Bāyu Sānnek, Dichti Ābāng, Ditti Nārsul, Ditti Petphulheyā, Dot, Dudho

Dalā, Dudho Dichti, Dumbroo Jāl, Dut Pirye, Dur Pallā, Dut Āchchri, Duttyā Pirye, Dyo Ājhar, Dyo Gulhi, Dyo Pāgal, Elāji Bhram, Gā Pānhi Jānā, Gāch Phrāngi, Galā Bhāngā, Galā Jāt Pwa Pirye, Gangā Ājhar, Gangā Ājhar, Gangā Bich, Gangā Ājharha Parmāmhoch, Gangā Ājharha Pet Pirye, Gangā Ājharha Tadā Pirye, Gangā Ājharhae Bich Bāde, Gangā Bich, Gangā Dalā, Gangā Dhibhyā, Gangā Gulhi, Gangā Phāl, Gangā-Nārcinghyā Parmāmhoch, Garbha Ājhar, Garbha Bich, Garbha Gulhiā, Garmi, Gattanā Pirye, Ghā Jāt Pwa Pirye, Ghāghat Pirye, Ghergheri Jāt Parmāmhoch, Girgirāide Jāt Gangā Ājhar, Guālum Bhānghiley, Gulhi Ābāng, Gulhi Ājhar, Gulhi Jāt Parmāmhoch, Gulphi, Gulphi Dhwajhabhanga Gurwa Hāghārhā, Gurwa Hoinei Rakta bech chaliley, Gurwa hughurhi udilhey, Gurwa Jar, Gurwa Kāch, Gurwar Nār Sul, Gurwai Jwil Nhighilelhe, Gurwai Nijhech-ābhāch nei garhi Kānile, Gurwar Cheda Mādhā Ullei Gelhe, Gurwar Chhada Pejhāp, Bara Bejhāp Band Halhe, Gurwar Dhāk Buk Somele, Gurwar Dut Ditti, Gurwar Elāji Bhram, Gurwar Pet Pirye, Gurwar Kut, Gurwar Siryā Tiktigele, Gurwar Sursurhi Ājhar, Gurwarlhwe Jwarat Gādonhi, Gutthyā Tantani Jāt Bhudho Ājhar, Hāghārhā, Hāghārhā Bich, Hāghārhā Jāt Parmāmhoch, Hāghārhā Jāt Pwa Pirye, Hāghārhā Sudigā, Hār Ābang, Hār Bhāngā, Hār Milyani, Hāt Mhut Garhi Thāidye Jāt Parmāmhoch, Hāt Mhut Garhi Thāidye Jāt Parmāmhoch, Hāt Theng Tāngārāidye Jāt Gangā Ajhar, Heit Pirye, Imilluch Bhudho Ājhar, Jal Sudugā, Jāri, Jakkhyo Pāgal, Janānār Rakta Gelhe, Janānār Talpedat Dalā, Jannyo, Jeim Bāt, Jhāgāmā Pirye, Jhemblhu Bāt, Juk Pinyaganhā Ābāng, Juk Pinyāk, Junhit Haidhe Jāt Phaghanhā Ājhar, Jurwo Jāt Gangā Ājhar, Jurwo Jāt Parmāmhoch, Jwar, Jwar Tekkhya, Jwar Chigon, Jwar Bar, Jwar Lāmbā, Jwar Egātārā, Jwar Bhāllhuk, Jwar Ādatthun Tulonhi, Jwar Ājhar, Jwar Ājhar, Jwar Jāt Parmāmhoch, Jwar Kejarhi, Jwar Mrittungjoy, Jwil Chābāide Jāt Parmāmhoch, Jwilo Ugurey Jwil, Kāch Chhārim Bich Jārim, Kāch Sālem, Kāchswa Jāt Pwa Pirye, Kājochchyā Pharhā, Kāllyā Bhudho Ājhar, Kamar Pirye, Kameni Parānā, Kān Galānā, Kāngei Pirye, Kān Pirye, Kān Sul Pwa Pirye, Kāndrā Jāt Parmāmhoch, Keich Pharhā, Keim Krenghā, Khābhākhāppyā Pwa Pirye, Khāch, Khānggi Pirye, Khankhijhechchyā Parmāmhoch, Khojheyā Kāch, Khul Bhāk Hanhā, Khul Ghāmhedhe Jāt Pwa Pirye, Khut Jannyo, Khurho Pirye, Kiding, Kodeyhe Jāt Pwa Pirye, Krenghā, Krenghā Bhudho Ājar, Krenghā Jāt Gulhi Parmāmhoch, Krenghā Jāt Pwa Pirye, Krenghā Parmāmhoch, Kugur Bich, Kugur Pirye, Kumkumo, Kup Hanhā, Kur, Kur Pirye, Kurhee Kān, Kut Band, Kut Bhāngoni, Kwan Bhudho Ājhar, Lākkyā Kāch, Lāmoni, Lāmbā Jwar, Lāmoni Jāt Gangā Ājhar, Leichsyo Jonnyo, Lo Ābāng, Lo Āchsree, Lo Jāt Deino Ābāng, Lo MutrMu Pirye, Lo Pinyek, Ludi, Lulhwa Jāt Pwa Pirye, Mādhāt Bich, Mādhā Pirye, Mādhā Tontoni, Magajhat Dharhede Bhudho Ājhar, Māgaraga Jāt Romu Ājhar, Māgaraga Kāmar, Mak Bhudho Ājhar, Mak Ghabhā, Māndek, Mardāni Jur Kamānā, Megulho Budho Ājar, Mek Ājhar, Mek Jāt Pwa Pirye, Milye Pirye, Modhu Jonnyo, Mogonhi Ājhar, Mralā Krenghā, Muchchyalhe Dharhānā, Mudo Phaghanhāt Sil, Mu Pirye, Mur Tākkeit, Mursyo Jāt Parmāmhoch, Mut Sul, Na Jāt Phullyā Pāndu, Na Jāt Phullyā Pāndu Pālang, Na Māttyā Bhudho Ājhar, Nābhi Ghurghurhi Pet Pirye, Nābhi Petm Pirye, Nāgaphalhā Lārāide Jāt Parmāmhoch, Nāgedho Lo ejānhā, Nākkrang Pirye, Nāli Ghā, Nārenghyā Bhudho Ājhar, Nārenghya Dalā, Nāri Bāt, Neer Bāt-Jeim Bāt, Neiiyhot Haidye Jāt Gangā AĀjhar, Neiiyhot Tāle Haidye Jāt Gangā AĀjhar, Nijhi Bhudho Ājar, Nijhi Bhudho Krenghā, Nwa Biyānir Ra Band Halhey, Pāgal, Pāgal Bhudho Ājhar, Pāgal Bhudho Krenghā, Pāgal Kugure Kāmāllye, Pāng Sul, Panja Bhudho Ājhar, Pānnhyā Ābāng, Pallā, Puri Jeyā, Parmāmhoch Krenghā, Patda Pirye, Peda Bhidhirhey Pwa Marile, Peda Bhidhirhey Pwa Marile, Khālhach Garanhi, Peda Bhidhirhey Ruk, Pedat Chir, Pedat Kirmi, Pedat Dalā, Pedat Ābāng, Pet Phulheyhe, Pet Phulheyhe Disti, Pet Pirye, Pet Pirye, Pet Pirye Jāt Gangā Ājhar, Phajhā, Phajhā Jonnyo, Pharhā Jāt Pwa Pirye, Phejhā Ājhar, Phejhā Ājhar, Phelhu Bhudho Ājar, Phool Bāār Garanhi, Phool Jāt Rajaksalā Ābāng, Phrāngi, Phullhyā Jāt Ābāng, Phullhyā Jāt Pwa Pirye, Pijilhyā, Pilhwai Pallā, Pokkhi Bāt, Puch Nāli, Pullhyā Pirye, Puno Hāri

Nhighilānā, Puri Krenghā, Puri Pāgal, Puruch Jur Garanhi, Puruch Mārei Dilhey, Pwa Ājhar, Pwa Bhudho Ājhar, Pwa Chemeleng, Pwa Jar, Pwa Ogoliley, Pwa Pālangāh, Pwa Pet Pirye, Ragachsalā Bech Gelhe, Ragachsalā Beich Gelhe, Rajhe Dharhānā, Rak Krenghā, Rakta Ābāng, Rakta Bijhar Nach Pāk, Rakta Duch, Rakta Jāt Gangā Ājhar, Rāngā Jāt Pwa Pirye, Rāngā Kālā Dhup Jāt Pwa Pirye, Rāngā Pirye, Rekkhajhi Ājhar, Ridu Pirye Ābāng, Rohnghyā Bhudho Ājhar, Romu Ābāng, Romu Ājar, Romu Bajānhi, Romu Nhighilānhā, Romu Pajāni, Ruk, Ruk Pinyek, Ruk Dalā, Ruk Gulphi, Ruk Kāch, Rum Bhudo Ājhar, Rwāhproo Ājhar Jwar, Sabanā, Sābe Khutthyā, Sahachchra Ājhar, Sahachchra Bāt, Sālā Bāndhā, Sālā Bāndhā Deino Chumi, Sāng, Sāng Jāt Pwa Pirye, Sāng Sul, Sāng Sul Pwa Pirye, Sānni Bādi Jwar, Sāt Jādi Bhudho Ājhar, Sāt Jāt Chigutthyā, Sāt Jāt Chok Ājhar, Sāt Jāt Dichti Behajami, Sāt Jāt Gangā Ājhar, Sāt Jāt Gulphi, Sāt Jāt Kāch, Sāt Jāt Parmāmhoch, Sāt Jāt Rohnghyā Bhudho Ājhar, Sebhā, Sebhā Kāch, Seer Bāt, Sejhi Ājhar, Sejhi Krenghā, Shani Ājhar, Sudhigā Chemeleng, Sudhigā Tākkeit, Sughor Pirye, Sughunho Ditti, Sughunho Jāt Gangā Ājhar, Sughunho Kāch, Sughunho Tākkeit, Sursurhi Ājhar, Tadā Pirye, Tāk Pirye, Takkā Jāt Gangā Ājhar, Takkā Jāt Gulhi, Takkā Jāt Parmāmhoch, Tākkeit, Tākkeit Dhwajhabangha, Tangā Jāt Gangā Ājhar, Tangā Jāt Parmāmhoch, Tekkhyā Jwar, Thāch Garhi Palhe, Theng Pirye, Tinnwa Pirye, Tinnwa Pirye, Tinnwa Pirye Dābā Pirye, Udho Chherhe-Dāda Chherhe Jwil, Udo Gulphi, Ull, Rāngā Ull, Undur Jāt Gangā Ājhar, Undur Tākkei, Unduro Kāmar, Oghoi Jāt Pwa Pirye.

Thus, the prsent chapter reflects the rich tradition of indigenous medicinal cultured by the Chakmas. It is hoped the information given above will contribute a lot to the Ayurvedic studies which is at present being developed in our country.

9

Traditional Customary Laws of the Chakmas

Every community has their own traditions and customs. These traditions and customs bind them together to lead a peaceful and prosperous society. The social value of a society is best known for the traditions and customs. The Chakmas also have their own traditions and customary rules. The history of the Chakmas is obscure but none can deny the fact that the Chakmas once lived independently and peacefully in their own land with own language, script, religion, culture, tradition and customs. They have their own social system and customary rules to lead the society properly. These rules were created to lead their society with discipline. The Chakmas have their own judicial system. These were not enforced to them by any outside force, it came gradually to their society from time to time. To lead a peaceful society, these customary rules were adopted by the society from time to time and generated from father to son. So it is accepted without any question and some of it differs from region to region and *Gozā* to *Gozā*. The principal of a traditional law is not clear and it is flexible in nature. So the best use of these laws depends on the experience of the enforcement agency, than its definitions and explanations and enforcement. Therefore, though the customary laws are unwritten, they are respected everywhere. It is expected that the judge of a customary matter should belong to the society of that particular community since it is quite impossible for an outsider to understand the gravity of a social offence of a particular society. For example, the sensiblity and gravity of a case of *Sinyeli* and attack of a monk cannot be understood by an outsider. Hence, the customary cases of the Chakma community should be tried by a judge who belongs to the Chakma community. The majority of the Chakma population in Mizoram, reside outside the Chakma Autonomous District Council, and there is likelihood that they may not get proper justice from the judges of outside community as they may not know the gravity of a case. Therefore, the District Council Court of CADC should have jurisdiction over all customary matters of the Chakma community since it is the only Constitutionally created court for the Chakmas in India. The Chakma people of India be allowed to seek justice on customary matters from the District Council Courts of Chakma Autonomous District Council.

The traditional Chakma Customary laws are regarded as the safeguard of the Chakma society. During British period and even after Independence of India there was no interference in the customary matters of the Chakmas. The decision of the Chakma Chief was the ultimate and final

in all customary matters. In the Chakma society, the Rājā or king was the head of the society. He administered justice in all criminal, civil and customery cases.

For cheaper and speedy disposal of cases the Govt. of India has decentralised the judicial powers and the village courts are empowered to try and dispose of petty natured cases. The Chakma Autonomous District Council, Mizoram is also empowered to constitute traditional courts under paragraph 4(1) of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India. The District council courts can try customary, civil and criminal cases under Indian Penal Code, which punishment is less than five years of imprisonment under normal circumstances. The Governor may also confer powers od a Session Judge under Code of Civil Procedure, 1908 and Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 for the trial of suits or cases arising out of any law in force in any autonomous district or region being a law specified in that behalf or for the trial of offences punishable with death, transportation for life, or imprisonment for a term of not less than five years under the Indian Penal Code or under any other law for the time being applicable to such district or region under paragraph 5(1) of the Sixth Schedule. Once the District Council Courts are established, they perform judicial functions independently under the supervision of the High Court under Article 227 of the Constitution of India. Para 3(1) (h), (i) and (j) of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India also empowered the autonomous district councils to make laws on inheritance of property, marriage and divorce and social customs. It is therefore felt that it high time to compile the Traditional Chakma Customary Laws since these subjects falls within the Customary Law.

The Chakma Customary Law was codified in 1997 by the Chakma Autonomous District Council, Mizoram. But it is found to be not in the original form. It has been modified and modernised. As a result some differences cropped up in regard to implementation and award of punishment. The code prohibits fining of pig in illegal sexual offences, but the people are still practising it as a tradition. It also gives the guardianship of a child to the mother, but as per custom, the father is regarded as the guardian of a child, especially the male child since a male child is best believed to be safe with his relatives. The custom even allows a unmarried father to claim the guardianship of a child. Since the custom believes that a child is best brought up in own *gutthi* (genus) and a person from own *gutthi* is necessary at birth, marriage and death. One cannot give birth a child or die in the house of other *gutthi*, but in the house of own *gutthi*. One cannot also marry from own *gutthi* unless there is a gap of at least five generations. The punishment prescribed in the Customary Law Code 1997 is found to be very light compared to the original prescription of punishment for an offence. For example, the minimum and maximum fine imposed during 1860 was from rupees five to rupees seventy when a person could earn only six sillings (paise) as wage, per day. If we prescribe a fine without counting the value of wages, it will not work. If we fine a guilty only 5 rupees to 70 rupees as per 1860, without looking into the valuation of present rupee to that of 1860, it will be a farce. Since a person now earns about 350 rupees as wage per day. The motto of awarding a punishment is to deter a person from committing such an act. That such offender should also face some affect in his life and that the victim should also be compensated and hence it should be an examplery one. Therefore, we should prescribe the punishments as per valuation of wages, comparing the value of 1860. Otherwise, the rate of social crime will go on increasing day by day. I also believe that a customary law should not be codified by a few people, since the customary practices came into existence gradually with the need and demand of the society from time to time, for the peaceful co-existence. It may only be compiled and if any change is needed, it should be changed by the people by themselves by not practising it. Earlier it was easier to introduce new rules or discard any practices since the people lived in concentrated area under the Chakma rulers and they could decide on any introduction or discard of rule in the annual get together called *Punnyhā*. But now,

the Chakma people are scattered in different countries and places under different government and administration. Now, it is not possible to get together and decide on introduction or discard of any customary rules. Therefore, the people should be given free hand to discard or modernise the traditional customs through their practices.

Traditionally, the Chakma customary cases were never tried by a single presiding officer. A trial was heard by the *Dach Murukbi* (literally meaning by ten elders since at least ten elders were necessary to form a quoram in a trial, and practically by the married general public) that's why a trial was called *Dajha Vijār* (public trial/trial of the ten). All the married persons of a village, who had offered *Khānā Poi* to the village elders at a marriage, are the members of a *Dajha Vijār Sabhā*. The unmarried, the people who did not offer the *Khānā Poi* were never allowed to attend a *Dajhā Vijār Sabhā* (public trial), especially in a sex related trial. Unless required as a witness or accused, the unmarried and those who have not offered *Khānā Poi* at their marriage were not allowed to participate in a *Dajha Vijār Sabhā*. The *Khānā Poi* is a compulsory rite necessary to become a member of the elders council or *Dajha Vijār Sabhā*. Every members have the right to say or put their opinion in the *Vijar Sobha*. The *Kārbāri, Dewān, Tālukdar* or the *headman* only presided over a trial of *Dajha Vijār Sabhā*, and judgement is pronounced as the decision of majority. So there is no room for malpractice and political persecution.

Now, after introduction of Village Council System in Mizoram some corruption has entered into the Chakma society. The village leaders are found not interested for enforcement and trial of Chakma Customary cases in fear of vote bank. The village council leaders have started ignoring the traditional institution, the *Dach Murukbi* by not consulting and inviting them in a trial. They are also found to be not interested in the enforcement of the customary rules in fear of votes, less the person against whom action is taken may not vote them. Therefore, there are many violations of customary rules and the social value is diminishing day-by-day. To revive the traditional system, it is suggested that the traditional institution of *Kārbāri* be enforced in every *Pārā* (street or *Mohalla*), *Basti* or sub-villages and *Ādām* (villages) in judicial matters. Who will look after the social aspect without fear of votes since the post of *Kārbāri* is not an elected one and he is selected by his neighbours looking into his ability or appointed by the headman or Village council. He is removable only for corruption and inefficiency.

I have inherited some knowledge on Chakma Customary Laws by birth since my father Late Hara Chandra Chakma was a *Kārbāri* of Matrisora (Belphei) village, 1964-1969 and Village Council President of Tuichawng Grouping Centre, 1969-1978 in the Lunglei District), Mizoram. (My maternal grandfather Late Sijukya Chakma was also a *Kārbāri* who came to Lushai Hills in 1932 with forty-five families and settled at Haulongsora (now Sachan) under Lungleh Sub-Division, now Lunglei District of present Mizoram, under Sangkhuma. Chief of Belkhai. My grandfather Late Doya Dhan Chakma also came with him and was permitted to settle at Haulongsora vide his permit No. 220R of 1935-36 dated Lungleh, the 6.2.1936 issued by Sub-Divisional Officer, Lungleh). I have practically observed many trial proceedings as trials were generally conducted at our home and also learnt many aspects from my father and his colleques like Doyal Chandra *Kārbāri* of Bhangapulsora, Bhagya Dhan *Kārbāri* of Bararasora, Mejangya Kārbāri of Changaeasuri and others. I have also been immensely assisted by my mother Smt. Chigoni alias Bidya Dhari Chakma in the collection and confirmation of information on Chakma culture, rites and of the gozā-gutthis. This effort of mine to compile the Chakma Customary Laws is to bring out the originality and facts on the Chakma Society and its customs since the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India envisage for the preservation of identity, culture and customs. If it is of any used to anybody, my effort will be a great success.

Extract of Views of the Honourable Gauhati High Court on Judiciary of the Chakma Autonomous District Council, Mizoram in Connection with W.P. (c) Case No. 3838/2012

"Judicial Court in the Chakma Autonomous District Council (CADC) was constituted in the year 1972 under the provisions of 'Pawi-Lakher Autonomous Region (Administrative of Justice) Rules, 1954. Shri Nitya Ranjan Talukdar, was the first Judicial Officer in the Chakma Autonomous District Council Court. The Chakma Autonomous District Council Administration of Justice Rules and Chakma Customary Law were drafted by Shri Birendra Lal Dewan, the first Court President and Recorder of the Chakma Autonomous District Council Court. The bills were placed in the Chakma Autonomous District Council Legislative Session House and were unanimously passed. There after, these were sent to the Law and Judicial Department, Govt. of Mizoram, for Gazzette Notification. The Judiciary in the Chakma Autonomous District Council is three tier institution, viz. (a) the village council courts, the lowest court, (b) the Subordinate District Council Courts, the intermediate court and the District Council Court (appellate court).

The Village Council Courts and the Subordinate District Council Courts hear and try original cases under their respective jurisdiction. The District Council Court deals only with the appeal cases against the judgement passed by the lower courts, i.e., the village council courts and the Subordinate District Council Courts.

Village Council Courts: The number of members of a Village Council Court should not be less than 3 (three) and not more than 11 (eleven). A Village Council Court tries the cases of civil and petty natures. It also tries the cases falling under Miscellaneous Tribal Laws and Customs including Criminal offences falling within the purview of the Customary and Tribal Laws. The following section of the Indian Penal Code (IPC) has been delegated to the Village Council Courts:

- Section 160 IPC: Affray.
- Section 290 IPC: Public Nuisance.
- Section 352 IPC: Assault.
- Section 339 IPC: Wrongful restrain of any person.
- Section 379 IPC: Theft from outside dwelling house.
- Section 426 IPC: Mischief.
- Section 447 IPC: Criminal trespass.
- Section 323 IPC: Voluntarily causing hurt.
- Section 510 IPC: Appearance in a state of intoxication in any public place.

Subordinate District Council Court: It hears the appeals on the decisions or orders of village council courts. The Subordinate District Council Court also has the original jurisdiction in the cases mentioned under Village Council Courts when both the parties do not reside within the jurisdiction of the same village council. Appeal against the decision or order of a Subordinate District Council Court is referred within sixty days from the date of issue of an order or decision. The power of revision of a decision or order of a Subordinate District Council Court lies with the District Council Court.

District Council Court: It is the Court of Appeal in respect of all suits and cases tried by the lower courts of the District Council. The District Council Court may order for the records of any proceedings of lower courts. It may also order for examination of records. It may reduce, enhance or cancel any sentence passed by the lower courts and remand cases for trial.

An appeal against the order or sentence passed by the District Council Court lies with the Gauhati High Court, within ninety days from the date on which such an order or decision was passed. A revision is also possible in the above mentioned High Court.

The following Sections of Indian Penal Code (IPC) have been delegated to the Subordinate District Council Court:-129, 133, 135, to 138, 140 to 145, 152, 153(A5), 153(B5), 154 to 159, 161 to 171 (in respect of public servant removable by District Council Court), 171D to 171i, 172 to 190 (so far as consent relates and authority set up by District Council), 193 (part), 214 (part), 215, 216 (part), 217, 218, 221 (part), 221 (part), 223, 225, 225 (part), 225A, 225D, 229, 233, 235, 237, 241, 242, 246, 248, 252, 254, 261, 263 to 267, 269 to 280, 282 to 289, 291 to 298, 304A, 306 (part), 309, 312 (part), 318, 324, 332, 334, 451, 453, 454 (part), 456, 461, 462, 465, 468 (part), 482 to 489E, 491, 498, 500 to 502, 504, 505 (part), 508 and 509.

The following Sections of Indian Penal Code (IPC) have been delegated to District Council Court: 129, 133, 13-138,140-145, 150-153 (B 5), 154-159, 161-171, 171D -171, 172-190 (so far as consent relates and authority set up by District council), 193, 201, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 221, 223, 225, 225A, 225D, 229, 233, 235, 237, 241, 242, 246, 248, 252, 254, 261, 263-267, 269-280, 282-289, 291-298, 304A, 306, 309, 312, 318, 324, 332, 334-338, 385, 403, 404, 406, 411, 414-419, 421-425, 427, 428, 434, 448, 451, 453, 454, 456, 461, 462, 465, 468, 482-489, 491, 498, 500-502, 504, 505, 508 and 509.

The Court President and Recorder is invested with the powers of a magistrate of the first class.The repository of the power of Judiciary in the Autonomous District Council is R-4 of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India. Apart from the Regional Council and District Council no other court except the High Court and the Supreme Court has jurisdiction over the suit and cases.

The provisions of Assam High Court (Jurisdiction over District Council Courts) Order, 1954 clearly shows that it is the High Court has got both appellate and supervisory powers over the District Council Courts. The High Court has got power to hear appeal both in respect of civil and criminal matters and may call for the proceeding of civil and criminal case decided or pending in any court in autonomous district on application or otherwise. The Executive Committee does not have the power to intervene in the judicial function of the courts under the scheme of sixth schedule. If the Executive Committee nullifies the order of the District Council Court, even if it is illegal, then these courts cannot discharge the judicial function freely and the entire scheme of the judiciary as contemplated in the sixth schedule will be frustrated.

The Hon'ble Gauhati High Court in the case of WP (PIL) No. 4952/2001- Subhasis Chakraborty vs State of Meghalaya observed:

> 'unless the control over the court constituted by the District Council is vested in the High Court, the Officer of such court will not be able to administer Justice free from extraneous pressure and influence.'
>
> It may be mentioned here that the Govt. of Mizoram, extended the scheme of separation of judiciary from the executive in the three autonomous districts, Lai, Mara, and Chakma and suggested to hand over the control to the High Court. To protect the independence of judiciary, the courts in the Autonomous District should immediately be brought under the control of the Gauhati High Court.....
>
> Sd/- Illegible,
>
> 22.06.12 Dy. Registrar (G & C)

Administration of Justice in the Chakma Society:

The first rule in the Chakma society is that the elders are the judges and they have the authority to administer justice. An elder is by generation and age. An elder has the right to control the younger, though he may be young by age. The villagers are the authority to punish or pardon an offender. A married person who has performed his marriage as per custom and tradition, i.e., with *Jadan*, *Chumulang*, feast and *Khana Poi* is a member of a *Dajha Vijār Sabhā* (public trial). Unmarried persons, illegimate person (i.e., A person who is born out of parent who have not performed marriage rituals) and married persons, who have not fulfilled the social marriage rituals are not allowed to participate in a *Dajha Vijār Sabhā*, unless required as an accused or witness. The head of the village do not decide any case, by himself alone, but presides over a trial and pronounces the decision of majority members of *Dajha Vijār Sabhā* as verdict. An offender may be punished for an offence committed in other village in addition to the punishment received at the place of occurance. A person has to obey the rule of the village and his *Gozā*. Or he may be made *Jāda Bārhā* (out caste) or *Poiya Bārhā* (literally out of food dish) meaning out of society and that no member of the society and none will talk to him or take meal or drink with him or will not provide him meal, drink, etc.). In extreme cases such a person may be driven out of the village.

In the Chakma Society, the king or the Raja was the supreme authority. Under him there were the group leaders who were the heads of the *Gozās* (septs). They were known as the *Sardārs* and in the later period, *Ānghu, Dhāmei, Chege, Dewān, Tālukdār* and *Headman*. Under the *Gozā heads*, there were the *Kheejhās* (person recognised by the king as clever and wise) and *Kārbāris,* who were the heads of a small village or the *Gutthi (genus)* or sub-septs (elans) and were the heads of a sub-village or *Pārā*, under him were the heads of the families, under the head of a famililies, the eldest son and other sons and children according to seniority of generation and age. It is said that as per custom the elders have got the right to give three blows on the youngs' without any question, if according to the elder the younger has committed any mistake. It was the foundation of the society and bounded them in concrete bond. Here the younger had to obey the elders. The son has to obey the father, the father the grand father, the grand father the *Kheejhā* or *Kārbāri*, the *Kheejhā* or *Kārbāri*, the head of the *Gozā* the *Dewān* or *Headman*, the group leader, the *Dewān* or *Headman* the *Rājā* or King. Being closely related, the system of food distribution was also unique.

Dajha vijār *(Public Trial)*: The *Kārbāri* settles all the cases of his village in a *Dajha Vijār* Sabhā with the help of *Bhujhās* (elders) and *Kheejās* (learned person recognised by the king). In a *Dajha Vijār*, a decision is taken on the demand opinion of *Dach* (the general married people who had performed *'Khāna Siryānā'* rite, since the quroum is at least ten such persons), the *Kārbāri* only presides over the *vijār*. A *Dajha Vijār* is held with not less than ten married villagers. Therefore, the opinion of the villagers reflects in a *Dajha Vijār*. A major decision like *Jhendrā, Ek Ghāchsyā Garānhā,* etc., are taken on the demand of the villagers. When villagers of two different villages are involved in a case it can be tried in either villages. If a female is involved in a case, it is generally tried in the village of the female. However, the trying village *Kārbāri* must invite the *Kārbāri* of other village with his *Bujho-Kheejhās*. If it was not feasible, the copy of statement and judgement called *'Rāi Nagal'* must be sent to the *Kārbāri* of other village. If two villagers could not come to any conclusion in such a trial, it was referred to the *Dewān* who tries it inviting all the *Kārbāris* under him. Or if it was between the villagers of two *Dewāni*, both the *Dewān* tries it inviting their *Kārbāris* and elders. If such a case is not settled in the *Dewān Court*, it was referred to the Court of the *Rājā* or king.

Najar **(The Court Fees):** In the 1870s a complaint to a *Kārbāri* had to be accompanied by Re. 1/- as *Najar* court fee), a complaint to a *Dewan* Rs. 5/- rupees and an appeal fee called *'Khwa Bhāngani'* was 7/- rupees. The fee was too high since a person had to labour more than ten days to earn one rupee. Since the wage was only 24 to 28 *drums*, i.e., *6 to 7 sillings* a day and one rupee contained 256 *drums* (A drum was a *kānā Paijhyā*) and four drum was one *silling (Paise)* and 4 *sillings* was one *Ānnā*, four *Ānnā* was one *Siki*, eight *Ānnā* was one *Ādulhee* and 16 *Ānnā* was one Rupee. That's why people still say, "I have got no money, if any person beats me up for no reason, I will not be able to lodge a complaint!" People might have suffered from inability to lodge complaint due to high rate of court fees.

Procedure of *Vijār*: The *Kārbāri* was always assisted by the *Bujhās* (village elders), *Kheejās* (learned villagers recognised by the King) and the *Dāk Kerani* (village crier). On getting any *Bāt* (information on commission of any offence)/*Barābat* (a complaint)/*Nālich* (written complaint)/ *Najar Talap* (written complaint with *Najar* (court fee)) he would call the village elders and *Dach Murukbi* (married persons who had offered *Khānā Poi*) and summon the accused and the complainant through the *Dāk Kerāni* (village crier). The *Jabānbandi* (statements) of *Bādi* (complainant) and *Bibādi* (accused) are heard first and reduced into writing. If it tallies and the accused *Kubuls* (admits) the *Duch* (guilt), *Rāi* (judgement) is pronounced. If the statement does not tally and the accused does not *Kubul* (admit) the allegation, then the *Sākkhis* (witnesses) of both parties were called on and *Swal-Jabāp* (examination argument) are done and their *Jabān-Bandi* (statements) are recorded. If the statements of the *Sākkhis* and of *Bādi* and *Bibādi* does not tally, they are asked to do *Mukābilā-Rukābilā* (argument) and *Bargā* (exhibits), *Pramān* (proof) are sought. If both parties agree, they are even asked to take *Sabhat* (swear). Considering all aspects, *Rāi* (judgement) is pronounced in the form of *Danda* (punishment) like *Juribānā* (fine of caash), fine of pig, cock, *Bet Mārānā* (public flogging with cane called *Kereit*), *Mujuligā* (bond of good behaviour), *Khadi Puron* (compensation), *Lāja Bhār* (price for causing shame), *Jhendrā* (corporal punishment in respect of sex with *Garbā Kudum* or odd relation), *Poiya Bārhā* (out of society), *Jāda Bārhā* (out of caste), etc. A case may also end in *Rajamanda* (withdrawal or compromise). But in such a case the *Najar* is not refunded. Further, the *Najar* is always realised from the guilty, e.g., if a complaint is not sustained in the court, the *Najar* will be confiscated. In addition, the *Bādi* may be asked to pay *Khadi Puran* to the *Bibādi*. If a complaint is proved, the *Bādi* will get back the *Najar* he paid and it will be realised from the *Bibādi*. In addition, the *Bibādi* has to undergo *Danda* as may be prescribed by the *Dajha Vijār Sabhā*. The *Dajha Vijār Sabhā* also has got the power to take cognizance of any case that may reach to them. It has the power even to enquire a *Gabalā* (a unanimous letter poster displayed against an offence). If the *Dajha Vijār Sabhā* takes cognizance of a case without a complaint, such a case is called *Hāgim Bādi* (official/state case) since the *Hāgim* (judge) itself is the *Bādi* (complainant). For example, a girl became pregnant without marriage. If such information reaches the *Kārbāri*, he has the power to initiate a case and enquire as to who is responsible for the pregnancy. Or if a *Gabalā* is displayed against the pregnancy of a unwed girl, the *Kārbāri* can take cognizance of such information. A person not satisfied with the *Rāi* of *Dajha Vijār Sobhā* reserves the right to put a *Sālich* to a *Utdho Ādālat* (higher *Kājāri* or court) on payment of *Sālijhi Najar* (appeal fee) and *Khwa Bhāngani* (extra-expenditure). There is a custom that, if a person is unable to depose his statements properly, he may engage another person with the permission of the *Kārbāri* to depose statement on his behalf. Such a person is called *'Muk Pātti'*. A person who cannot talk in Chakma may also engage interpreter with the permission of *Kārbāri* such an interpreter is called *'Dobājhi'*.

Punishment and Fines (Sejā āā Juribānā): After getting the truth, judgement is pronounced in the form of *Juribana* (fine), *Majaliga* (bond), *Khatipuron* (compensation), *Lāja Bhār* (price

for causing shame) *Bet Mārānā* (public flogging), *Jhendrā* (public humilation). My older cousin brother Shri Shanti Kumar Chakma of Tuichawng narrated me the story of *Jhendrā* on 23/2/2016, that in 1976 when he was at Pablakhali (South) one woman eloped with the son of her husband's elder brother. They were caught at Silsury in *Sājek* area and brought for trial. In the trial they were awarded *Jhendrā* punishment and asked to sweep street in roughly shaven head beating an empty tin canester, hanging chicken cage around their neck. They had to answer the questions of the public as to why they were treated that way. In the way they were offered jackfruit leaves and they had to chew it as a goat and also bleet. The boy had to even act like goat by climbing on the back of the woman like a he goat and sound like a goat. They were also awarded 500 canning with *Kereit* cane for the boy and 250 canning for the woman. The boy reportedly could not endure more than 25 cane blows and fell unconscious, but the woman could endure it. Afterward the boy was sent to temple to become *Chāmanhi* and the woman was given '*Sutdho-Sangho*' rite by a *Vaitdya* by making a *Gangā Ghar* at the middle of the river. Afterwards only they were reentered to the society. Some even had to become bonded labour called *Gābhur/ Bajhar Lākkwa Gābhur* to a wealthy person to borrow money and pay the fines. As per custom, a master cannot illtreat a *gābhur*. He should be treated as a family member. As stated, "In default of payment, the culprit ought, according to old custom, to become a slave for such time as will enable him to work off the penalty." The *Dāk Kerāni (village crier)* is the executor of the judgement like *Bet Mārānā* (giving blow with a cane called *Kereit*). He works as a village police. However, awarding capital punishment was reserved to the king only. But there said to exist one system called *Chandraluk Pādhei Denā* (literally to send to moon)/*Nun Kinā Pādānhā* (to send to purchase salt) meaning to vanish a hardcore criminal who does not obey the rules of the society. In such punishment the offender is lead to a deep jungle and asked to dig his own grave and was buried there, sometimes alive!

The monetory fine was from Rs. 5/- to 60/- depending on gravity of the offences in normal circumstances and up to Rs. 75- for a habitual offender. Before 1870, "If a man runs away with another man's wife, he has to repay to the injured husband all the former expenses of marriage, and is fined 40 to 60 rupees. Should near relatives (within certain prohibited degrees of odd relation or *Gorba Kudum*) fall in love with each other, it is usual for both of them to pay a fine of 50 rupees and corporal punishment is also administered.The abduction of a young girl against her will is punished by a fine of 60 rupees, and the offender also receives a good beating from the lads of the village to which the girl belongs." But it was too high a fee and fine since at that time a person could earn only one *Anna* to two *Annas* after working a whole day. My father also told me that in about 1932 when they were young, they got only 2/3 annas after a day long hard work. In 1966/67 a person could get only Rs. 3 as wage. In 1973, I worked as a BRTF labourer and was paid Rs. 4.25 wages a day. That's why, even today, when people do not have money, they used to say "I do not have money and I would not be able to lodge a complaint if I get a slap without any cause". The punishment was too stringent since it was from five rupees to sixty rupees. Since a person had to toil for at least eight days for earning one rupee and for earning fifty rupees, one had to work for four hundred to five hundred days. Which means one rupee was about 2500 to 4500 rupees and rupees fifty was about 125,000 to 2,25,000 rupees at the present-day valuation of wage rate @ 300 rupees per day. In this regards a rhyme is still sung among the *Bhadha Dāghi (Bhādha gutthi)* to the effect that "*Tengāt Bālā Teichswa, Kāmei Ānilo Bixhswa, Geingkhulhee Sunilo Reitthwa* (one Biswa earned one rupee after working for twenty-three days and he listened to *geingkhulee* whole the night!)"

1. Definitions: In these rules, unless the context otherwise requires:-

1. "*A Jabā*" means curseful language.

2. *"A Jāgā"* means private parts like pubic, breast, etc.
3. *"A Kadhā"* abusive language.
4. *"Achta Alankār"* means the ornaments meant for the bride and earlier it consisted eight items, i.e., (1) head gear - *Khabang* (2) for the hair knot, i.e., *Shārukh*, ribbon, etc., (3) for the ear–*Kān Phool, Kān Bajhā, Kajaphoolo, Rach Jur, Jhumko, Jhumlee*, etc., (4) for the nose–*Nāk Phool, Nach, Chukbola Nāk Phool, Tārā Chhāba, Nachkhatra, Bol*, etc., (5) for the neck–*Hājhulee, Hāl sorā, Tengā sorā, Chik sorā, Piji*, etc., (6) for the arm–*Tāch Jur*, (7) for the wrist–*Kuji Khāru, Bāhu, Bālā, Bāngorhee, Churi*, etc., and (8) for the ankle–*Thenghat Khāru, Jaltaranga*, etc.
5. *"Achtra"* means weapon.
6. *"Ādāmyā-Pārāllyā"* means the neighbours and villagers.
7. *"Ādārhā"* means a special plate prepared for a deity or departed soul.
8. *"Aduri Guduri"* means an intestine and stomach preparation, a compulsory item of a *Khānā Poi*.
9. *"Āduri Kheyā"* means intestine eater.
10. *"Āghun Bājhei Denā"* means setting of fire.
11. *"Āilyā* (Tong)" means an earthen or metal fire pot on which fire is made with paddy husk and kept at the entrance of the dead house and neighbours house.
12. *"Āin"* means law.
13. *"Ājāmhi"* means an accused.
14. *"Āk Bārhā Poi"* means the welcome plate of rice meant for the soul of departed person containing meat, fish, sweets, cakes and all other edible things and drinks including mat, Jagarha and kanji.
15. *"Ālang"* means the decorated stretcher on which a dead body is carried from home to cremation ground.
16. *"Ālsyā"* means an earthen or metal fire pot on which fire is lighted with paddy husk.
17. *"Āng"* means a magical writing of a certain design used for protection or causing harm.
18. *"Āpta Kubuli Sugor"* means the pig fined for self-admission of an affair with a girl or woman.
19. *"Āpta Kubuli"* means self-admission.
20. *"Ājamhi"* means an accused.
21. *"Āttyā"* means all related grand fathers.
22. *"Bādā"* means an award.
23. *"Bādi"* means the complainant.
24. *"Balājurhi"* literally means by force and here it means 'rape'.
25. *"Bajhar Lakkwa"* means yearly and the term is used to keep a labourer on yearly basis.
26. *"Bājhei Denā"* literally means to set, to cause, to ask, etc., and abetment in this context.
27. *"Balā"* means acquired misfortune.
28. *"Bālā"* means labour/one day labour.

29. "*Bālā Dhārānā*" means advance labour, a practice in which a person may work in others jhum or cultivation field for certain days. That owner of the jhum or cultivation field should also repay that person equal days of work in his need.
30. "*Balā Kādā*" means the rite performed to ward-off acquired misfortune.
31. "*Bandhāk*" means security deposit against money lending/pounding.
32. "*Bar Ghar*" means the platform on which a dead body is transferred from the dead bed after giving bath and which is specially constructed as per custom on five/seven bundles of bamboo consisting of three poles in each bundle, bamboo taped mat and layers of clothes.
33. "*Barābat*" means a complaint written or oral accompanied by *Najar-Talap* (court fees).
34. "*Bargā*" means exhibit.
35. "*Barkan*" means any provision of marriage, especially the ornaments of *'boālhee'*, if the groom party cannot arrange, it is temporily borrowed from the relatives. If such a thing is proved, it is regarded as the term of marriage has been violated and the groom party has cheated the bride party. In such a case the groom party cannot force the bride to return it after the marriage is over.
36. "*Bāt*" means to make complaint.
37. "*Battā*" means prayer for blessings.
38. "*Bāttyānā*" means to invite.
39. "*Bayān*" means a statement.
40. "*Beātdabi*" means act of outrage or show of disrespect or contempt.
41. "*Bhāginā*" means, sons of sisters and related sisters.
42. "*Bhāgini*" means daughters of sisters and related.
43. "*Begeyhā Kadhā*" means luscivious language.
44. "*Begeyhā*" means luscivious/shameless.
45. "*Bhānte*" means a Buddhist monk.
46. "*Bhārbwa*" means a wrong position of a house for which misfortune may fall on a family as per belief.
47. "*Bhāt Dharā*" means the time when a child starts taking rice and it is counted at sixth month.
48. "*Bhat Majā*" literally means a rice packet and it is offered to a just delivered mother by the neighbours and relatives with good items like good/scented rice, meat, fish, sweet and other courses as a gesture of good neighbour to recover her health.
49. "*Bhāt Na Dhachsyā Guro*" means a child who has not started taking rice and solid food. The Chakma usually provide rice to a child after about six months. Some even provide it before six months at about four to five months.
50. "*Bhei Bo*" means all wives' of related younger brothers.
51. "*Bhei Jhee*" means daughters of brothers and related brothers.
52. "*Bhei Put*" means son of brothers and related brothers.
53. "*Bhejāl Milānā*" means adulteration of any food, drink, material or any other substances.
54. "*Bhijhur*" means the elder and older brothers' of husband.

55. "*Bhikkhu Sangha*" means the monks brotherhood.
56. "*Bhoch*" means, wives of elder and older brothers.
57. "*Bibādi*" means the accused/respondent.
58. "*Bichshesh Bhongo*" means breach of trust.
59. "*Bizu Berān*" means the visit of the newly-wed couple during *Bizu* to the parent and relatives like grand father, uncle, maternal uncle, etc., of the bride with wine/fruit juice, cakes, sweetmeat and dresses, etc. This visit is not compulsory except in case the bride was married in a pair year of age or born on a Wednesday.
60. "*Bo Bāhei Dyā*" means the people who accompany the bride to groom house to see off her.
61. "*Bo Gojānhi*" means handing over ceremony of a bride to the groom and groom relatives.
62. "*Bo Hādoni*" literary means a bride walker and it is a married old lady from the groom party who guide the bride in the marriage procession to groom house.
63. "*Bo Khajā Jeyā*" means the groom party who go for the bride.
64. "*Bo Tulonhee*" means reception of a bride by the mother/guardian woman of the bride. In some *Gozā*, there is a custom that a thread consisting of seven strands is prepared of which one end is held by the bride and the other end by the mother of the groom and she draws it and the bride enters the groom house. Some *Gozā* also bind seven string of thread at the entrance and the bride is entered cutting the thread and which is immediately joined.
65. "*Bo*" means a bride. It also means wives of sons and includes all wives of sons and related nephews.
66. "*Boālhee*" means the provisions like dress and ornaments meant for the bride carried from the groom house at the time of marriage. It is displayed before the elders before dressing up the bride and the elders used to bless it.
67. "*Bodā Gullyā Bhāt*" means the egged rice exchanged during marriage by the bride and groom at the time of *Jadan*.
68. "*Bolā*" means acquired misfortune,
69. "*Bouh Gudhi*" means the room or cabin meant for a bride. If a separate house constructed for the newly-wed, it is called *Phool Ghar*.
70. "*Bugo Kurhi*" literally means chest/breast money.
71. "*Bugo Tengā*" means the money offered on the chest of a dead with the believe to enable to cross the human abode to other abode on payment of ferry fair.
72. "*Buk Chichchyā Kurho*" means a full boiled chicken which has been cleaned by cutting the chest offered to the dead soul at the after death right on seventh day of *Sāt Dinnhyā* or *Karma*.
73. "*Bur pārā*" means the ritual performed to ward-off acquired misfortune.
74. "*Byhā Suth Bhāngā*" means the first and compulsory visit of a newly-wed couple to the house of bride's father/groom's father or relatives with present like wine/fruit juice, cases, sweets, etc., within one week from the date of marriage. The bride's party/groom party also return befitting presents through the newly-wed couple at their return.

75. "*Byhāh Bur*" means the ritual performed with an *Ojhā* after a marriage and which is a compulsory for a newly-wed couple. Without which they are forbidden to enter others houses since the Chakmas belief to acquire misfortune on entering a newly-wed couple without *Byāh Bur*. However, now-a-day listening to *Mangal Sutra* (religious discourses) from monks is practised instead of *Burr Pārā* in some places.
76. "*Byhei-Byānhi*" means the relation of the parent of the bride and groom and it includes all uncles and aunts of the bride and groom.
77. "*Chabā shāl*" means a cremation ground.
78. "*Chakma*" means the Chakma tribe and it includes the *Ānokya Chakmas, Tangchangya Chakmas* and *Daingnet Chakmas.*
79. "*Chāllān*" means a black magic in which spirits are deputed to cause harm to an enemy.
80. *"Chāmbā Chānhā"* means examination of foretell signs on the egg, tongue, legs, etc., of sacrificed chicken at the time of marriage with *Chumulong.*
81. *"Chāminhi*" means a temporary Buddhist novice monk.
82. "*Chānnwa Kāni*" means a canopy of cloth hung over a *Rubho Kur* by posting four bamboo poles at the four corners and binding the corners of the cloth at the top end of the bamboo poles.
83. *"Chānnwa"* means a canopy of cloth hung over the burning pyre.
84. "*Chhrāchhāri*" means divorce.
85. "*Chhur Kāgoch*" means a divorce letter.
86. "*Chidyā Keim*" means the crossed bamboo chips put over a grave after burial. It should be seven by seven pairs on a female grave and five by five pairs on a male grave and posted bowing the two ends.
87. *"Chhinyeli or Sinyeli*" means illegal sex related.
88. *"Chit Kheye"* – literally means liver eater. Here, it is a joke used to taunt an eater of *'Khānā Poi'* who does not know the proper way in seriality.
89. *"Chit-Syama"* means the compulsory item preparation with liver, kidney, lungs, heart, intestine, etc., internal organs of an animal buthered for a marriage feast.
90. *"Chotdheng"* means the rhythm of a drum beat at dead house.
91. *"Chukti Bhanga"* means breach of contract.
92. "*Chumulang*" means the rite performed to appease the traditional deities like *Kāleiā, Paramechswari, Ochsyā* and *Michchinghyā/Soudāgochchyā*, at the time of marriage or for the welfare of a family.
93. "*Chumulanga Pānhi*" means the water carried by the bride in a pitcher and the groom in a *Kutti* (jug) for use in *Chumulang* rite.
94. *"Chur"* means a thief/theft.
95. *"Chura Jinich Lanhā"* means receiving of stolen property.
96. "*Constitution*" means the Constitution of India.
97. "*Dābhā*" means the bride price and other provisions demanded by a bride party.
98. *"Dābon*" means a process in which a *Vaitdyo* examines the disease-causing element by looking at a *mantra* chanted object.

99. "*Dach Murukbi*" means the village elders who are married and offered '*Khana Poi*' and gained the right to participate in *Dajha Vijar Sabha* excluding *unmarried*, Jārbwa (illegimate) and those who have not offere '*Khāna Poi*' in respect of the society.
100. "*Dāgedi*" means dacoity.
101. "*Danda*" means punishment.
102. "*Dajha Kām*" means community work.
103. "*Dajha Vijār Sabhā*" means public trial where only the married and who had offered '*Khana Poi*' take part.
104. "*Dajhā*" means the misfortune which occurs due to planetary effect.
105. "*Dāk Kerāni*" means a village crier.
106. "*Dāt Kādhee*" means tooth pick offered to a dead body.
107. "*Dāyak Sangha*" means the organisation of devotees.
108. "*Dāyak*" means a devotee of Buddhist temple.
109. "*Dendreng*" means the rhythm of a drum beat for a dead body.
110. "*Dewāni*" means land related.
111. "*Dhāchchyā Lāgārā*" means an ownership sign/symbol put on a selected area or spot for making jum or any land for cultivation or to declare ownership.
112. "*Dhah*" means a rice measuring pot usually made of a bamboo phalange which may measure of about half kilo of rice. It may also be a metal canestar used to measure rice before cooking.
113. "*Dhān Hāt*" means the ritual performed at first harvest of paddy.
114. "*Dhānān-Duchturey*" means as per custom and pomp and show. This term is applied in a marriage ceremony performed as per custom.
115. "*Dharma Kudum*" means an adopted relation formed by burning lamps. Such a relation is given more importance than of a blood relation.
116. "*Dharma*" literally means religion but in this context, ritual for the dead soul.
117. "*Dhei Jānā*" literally means to run away, but here it means elopement.
118. "*Dhorā Jum*" means a site selected for making jhum cultivation. This term is also equally used on ceremonial proposal for marriage to a father of bride with a bottle of wine by the father/guardian of a groom.
119. "*Dhulon*" means acradle.
120. "*Dhup Kāni*" means a piece of white cloth.
121. "*Dhuri Nejānā*" literally means taking away by holding but in this context, kidnapping for marriage.
122. "*Diga Poi*" means the rice plate arranged for the dead person with all available terms of food, sweet and curries and other edibles.
123. "*District Council Court*" means the Court of Judicial Magistrates (Magistrate of the First Class), at the District Council Headquarters.
124. "*District Council*" means the Chakma Autonomous District Council.
125. "*Dobājhi*" means an interpreter.
126. "*Domānhā*" means intimidation.

127. *"Duch Jāgā"* means an offensive or haunted place.
128. *"Duch Mārā"* means the rite performed to inactivate harm causing of a haunted place.
129. *"Duch"* means an offence/crime.
130. *"Duchsyā-Dujonhi"* means the offenders (male-female).
131. *"Duchtur"* means customary rule.
132. *"Dudolhee Tengā"* means the money received by the mother of a bride being price for breast feeding her daughter.
133. *"Dur Marā"* means dead tortoise. Seeing of which is believed to be disastrous.
134. *"Dwa Chuni Mat"* means double distilled rice wine.
135. *"Ek Ghachsyā"* means to keep aside usually a person or family for committing a social offence.
136. *"Ek Goronhi"* means unification by applying magic. It is usually practiced in love affairs by administering or applying magic chanted materials.
137. *"Ettelā"* means a notice or directive issued by a court against an accused or witness and includes announcement by *Dhul* (through drum beat).
138. *"Gā Bhāk"* means personal share.
139. *"Gabalā"* means rumourous poster.
140. *"Gābhur Marat"* means an unmarried young boy.
141. *"Gābhur Milyā"* means an unmarried young girl.
142. *"Gābhur"* it generally means a labourer. It also means an unmarried young boy or young girl.
143. *"Gābuchsyā Devan"* means the leader of unmarried young people in case of Tangchangya Chakmas only. (Earlier a Bachelor House called *Jal Tungi* used to exist in the Chakma society. Where all the unmarried youth used to gather. There they practised games, weaponery, handicraft, etc., and the leader was known as—*Gābuchsyā Dewan'* (bachelor' leader). In any community programme like marriage, *Dharma,* etc., he is invited for help and he conducts the voluntary works with his friends.
144. *"Gangā Ghar"* means a triangular or square platform made with bamboo at the river or stream at the time of sacrifice of animal.
145. *"Garbā Kudum"* means an odd and respected relation with which no marriage is permitted.
146. *"Garbā"* generally means a guest.
147. *"Garbha khuni"* means a person who commits foeticide.
148. *"Geingkhulee"* means the traditional ballad singer of the Chakmas.
149. *"Ghar Bhāk"* means the family share of a hunted animal.
150. *"Gharat Lo Parānā"* literally means fall of blood at home. As per belief finding of blood at home without knowing the source is a bad omen and signal of misfortune. For which the rite of *Bur Pārā* has to be performed.
151. *"Ghāt Pāra Paijhyā"* means the coin and money put on the chest/breast of a dead body believing that the dead soul should possess some money to pay ferry fare to go to other abode.

152. *"Girmhi"* means surety deposit.
153. *"Gheelyā Ghar"* means a replica of wheeled chariot reportedly used by King Sadhengiri who is believed to have gone to heaven alive on a chariot.
154. *"Ghu Kheyāto"* literally means stool eater. This term is used let down the eater of *'Khāna Poi'*, if the eater does not know the seriality of eating the items.
155. *"Girmhi"* means security deposit against money borrowed.
156. *"Gonghei"* earlier it meant the God. Now it is taken as the idol of Buddha.
157. *"Gour"* means a grave.
158. *"Gozā"* means the people of a leader/Sardar a sept.
159. *"Gulleda Bhāk"* means the share of hunter's helper.
160. *"Guro Melā"* means child marriage.
161. *"Gutthi"* means people of the same genus or blood relative.
162. *"Gutthitthun Bāghe Khele"* means if a tiger eats up or kills or attacks from the *'gutthi'*. As per custom if any person from own *'gutthi'* (clan) is attacked/killed/eaten up by a tiger, it is a misfortune for all the clansmen. They must perform the ritual *'Bur Para'* to ward off it.
163. *"Hāgim"* means a judge, magistrate or an officer who has the power to issue order.
164. *"Hājār Bātti"* literally means thousand lamps burnt as dedication to Lord Buddha and for own virtue and for deseased person.
165. *"Hejāl Kārbāri"* means the assistant *Karbari*.
166. *"Hiju"* means great great grandfathers and related great great grandfathers.
167. *"Hoiā"* means a ritual performed for prosperity and protection, in which *Kaleia, Lokkhi, Gonga,* etc., are worshipped.
168. *"Ijor"* means the outer platform of a typical platformed Chakma house.
169. *"Jabān-Bandi"* means a written statement.
170. *"Jabin"* means vital points of a body.
171. *"Jāda Bārhā"* literally means beyond the community and means outcasting.
172. *"Jadan Bānānhā"* means binding of a pair at the time of marriage and seeking of approval from the society.
173. *"Jadan Banhi Denā"* means the process of seeking permission of the society at the time of marriage. It is generally conducted at the village of the bride. It is regarded as the most important ceremony of a marriage.
174. *"Jadan* or *Jorā"* means pairing.
175. *"Jadan/Jadana Kāni"* means the scarf for binding a pair.
176. *"Jadan"* means the ceremony of seeking social approval in a marriage.
177. *"Jādu"* means corrosive substances prepared for administration to harm an enemy.
178. *"Jagarhā"* the traditional rice beer made of *bini* (sticky rice) rice.
179. *"Jalā Pochchyā Jagarhā"* means old sticky rice beer with worm formation and straw covered.
180. *"Jamā"* means security deposit against money lending.

181. *"Jāmei Tulhee Denā"* literally means to load a groom and it is used when the groom go to live with the bride.

182. *"Jāmei"* means the husband of a daughter and includes the husbands of all daughters and nieces.

183. *"Jāmeiā"* means a marriage held in the house of bride.

184. *"Janam Sudhom"* means the customs relating to the birth of a child.

185. *"Jarā Āndhik"* means the pair of wedding ring.

186. *"Jāra Bāā (Tong)"* means outcasting of a person or family. A person out casted is not allowed to enter in others house and no person also visits such a house. It is done for gross violation of social rules by committing social crime disobedience of village rules.

187. *"Jārbwa"* means illegimate, i.e., a child who was conceived before marriage of parent. Such a child is debared to hold any social office or to participate in *any 'Dajha Vijār Sabhā'* (public trial).

188. *"Jeghat"* means the elder and older sisters' of wife.

189. *"Jeth"* means the month of Jaistha in the Indian calender (16th May to 15th June).

190. *"Jetthā"* means elder and older brothers' of father, and husbands of mother's elder and older sisters.

191. *"Jhendrā"* means corpral punishment given to incest sexual offender. In which after fining for *'Sinyeli'* the head of the male is shaven roughly, clothes tattered and paraded in the street. They are also asked to announce their offence and given to chew grass and asked to bleet like a goat. Above that they are also given cane blow and ordered to carry thousand pitchers of water under a Banyan or Peepul tree. Afterward the male is made to become a novice monk for atleast seven days and the female is asked to undergo a rite called *'Sutdho Sānga'* at a *Gangā Ghar* in the river. Afterward only they will be treated as human being or they will be taken as animals and kept outcasted. None will provide them even water, allow to enter their houses, etc.

192. *"Jhendrā Phirānā"* means to undergo a corporeal punishment in case of a sexual offence with a prohibited relative.

193. *"Jhuro"* means a meat item of a *'Khana Poi'* it actually means pieces of meat.

194. *"Ju Khārā"* means gambling at card.

195. *"Jur Bajhar"* means a pair year. If a girl is married off in a pair year like 16, 18, 20, 22, it is customary that she should spend the *Bizu* in parent's house.

196. *"Juribānā/Jurimānā"* means fine of cash.

197. *"Jwil-Tulo"* literally means tongue and cotton and it is a tongue and brain preparation with lots of hot chillies for a *'Khana Poi'*.

198. *"Kabach"* means a talisman.

199. *"Kabalā"* means a willed document executed by the owner of property against gift, succession, etc.

200. *"Kajai Pānhi"* means the water made by dipping a *gheelyā* (the kernel of a horse chest nut like round jungle fruit), *Kajai* (a tamerind like jungle fruit of a thorny creeper), raw turmeric, gold, silver and rice. The Chakmas believe such water as most sacred.

201. *"Kājāri"* means a court building.
202. *"Kāleiā"* means the marriage deity identified with Siva.
203. *"Kānjābā Bhāt"* means the cooked rice kept for a dead on the night of burning.
204. *"Kānji"* means the traditional beer made of common rice and other grains and materials.
205. *"Kārāghā"* means a temple server.
206. *"Kārbāri"* means the head of a *Pārā* or sub-village.
207. *"Khabang"* means a turban.
208. *'Khyadi Puron"* means compensation.
209. *"Khādhi"* means the breast cloth.
210. *"Khānā Poi"* means the plate of rice prepared with rice, sticky rice, wine, rice beer, meat, fish, sweetmeat, cakes, etc., with the compulsory items like *Shik Kādhee* (roasted dry fish and double distilled wine), *Jhooro* (meat), *Chit-syāmā* (liver, heart, etc., internalorgans preparation), *Āduri-guduri* (intestine and other internal organs preparation in case of marriage with buffallow), *Jwil-Tulo* (tongue and brain preparation with lots of chillies) and *Khātdā* (pumpkin preparation with jaggery) in case of pork and additional *Aduri*—a*Guduri* (intestine and stomach preparation) and *Jāllyā Bharā Jagarhā* (sticky rice beer with thatchstrainer/preferably with maggot formation) in case of marriage with buffallow beef. It is offered before the village elders just after the marriage feast is over as a token of respect to the society. After offering the *'Khānā Poi'* only a person gains membership in the *'Dajaha Vijār Sobhā'*. Otherwise, he and his wife dead body may also be carried below the knees after their death as a punishment for not respecting the society.
211. *"Khānā Sirānā"* means the ritual in a marriage where the village elders and relatives are offered a special food plate for entry into the membership of the society by which entry is given to sit in the *'Dajha Vijār Sabhā'*.
212. *"Khāng"* means a magical ritual where the disease-causing spirit is made inactive.
213. *"Khātdā"* means a compulsory item prepared with pumpkin and *Khāidye Midhyā gud* (jaggery) at the time of *Khānā Sirānā*.
214. *"Kheejhā"* means a designation of an official during the time of Chakma king who used to assist the *Dewan*, the head of a *Gozā* and *Tālukdār*, the head of a human *Tāluk* during British period.
215. *"Khellye Kudum"* means even relation from which marriage is permissible.
216. *"Khodi Puron"* means compensation.
217. *"Khumho"* means a traditional taboo or prohibitory act of certain *gutthi* (clan) people who are forbidden to do certain acts and they refrain from doing so. Violation of which is believed to fall disaster in the form of ferocious animal's attack and fall of thunder.
218. *"Khun Garibhār Chānhā"* means attempt to murder.
219. *"Khun"* means murder.
220. *"Khuttho"* younger brothers of father.
221. *"Khwa Bhānghani"* literally means the removal of fog and here extra-expenditure for the trial of an appeal case.
222. *"Ku Kadhā"* means bad language.

223. *"Kubul"* means admission.
224. "*Kurhee*" means a hen or a female bird.
225. "*Kuung Gāch*" means the three pairs of wood that are posted at the burial ground for a funeral pyre. The firewood are placed in ply in between the *Kuhung Gach*; five ply for a male dead body and seven ply for a female dead body. the posts are posted by a person from dead person *gutthi*.
226. *"Kyong"* means a Buddhist temple.
227. *"Labai"* means husbands' of sisters.
228. "*Lājo Bhār"* means the fine payable to a person for causing shame.
229. "*Lāng/Lāngyā/Lāngoni*" means a lover.
230. "*Lāpphoi"* means a talisman woven with thread.
231. *"Mābot Thagānā"* means cheating in weight and measure.
232. "*Mādhā Dhwa"* means the purification ritual to avoid planetary affects.
233. "*Mādhā/Khul Murona*" means to tonsure or shave a head.
234. "*Mādi Cheing*" means a lump of soil
235. "*Magadā*" means a dead.
236. "*Magatdamā"* means a trial.
237. "*Mainsyāng*" means a temporary Buddhist novice monk.
238. *"Māleiyā*" means a custom in which the host ask for assistance from the neighbours and villagers in any work. It is customary that at least one able person from each family should participate in a work of *Māleiyā*. The host has to arrange one-time meal with meat, wine for the helpers.
239. *"Mān Hāni"* means defamation.
240. *"Mandar"* means *mantra*, the magical chant.
241. "*Mangal Sutra"* means the Buddhistic ritual where the monks are invited to recite Buddhistic discourses.
242. *"Marāi-Jedāi Phārak Hanhā"* means the ritual for separation of dead and alive.
243. *"Mārāmāri"* means fighting.
244. *"Mārānā"* means beating.
245. "*Mārei Phelānāā* means killing.
246. "*Mat Pilyāng"* means an offering of present consisting of a pair container of wine, a pair of chicken, a pair of coconut, cakes and sweetmeat to the father and relatives of a bride at the third visit in which *Dābhā, Boālhee* and *Uborkhachji*, conditions and date of marriage are fixed.
247. "*Mat"* means the traditional rice wine.
248. "*Māttyā Tabā*" means a small earthen pot.
249. "*Meitbān/Meichbān*" means a feast arranged for the relatives and neighbours on an occasion.
250. *"Mejāng"* means a bamboo tapes plaited table used as dining table.
251. *"Melā*" means a marriage held in the house of the groom.

252. "*Mema-michsrhi*" means sweets, logences, toffee, etc., including rock sugar required in a puja.
253. "*Mhut*" means a fist and used to measure a pig.
254. "*Michrhi*" mean srock sugar.
255. "*Mijhyā Pramān* means false evidence.
256. "*Mijhyā Sākkhi* means false witness.
257. "*Milanee Bhāk*" means the participant's share in a hunting.
258. "*Moghām*" means haunted places.
259. "*Moijyānghā*" means younger sisters and younger cousin sisters of mother.
260. "*Moillyā*" means brothers' of mother/maternal uncles.
261. "*Mokkyā*" means a married man.
262. "*Mottyelhā*" means all husbands' of mother's younger sisters and related younger sisters.
263. "*Mralā Pujo*" means a ritual to worship deities when the first child expires.
264. "*Mu Balā Kudum*" means an oral relation without any base.
265. "*Mujuligā*" means bond of good behaviour.
266. "*Muk Pātti*" means a person engaged by an accused or complainant with the approval of concerned *Dajha Vijār Sabhā* to speak on his/her behalf.
267. "*Mulo Tengerhā*" means a fencing made of bamboo chips at the burning place of dead.
268. "*Murupbi/Murukbi*" means a leader and includes the village council members a *Karbāri*, and an elder of a village or sub-village.
269. "*Nābālak*" means a minor.
270. "*Nādin*" means all grandsons and granddaughters, and related grandsons and related granddaughters.
271. "*Najar Talap*" means a court fee and complaint.
272. "*Najar*" means the court fee accompanied with a complaint.
273. "*Nālich*" means a complaint written or oral accompanied by *Najar*.
274. "*Nāri*" means the pulse and nerves.
275. "*Nekkye*" means a married woman.
276. "*Niyam*" means a traditional rule.
277. "*Nwa Parāngi*" means newly shifted.
278. "*Ochsyā*" means a marriage deity who likes egg and identified with *Ganesha*.
279. "*Ojhā*" means a traditional priest or exorcist.
280. "*Osā* (Tong)" means the exorcist who conducts a *Chumulang* or other traditional rituals.
281. "*Pāch Kābar*" means the five items of dresses worn by the Tangchangyas women, i.e., *Khabang, Khādhi, Phāludhi, Phālung* and *Pinhan*.
282. "*Pādhu Ojhā*" means a midwife who helps in child delivery.
283. "*Pāgal Hanā*" literally means to go mad. But in this term to have sex.

284. "*Pālak*" means adoption.

285. *"Pālhā Syang"* means the food items offered to the monks at the temple by turn by the villagers.

286. *"Pallā"* literally means a ply, here a generation.

287. *"Pallhān"* literally means a hunter but in case of legal term, it is a volunteer engaged by any court of law to enforce its directives.

288. *"Pallhānhi Bhāk"* means the share of a hunter.

289. *"Pāllyā"* means adoption.

290. *"Pāllyāg"* means a bamboo tape woven platform used to offer provisions at a rite.

291. *"Pān Khilik"* means a roll of betel nut.

292. *"Pān"* means the rental share of an instrument or betel leaf.

293. "*Pānhi Chuānā*" means the falling of water from the roop or cultivable land on the house or land of youngers which is regarded as bad for the young one. It is believed that misfortune may befall on him or his family members.

294. *"Pānhi Dhālā"* means the dedication ritual conducted by a monk or monks by burning lamps and flowing water from a jug and prayer.

295. *"Parameswari"* means the female marriage deity worshipped at the time of marriage and identified with *Durga.*

296. "*Peya Bāh* (Tong)" meaning same as "*Poiyo Barha*" meaning out of a dish. Applied on socially out castied person or family.

297. "*Pha Kāllyang* (Tong)" means the basket in which dress, ornaments, cosmetics, cakes and other marriage provisions are carried by a younger sister/younger cousin sister of the groom at the time of marriage.

298. "*Phadanhā"* means a hot balloon made of coloured papers and flown in the air after dedication for a dead person or in a Buddhist festival.

299. *"Phānāch"* means hot balloon made of coloured paper and dedicated at *Sāt Dinnyā, Dharma* and *Buddha Puja.*

300. "*Phāng Garānhā* (Tong)/*Lātthong Garānhā* (Tong)" means the process of seeking permission of the society at the time of marriage. It is generally conducted at the village of the bride. And it is regarded as the most important ceremony of a marriage. It is equivalent to "*Jadan Bānhi Denā*".

301. *"Phārak Garanhi"* means the process of detraction of two persons by applying magical chanting and magic chanted materials.

302. "*Phārat duri"* means the thread worn around a waist.

303. "*Phāreikh*" the Buddhistic *Parittas* listened by a family or community for welfare and avoid misfortune.

304. *"Phee"* means acquired misfortune.

305. *"Phohrhā"* means handloomed banner dedicated for a departed person.

306. *"Phouchdāri"* means assault and an act where criminal force is used.

307. "*Phunduri Chumo*" means a bamboo tube placed on the chest of a dead body at the time of burial. It should be from the chest to outer side of the grave.

308. "*Phur Bāreing*" means a special bamboo basket woven with lid where precious things like ornaments, dress, etc., are kept or carried.
309. "*Phur Bugiyā*" means the girl who carries marriage provisions in a decorated basket at the time of marriage.
310. "*Phur Kāllhong*" means a common sized specially woven basket used to carry marriage provisions at the time of marriage.
311. "*Pidhyā Pullhyhāng*" means the special bamboo tape basket in which the marriage provisions like dress and ornaments for the bride, cakes and cosmetics are carried at the time of marriage from the groom house.
312. "*Pidhyā*" means the traditional cakes made from rice flour.
313. "*Piju*" means great grandfathers and related great great grandfathers.
314. "*Pijyānghā*" means sisters and cousin sisters of father.
315. "*Pinhon*" means the lower garment of the women.
316. "*Pirhi*" means a generation.
317. "*Pittyelhā*" means all husbands of father's sisters and related sisters.
318. "*Pochchonhee*" means the volunteer buoys who distribute rice, curry, etc., items at the time of feasting.
319. "*Poiyo Bārhā*" literally means beyond an edible food dish and the term denotes to keeping away a person or family from eating together for committing a social offence.
320. "*Pojhu khuni*" means killing of an animal.
321. "*Pramān*" means proof.
322. "*President of Court*" means the Court of Court President and Recorder.
323. "*Puch*" means the month of *Pousa* of Indian calendar (16th December to 15th January).
324. "*Pudin*" means great grandsons and daughters and related great grandsons and daughters.
325. "*Pun Chichchyā Khājhā*" means a basket whose sides at the bottom are open and in which rice and other items are carried to the burning place for the dead person.
326. "*Purachkāri*" means a reward.
327. "*Purhuch*" means a generation.
328. "*Rāch Sākkhi*" means an approver.
329. "*Rādā Kurhwa*" means a crowing cock.
330. "*Rādā*" means a cock or any male bird.
331. "*Rādhā Ghar*" means a chariot made to carry the dead body and make round around the pyre at the cremation ground. It is the replica of a chariot to symbolise the chariot of legendary Raja Sadhengiri who is believed to have ascended to heaven on a chariot, alive. The word actually came from the word '*Ratha*' meaning a chariot in Indian languages. But in Chakma rule of pronunciation, the letter *Tā* without a vowel deleter or break transforms into *Dā* or *Dhā* at the second, third or other places of a word. Hence, the word *Ratha* became *Radha*.
332. "*Rāi*" means a judgement.
333. "*Rājadruha*" means offences against the state.

334. *"Rajamanda"* means compounding.
335. *"Rānā Melā"* means marriage of widower.
336. *"Rānā"* means a widower.
337. *"Rāni Melā"* means widow marriage.
338. *"Rāni"* means a widow.
339. *"Rokkhyā"* means a magical act in which a sick especially a child is attached with a ball of *Mājhee Mum* (fly wax) and medicine at the tuff of hair.
340. *"Rubho Kur"* means the funeral pyre meant to burn a dead body.
341. *"Rubo- Rādi"* means silver ornaments.
342. *"Rwah Kābilā"* means arguments between *Bādi, Bibādi* and *Sākkhi.*
343. "*Sābālak*" means major.
344. *"Sābālhā"/"Sāwālhā"/"Sāmālhā"* means the bestman in a wedding who helps the groom in the marriage and sometimes vow before the elders on behalf of the groom.
345. *"Sābālhee"* means the best girl who helps the bride in a marriage and sometimes vow the elders on behalf of the bride.
346. *"Sabat"* means an oath.
347. *"Sāchsā"* means innocence/truthful.
348. *"Sādāngā"* means step (like step mother, step brother, step sister, step father, step son, etc.).
349. *"Sadar"* means real, close related.
350. *"Sāgā"* means an ownership sign made on a flowing log, a bee hive, a selected jungle for jum, etc., by making a cross on the tip of a bamboo pole/small tree/a bamboo chip, etc.
351. *"Sājhani* (Tong)" means dress, the provisions like dress and ornaments for a bride carried at the time of marriage ceremony. It is displayed before the elders before dressing up the bride and the elders blesses it.
352. *"Sākkhi"* means a witness.
353. *"Sālich"* means an appeal.
354. *"Sālijhi Vijār"* means appeallate trial.
355. "*Sālikyā*" means a person who is engaged by the father/guardian of the groom to exchange the progress of marriage proceedings after the *Tin Pur*. He will also exchange news of the groom party and bride party.
356. *"Samāch"* means the Chakma society.
357. *"Sāmāing Ghah* (Tong)" means the plate form on which a dead body is transferred from the dead bed as stated in *Sommreng Ghar.*
358. *"Samak"* means oath.
359. *"Sāmālhā"* means the bestman who helps the bride in the marriage and sometimes vow before the elders on behalf of the groom.
360. *"Sāmālhi"* means the best girl who helps the bride in a marriage and sometimes vow the elders on behalf of the bride.

361. *"Samath"* means oath.
362. *"Sambut"* means property.
363. *"Sambuthāni"* means destroyal of property.
364. "*Sambut Nachta*" means damage of property`.
365. "*Sāndā*" means adultery.
366. *"Sāngā* (Tong)" means a marriage.
367. *"Sāngye Kudum* (Tong)" means an even relation with whom marriage is permitted.
368. *"Sarajantra"* means conspiracy.
369. *"Sāt Dinnyhā"* means the ritual on the seventh day after cremation of a dead for salvation.
370. *"Sāwālhi"* means the best girl who helps the bride in a marriage and sometimes vow the elders on behalf of the bride.
371. *"Sejā"* means physical punishment like beating, flogging and includes jail term.
372. *"Sep Botta"* means blessing and prayer.
373. *"Sep"* means blessing.
374. *"Shādāng"* means the observance of purity by the family members of a dead person or by older people during Rainy Season or *'Wā'* when the Buddhist monks engage for meditation and do not leave their habitation for night out -by not taking wine, fresh meat or fish and not sleeping with woman till the dedication ceremony is over at the seventh day or the *'Wā'*. Some families even do not wear shoes during the observance of purity.
375. *"Shālā"* means all related younger brothers of wife.
376. "*Shāli*" means all related younger sisters of wife.
377. *"Shālikyā"* means a person who is engaged by the father/guardian of the groom to exchange the progress of marriage proceedings after the Tin PUR. He will also exchange news of the groom party and bride party.
378. "*Shāndi Bhanga*" means breach of peace.
379. "*Sheel*" means the Buddhistic precepts.
380. *"Shik Kādhee"* literally a grilling stick and here a dry roasted fish and a bottle of double distilled wine.
381. *"Shlil Hāni"* means outrage of modesty of a female.
382. *"Shohr"* means father in law and includes all the related uncles of wife or husband.
383. *"Shraman"* means a Buddhist novice monk who observes ten precepts and includes a temporary novice who remains in the temple for seven or more days for his purification, dedication of virtues to departed parent and for the welfare of the family members.
384. *"Shurhee"* means mother inlaw and includes all wives of related uncles of the wife and husband.
385. *"Sigoli"* means the custom to collect donation at the time of marriage from the relatives.
386. *"Sinyeli Magatdamā"* means a sex related trial.
387. *"Sinyeli"* means illegal sex related.

388. *"Siyong"* means the food meant for a temple.

389. *"Sommreing Ghar"* means the platform on which a dead body is transferred from the dead bed after giving bath and which is specially constructed as per custom on five/ seven bundles of bamboo consisting pieces each bundle, bamboo taped mat and layers of clothes.

390. *"Soudagochya"* means the other marriage deity.

391. *"Sub-ordinate District Council Court"* means the Court of Judicial Officers–II (Magistrate of the Second Class) at the Sub-Headquarters.

392. *"Sudhor Mārānā"* means Criminal trespass.

393. *"Sudin"* means the other wife of a person. It also implies great great grandsons and daughters and related great great grandsons and daughters.

394. *"Sudom"* means the customary rules of the Chakma tribe.

395. *"Sudur Mārānā"* means inactivation of misfortune or disease-causing spirit at the time of a *Pujo* or rite.

396. *"Sugor"* means a pig and fine from a convict in illegal sexual relation.

397. *"Swal"* means a question.

398. *"Swal-Jabāp"* means question and answer and cross examination.

399. *"Tābit"* means a talisman.

400. *"Tah"* means to keep pending.

401. *"Tala Chānnwā"* means piece of cloth bound on the four corner posts of the fencing of the burning place after removing the ash and bones of the dead after leaning and sweeping it.

402. *"Tālhoi"* means father and uncles of sister's and brother's husband/wife.

403. *"Tambhā"* means a generation or batch.

404. *"Tāngngyā Magadā"* means a dead body which have been mummified and kept hung.

405. *"Tapphā"* means a generation or batch.

406. *"Thabāk"* means a leaning supporting post of a house.

407. *"Thagānā"* means cheating.

408. *"Thān Mānā"* means a ritual for appeasing the spirits of a place in which 36 spirits are worshipped.

409. *"Tidyā Tyan"* means a bitter curry of bitter gourd or other bitter vegetable.

410. *"Tigini"* means a tuff of hair maintained at the top of head with the vow to become a temporary novice at any illness especially for a child.

411. *"Tin Pur"* means the third visit of to be groom with present like pair of wine bottle, chicken, coconuts, cakes, sweets, etc., where bride price, date of marriage and other provisions are fixed.

412. *"Tonā"* means the application of magic on supposed person, enemy, disease, spirit, etc., for cure of causing harm.

413. *"Ubho Geet"* means the traditional love songs which are prohibited to be sung in public.

414. *"Ubor Khachji"* means the extra-expenditure other than *Dābhā* and *Boālhee* at the time of a marriage.

415. "*Udhon*" means a courtyard.

416. *"Udin"* means great great great grandsons and daughters and related great great great grandssons and daughters.

417. *"Ugil"* means a person who abetes and helps commission of illegal sexual relation.

418. *"Ugilo Sugor"* means the pig fined for abetting an illegal affair, which is more than the offenders.

419. *"Utdho Ādālat"* means higher court.

420. *"Vaitdyo"* means a traditional physician.

421. "VCP" means the President of a village or Village Panchayat.

422. *"Vijār"* means trial.

423. "*Wā*" means the period from the full moon day of *Ājhār* month (about 16 July) to full moon day of *Ājhin* month (abouth 15th October), the time in which the Buddhist monks starts observing rainy season and do not spend a night outside their residence/temple.

424. *"YCA"* means Young Chakma Association.

2. General Rules for Chakma Customary Laws

It is the duty and responsiblity of the leaders of the Society and the rich families to preserve own traditions, culture, and history. If they are not interested and look down upon own tradition and culture, it is bound to fade away in oblion day by day. Since, a layman has got no guts and resources to go against the leaders or well to do persons. If a leader and well to do person commits any social crime or disrespect tradition and culture, such a society is bound to loss own heritage. Common people only follow examples of leaders and well to do persons. I appreciate Mr. Bira Kumar Chakma son of Kristo Mohan Chakma in this regard who is said to have offered a pig and rice when he was unmarried and residing at Nunsury and learnt about the talk of the people of his affair with Miss Jhāghi Chakma of the same village. People did not dare to report his affair in the social court since he is the son of the Chakma leader of Demagiri are a Shri Kristo Mohan Chakma. But Mr. Bira Kumar Chakma loves his society, tradition and culture and so relieved himself from the social obligation. I also appreciate Late Sneha Kumar Chakma, father of Sri Nirupam Chakma, who was a womaniser and married many girls and women. Whenever any complaint was reported against him, he used to pay the fines and even the share of the woman. Likewise, if other leaders and higher ups know their social responsiblities, I believe our tradition and culture will survive. As per custom, an elder has the right to control the younger. The villagers are the authority to punish or pardon an offender. An offender may be punished for an offence committed in other village in addition to the punishment received at the place of occurrence. A person has to obey the rules of the village and his *Gozā* and *Gutthi*.

3. Judicial Structure of the Chakma Society:

(a) KĀRBĀRI COURT: The *Kārbāri* is the head of a Chakma village. He is the leader of the village among own *gutthi* people or lineage. He tries all the cases in a *Dajha Vijār Sabhā* involving all married villagers who had offered a *Khānā Poi* at the time of marriage. Others had no right to attend a *Dajha Vijār Sabhā*. If a case is not solved in the village it is referred for *Sālijhi Vijār*, to the head of the group, i.e., the *Gozā* head, the *Dewān* or *Tālukdār*.

(b) DEWAN COURT: The *Dewāns* or *Tālukdārs* were the head of a *Gozā* or group. A *Dewān* or *Tālukdār* used to conduct a *vijar* inviting all the *Kārbāris* under him. A case not solved in

the *Dewān's* Court was referred for *Utdho Ādālat*, to the court of *Raja*. At present, the function of *Dewān* is being performed by the *Headman* after abolition of *Dewāni* and *Tālukdāri* system.

(c) COURT OF RĀJĀ: The Rājā or King is the head of the Chakma society. He conducted a *Vijar* with the help of the group leaders the *Dewāns, Tāukdārs* of his kingdom. The decision and judgement of *Chākmā Rājā* (Chief) is final in Chakma customary cases in Bangladesh.

4. Structure of Chakma Customery Courts in Mizoram

In Mizoram, the following courts or *Kājāri* functions in the Chakma Autonomous District Council:

(1) *Dajha Vijār Sabhā* or the Court of *Kārbāri* at the Pārā or sub-village.

(2) *Dajha Vijār Sabhā* or Court of Village Council at the village level.

(3) Subordinate District Council Court (Court of Magistrate of Second Class).

(4) District Council Court (Court of Magistrate of First Class), and

(5) Court of Court President and Recorder (District Level Court).

5. **Composition of a *Dajha Vijār Sabhā***

1. The customary laws of the Chakmas were not created by any person or ruler but were adopted by the society from time to time. Though the king, *Dewān, Kārbāri*, etc., presides over a *vijār*, any member of the society had the right to say against a judgement. So, when a judgement is pronounced, it should be the reflection of the majority members of the Society. The fining of pig, Cock, *Jāda Bāhrhā Garānhā/Poiyo Bārhā Garānhā*, causing to carry water under a banyan/peepul tree, to ask to undergo *Jhendrā*, etc., punishments should also be decided considering the nerve of the society.
2. Only a married person who had offered *Khānā* and *Khānā Poi* is admitted as a member in a *Dājhā Vijār Sabhā*.
3. Every married person who had offered Khānā and Khānā Poi at the time of marriage is a general member of a *Dajhā Vijār Sabhā* or Court of Public Trial.
4. An out-caste person and illegimate person cannot be a member of a *Dajha Vijār Sabhā* or Village Court.
5. A person who had not performed *Chumulang* or other marriage ritual in his marriage cannot be a member of a *Dajha Vijār Sabhā*.
6. *Anwa Parangi* (newly shifted person or family) cannot gain permanent residency unless he has cut off his *Tuji* (population list) from his previous village and submitted a certificate for shifting from his previous village. A person may also be admitted in a village without submission of a shifting permit, if he continuously resides for three years without committing any offence.
7. There should be one *Kārbāri*, One *Hejāl Kārbāri* (Assistant *Kārbāri*), one Cashier, one *Leghiyhās* (writers), one *Dākkerāni* and ten other members in a *Dajha Vijār Sabhā*. Provided that, there should be at least ten members and one-third female members in such a *Dajha Vijār Sabhā* to constitute a quoram. The *Kārbāri* or in his absence, the *Hejāl Kārbāri* shall preside over a trial in a *Dajha Vijār Sabhā*.
8. The *Dajha Vijār Sabhā* shall maintain registers of *Tuji* (population) of their respective villagers. A person shifting from one village to another should produce a *Porongi Hugum* (shifting permission) from his old *Dajha Vijār Sabhā* to the new *Dajha Vijār Sabhā* to get membership in the new village. If for any reason, one could not produce

the *Porongi Hugum*, he will be disqualified to be a member of the new *Ādām*. He may be admitted in the new *Ādām* only after staying peacefully for three years.

9. In a trial at the *Dajha Vijār Sabhā* with the permission of the concerned *Vijār Sabhā*, a person may engage any other person to function as his/her '*Muk Pātti*', to plead on his behalf. All proceedings like *Jabānbandi*, *Bargā*, and *Pramān*, etc., found in a *Vijār* and the *Rai* should be recorded by the *Leghiyā* and preserved.
10. An appeal may be lodged against the judgement of *Vijār Sabhā*, to a higher court within sixty days from the date of judgement. Provided that, such an appeal must be accompanied by copies of *rai* of the trying *Vijār Sabhā*.
11. In a case involving a female, a trial should be initiated in the *Vijār Sabhā* under which the female belongs.
12. A villager committing any offence in other villages or place may be convicted in his own village also for earning bad name to the own village, in addition to punishment given in such place of occurrence.
13. A complainant or accused, if remains absent from a *Vijār* for a consecutive two times without any legitimate reason, the *Vijār Sabhā* reserves the right to pronounce judgement *ex parte*. During a *Vijār* if a *Bādi* or *Bibādi* reports sick and inability to move, the court may verify such report by deputing any *Pallhān* to enquire into the fact or to record his or her statement. If during enquiry, it is found that the report is a false, the *Vijār Sabhā* may depute *Pallhāns* to force his/her attendance in the *Kājāri*.
14. During trial, no member should leave the *Kājāri* room without the permission of the presiding officer of the *Kājāri*. Or he/she may be fined. A person speaking without the permission of the presiding officer, or if the accused and complainant talks loudly, or if a situation of quarrel or fighting is created, or if a third party creats such a situation, the *Vijār Sabhā* reserves the right to fine such person(s).
15. If a complaint is found baseless, the *Bādi* is liable for payment of *Lājo Bhār/Khodhi Puron* to the *Bibādi* and his *najar* shall be confiscated. He may also be asked to pay fine as may be fixed by the *Vijār Sabhā*.
16. If in a trial, a *Bibādi* is convicted to pay fine, he/she must deposit at least 10% of the fined amount instantly. He must also produce a surety for payment of the rest amount fixing a date. Or his moveable, immoveable properties may be attached by the concerned *Vijār Sabhā* to realise such fine. A surety is responsible for the realisation of the balance amount of fine so fixed. The surety may free himself from the responsibility by cutting his surety, two days before the fixed date or the fine money may be realized from his moveable/immoveable properties. In the case of cutting surety, the fine may be realised from the moveable/immoveable properties of the convict. In case of inability to realise the fines even after auction of the properties, such a convict may be publicly flogged or out casted or ousted from the village or reported to higher court for sending to imprisonment for a period as may be fixed by the court basing half day wage as one day of prevailing wage rate of the locality.
17. A person out-casted by a *Vijār Sabhā* cannot take part in any social feast or ritual like marriage or other cultural and religious programme. He cannot be a member of a *Vijār Sabhā*. To return to the society, he must undergo the ordeal or punishment as prescribed by the *Vijār Sabhā* and become a *Chamanhi* (novice) for at least seven days in a temple.

18. A defaulter of fine, a person found guilty in any illegal relation with any female, a person who had disobeyed any *Vijār Sabhā's* order, a person who has been out-casted should also become a *Chamanhi* (novice) in the village temple.
19. The customary *Vijār Sabhās* shall exercise the power to try any customary cases.
20. A *Vijār* shall generally be conducted in the house of the *Kārbāri* or VCP concerned in absence of any *Kājāri* (Court house). However, it may be held in other convenient places.
21. In case, the presence of a female accused, complainant or witness's is required to be affected by force, female *Pallhāns* should be deputed for the purpose.
22. Earlier, the fine money was distributed among the members of the *Vijār Sabhā*. But now, it is recommended that 50 per cent of such fund should be utilised for acquiring permanant asset for the village.
23. If a person or couple whose marriage or relation with any female is found to be of prohibited one and runs away to other states, he/she may be tried for the offence on return during their life time.
24. The *Vijār Sabhā* should maintain records of population, crimes and fines, etc. It is also the duty of *Vijār Sabhā* to submit periodical returns and informations to the higher courts and Govt. officials as may be prescribed or sought from time to time.
25. A member of *Vijār Sābhā*, who is responsible to maintain records of the *vijars*, if fails to maintain such records, may be terminated from his membership.
26. The *Vijār Sabhās* may use the help of village youths, YCA and other voluntary social organisations to apprehend an accused and may also take the help of District Administration.
27. The *Vijār Sabhās* may devide the money of *Najar* and *Vijār Kharach* among the permanent members present at the time of *vijār* of a case. In case of fine money, 50 per cent of it may be utilised for acquiring permanent asset for the *Pārā* or village.
28. A *Jārbwa* cannot occupy any social position in the Chakma society. The Chakma Chief Raja Tridib Roy has two sons namely *Kumar Chand Roy* and *Kumar Debasihsh Roy*. *Kumar Chand Roy* is older than *Kumar Debashish Roy*. But as per custom, *Kumar Chand Roy* could not occupy the post of *Chakma Chief*, since he is a *Jārbwa* as his mother *Kālā Sonā* Dewan and *Raja Tridip Roy* did not perform their marriage as per Chakma custom of *Jadan, Chumulang* and *Khānā Sirānā*. Hence, a **Jārbwā** cannot be a member of Social Court, the *Dajha Vijār Sabhā*.

6. Janam Sudom (Birth Customs)

1. A child should be delivered only in own house, house of own father, house of a relative of husband who belongs to same *gutthi* or in a hospital. However, in an emergency, with the approval of the householder, a child may be delivered in others' houses. In that case, the child's mother, father or the relatives are liable to bear the expenditure of *Bur Pārā/ Mādhā Dhwa* on the demand of such householder.
2. The neighbours are expected to come forward and extend their able help at the time of child delivery.
3. The neighbouring women and relatives are also expected to offer *Bhāt Majā* (rice packet with meat, fish and other good curries) to a new born mother to recover her health.

4. The mother of a new born child must purify herself with the ritual *Kajai Pānhi*. This ritual is performed with the help of the *Pādhu Ojhā* (mid wife) at home and the nearest river or stream.
5. The mother of a new born child is not expected to enter others' houses without performing the *Kajai Pānhee* ritual since the Chakmas—believe a new born mother impure and source of misfortune. If such a mother enters others houses, she is liable to pay the expenditure of *Burpārā Mādhā Dhwa* on the demand of such householder.
6. The ritual *Kajai Pānhee* can be performed after the separation of *Nār* (umbilical cord) from the child.
7. At the time of *Kajai Pānhee*, the new born mother is expected to present one *Pinhon*, one *Khādhi*, cash, one cock, one bottle of wine, one bottle of *Jagarha* or *Kanji* (rice beer) and also seek *Māp* (pardon) for causing her to touch *Achhijhi* (impure) things and seek *Sep* (blessings) for her welfare and of the child from the *Pādhu Ojhā*. She may also be given more presents. The *Pādhu Ojhā* may also wipe off such presents.
8. At the time of *Kajai Pānhee* the neighbours and relatives are expected to be invited in a feast.
9. A new born mother if enters others house is believed to have spread *Balā* (misfortune). Such a householder has to perform *Bur Pārā* ritual to rid off from such impurity and misfortune. So, the mother or her husband is liable to bear the expenditure of the *Bur pārā* ritual.
10. There is also a custom that if the first child is born in the month of *Bhāda* (16 August to 15 September), such a child should be flown away in the river on a *Kalā Gājha Bhur* (a rafter made of plantain trees). The *Pādhu Ojhā* or others awaits down and catch the child. Afterward, the child is purchased by the parent with token money one *ānnā*, two *ānnā*, etc. Such a child is generally named as *Ek Ānnyā, Dwi Ānnyā, Ek Āni, Dwi Āni*, etc.
11. Among the Tangchangyā Chakmas there is a custom of vowing for a *Dhudhi Poi* (a dish for a *dhudi*, the male lower garment, in case of male child), *Khādi Poi*, for a female child if such a child suffers from frequent illness. Such a child cannot wear *dhudi* or *Khādi* until a feast with *Poi* with various provisions like pork, chicken, fish and other courses and wine and rice beer is offered. It is a rule that the eldest person will be offered the first *Poi* afterward the younger. A person receiving a *Dhudhi/Khadhi Poi* must pay some money and it is a rule that the younger cannot pay more money than the elders. After the performance of the *Poi* rite, the child will wear new *dhudi* or *Khādi* and take the blessings of the elders. There is also a rule that an eater of *Dhudhi Poi* or *Khadhi Poi* may demand certain item say a whole roast chicken, a double distilled wine bottle on cash payment.
12. No pregnant woman should be denied a food of her desire unless prohibited by a physician.
13. No pregnant woman be inflicted physical torture.
14. There is also a ritual called *Mralā Pujo* which is performed if the first child or children die and the mother or new born is given talisman after offering it to the *Mralā* deities. With such a *Mralā Tābit*, they cannot enter an *Asujhi Ghar*, with the believe of losing the power. So, nobody should force them to enter a dead house, new born house or any other *Asujhi* house.

15. It is expected that no one should beat a pregnant and newly delivered woman. She should not also be subjected to do hazardous work. A person found beating his pregnant wife or compelling a new born wife to do hazardous work is punishable as per custom. If for such beating a miscarriage is occurred, such a person or husband is liable for punishment for *Garbha Khuni*.
16. Putting a baby in other babies cradle is prohibited. It is done with the belief that the diseases of the other child will be transferred to the child.
17. Inhuman torture and beating of a child is prohibited. A person found treating a child inhumanly is punishable with fine.

7. Jadan Sudhom (Marriage)

1. Marriage is a social ritual for the Chakmas. No written document is prepared in support of a marriage. Generally, the villagers and relatives including village elders are invited in a marriage. An *Ojhā*, and a *Sābālhā* are a must in a marriage. The first condition of a marriage are the bride and groom must be of *Khellyā Kudum* (even and marriageable relation), there should be parent's/guardian's consent and then the rituals like *Jadan, Chumulang* and *Khānā Sirānā*. Without these rituals, a marriage is incomplete. The society recognises a couple as a married couple only after performance of these rituals and allows a couple to live together and have children. A child born from such a married couple is entitled to inherit parental properties or occupy a social position. A child born from the parent who have not performed *Jadan, Chumulang* and *Khānā Poi* is regarded a *Jārbwa* (Ilegimate). An illegimate cannot inherit properties or occupy social position.
2. Qualification of a bride and groom: There is no any definite qualification for a marriage and no age limitation is also prescribed. Earlier when a boy goes to *Jum Kābā* (clearance of jungle for jhum) and when a girl starts binding *Khādhi* (breast cloth) were regarded to be eligible for bride and groom. The average of marriage for the boys is found to be 21 years and for the girls 18 years. In case of deformity like blind, deaf, lame or other physically challenged, either of the bride or groom, consent of both is necessary. In the village areas marriage of young boy or girl is not discouraged. If such a marriage is challenged and proved, they will be liable for punishment under social crime.
3. Marriage without *Jadan* is illegal since *Jadan* rite is the seeking of approval from the society.
4. Marriage means performance of *Jadan, Chumulang* and throwing of a party (feast) to *Dach Murukbi* and *Khānā Sirānā*.
5. In a marriage, generally the *Jānei Dāghi* (groom party), i.e., the father or guardian initiates the marriage proceeding called *Bo Chānhā* (literally looking for a *Bo* (bride) by visiting the house of the bride to be with a bottle of wine and offer it to the bride's father or guardian with the proposal of marriage for his son or ward. This visit is called *Sāngudwar Band Garānhā* (literally, closing of entry ladder). The bride party may ask him to pay a second visit if they intend to marry off their daughter. If they don't intend to give in marriage, the groom party is informed their decision of not to marry off. Within the second visit, the relatives are consulted and information on character and antecedents of the groom is collected. If it is favourable, they will ask the groom party to come with *Mat Pilāng* for the third visit, fixing a date. Within the tird visit, the bride

parent consults their relative, i.e., the bride, her brothers, cousins, uncles, grand parents and other relatives and fix the tentative bride price called '*Dābhā*' and other demands called 'Ubor Khajji' (extra expenditure). At the third visit, a *Mat Pilang* consisting of two containers of wine, cakes made from rice flour, *Memā-michri* (sweetmeat including rock sugar), a pair of chicken, coconut, etc., are offered to the parent of the bride. A get together of the relatives is held. Discussion starts over the cup of wine on fixation of the *Boālhee* (provisions for bride), *Dābhā* (bride price), *Ubor Khachji* (extra expenditure). There goes on a bargain on the demand of provisions and if they come to any conclusion, the date of marriage is fixed.

6. Only the father or in his absence, the guardian is entitled to demand *Dābhā* and the mother *Dudolhee Tengā* (price for breast feeding. But if the parents are divorced, the person with whom the bride lives gets the right to fix *Dābhā*).

7. Only the actual guardian of a girl may fix a marriage. The person by whom, a girl is brought up is the actual guardian.

8. If a groom party visits a bride party with a marriage proposal, it is illegal for a second party to visit with such proposal until the first party has withdrawn or denied to give in marriage.

9. After acceptance of *Mat Pilāng*, if the bride party fails to give in marriage, they are liable for punishment for breach of contract and they may be asked to pay *Lāja Bhār* and compensation to the groom party. On the other hand, if the groom party fails to solemnise the marriage on the appointed day, without any legitimate cause, they are also liable for fine.

10. Generally, a marriage is solemnised after the parent of both the boy and girl come into agreement, when bride price and other provisions as fixed at the *Tin Pur* or third visit by the father of the groom and on the acceptance of *Mat Pilāng* (wine jar/bottle) by the bride's father.

11. A marriage starts when the groom party go singing and beating drums in a procession with the *Nwa Jāmei* (groom), friends, elders and women folk consisting of one *Ojhā*, one *Sābālhā*, one *Sābālhi*, one *Bo Hādoni*, one *Phur Bugiyā* with dresses and ornaments for the bride and enters in the bride house with prior permission. There is a rule that the 'Phur' (basket in which marriage provisions are carried) should not be struck to anything. Otherwise the couple will not have peaceful conjugal life. They go in odd number. *Jadan* or social approval for pairing is conducted generally at the bride house if the groom accompanies the marriage party and the marriage party return to groom house with the bride and relatives with the same pomp and show. At the grooms house the *Chumulang* ritual is performed and a feast is offered. After the feast, *Sep Battā* (blessings) from elders is sought vowing at their feet and the elders bless them by blowing air on cotton, rice and money by putting it on their *Khabhang* (head gear), so that the couple prosper in their conjugal life and do not face deart of food, dress and wealth. At last, the *Khānā Sirānā* ritual is performed to become a member of the society and the marriage is over.

12. The *Jamei Dāghi* (groom party) who goes to bring the *Bo* (bride) is called *Bo Khajhā Jeyā* (the bride fetcher), the bride party who come to groom house is called *Bo Bārhei Diyā* (the bride deliverer). It is a rule that the groom party should contain members in odd number and the bride party in even number.

13. The groom's party generally halt one night at the bride house and *Jadan* rite is performed there or come back on the same day and perform the *Chumulang* and *Khānā Sirānā* in the house of the groom. But in case of Tangchangya Chakmas, *Jadan Bānānhā, Chumulang, Khānā Sirānā,* etc., rituals are performed at the bride's house. The couple is also expected to remain there for seven days or at least few days.

14. A marriage may also be performed in the process called *Jamei Tulhee Denā* (literally to load a groom) where a groom marries on certain conditions like to stay the house of brides for a certain period of time and not exceeding three years. In such a case all the rituals of marriage are performed in the bride's house. In such case, the expenditure of marriage is borne by the father of the bride. This process is practised if the groom is poor or he has got no near relative to bear marriage expences or that there is no earning member in the bride's family.

15. *Jadan* or *Jorā* means pairing. In the Chakma society, the bride and groom are paired after taking approval from the members of the society present in the ceremony by binding a white scarf called *Jadana Kāi*. The *Sāwālhā* (best man) conducts a *Jadan* with the help of *Sāwālhi* (best girl) and this ritual is regarded as the most important one since it is the process of seeking approval from the members of the society.

16. While seeking approval of the society for binding the *Jadan* (pair), if any one objects it, the marriage may not be solemnised. But the person who objected such binding should show legitimate cause. Or he may be punished.

17. In the *Jadan* ritual, the couple need to exchange *Badā Gullyā Bhāt* (egged rice) and *Pān Khilik* (betel rolls) to each other. This is done with the belief of fertility and love. After the exchange of food and drink, the *Sāwālā* again seeks approval to open the *Jadan* and after approval, he will open the bind of the white scarf and the *Jadan* ceremony is over.

18. After the *Jadan*, the couple put on rings called *Jorā Āndhik* in each others ring finger.

19. A *Chumulang* ritual is generally performed in the house of the groom. This rite is the worship of gods, and goddess for the happy and prosperous conjugal life and it is conducted by an *Ojhā*.

20. If the bride is already pregnant, a *Jadan* cannot be held since a *Jadan* is meant for pairing of two souls.

21. In the *Chumulang* ritual, at least three chicken (one of which must be a cock and one hen), one basket of rice, one basket of paddy, one egg, one *Kum* (pitcherful) of water carried by the groom, one *Kutti* (jug) of water carried by the bride, one bottle of special wine made for the purpose, *Kanjee/Jagarhā* (rice beer), one basket of *Chol* (rice), one basket of *Dhān* (paddy), lamps, *Mālei/Mārei Keims, Ākpādā*, flowers of thornless plant, etc., are necessary. Some people perform this rite with the sacrifice of pig in addition to chicken. Some even slaughter buffallow for feast if the marriage is in grand scale. *Kāleiā, Parameswari, Ochsyā* and *Saudāgachyā/Michchinghyā* are worshipped in this ritual. Except *Kāleiā* and *Parameswari*, the names of other deities sometimes vary from *Ojhā* to *Ojhā* like *Rākkhwal, Neināngyā,* etc. The *Ojhā* performs this rite by sacrificing the animals, the Cock to *Kāleiā,* the hen to *Parameswari*, the egg to *Ochsyā* and the other chicken to *Saudāgachyā*. If a pig is sacrificed, the blood is sprinkled to every platform made for the deities. The meat of sacrificed animals is also offered after cooking and afterward the *Ojhā* examines some parts like legs, tongue,

egg, etc., as *Ākpāch* (past and future) for foretelling whether the couple will have long conjugal life? The *Ojhā* also shows them to other elders. Such examination is called *Chamba Chanha*.

22. On the wish of the parent of the bride and groom, a *Chumulang* may also be performed without sacrifice of animal and with flowers, if such an *Ojha* is available.

23. Apart from marriage *Chumulang*, a family may perform *Grichthi Chumulang*, every year for the welfare of the family. In such a *Grichthi Chumulang*, a feast is generally arranged and the neighbours are invited.

24. *Sep-Bottā* is prayer and blessings. After a marriage, the newly-wed couple vow before the elders and the elders bless them touching cotton, rice, sometimes turmeric and money for a prosperous, healthy and long conjugal life. Here the cotton represents dresses, the rice food, the turmeric gold and the money for prosperity.

25. It is expected that a person should throw a feast to his neighbours and relatives even after court marriage. If a feast is not arranged it amounts to violation of social rules. In such case, he may be out casted and after his death, his body may not be carried on the shoulders but below the knees to show disrespect.

26. *Khānā Sirānā* (completion of feast offering rite): It is the concluding part of a marriage ceremony. On completion of the feast, in the afternoon, the newly-wed couple offers a *Khānā Poi* (feast plate) on a covered *Mejāng* (bamboo plated table) where meat, fish and other items are arranged serially by the *Sāwāhlā*. Here, five items in case of marriage with pig and seven items in case of marriage with a buffalo must be placed. The items are– (1) *Sik Kādhee* (literally a grilling stick and here a lengthy dry fish called *Puchchyā sughuni*), *Dwa Chuani Mat* (double distilled wine), (2) *Jhuro* (meat), (3) *Chit Syāmā* (preparation of liver, kidney, lungs, etc., internal organs), (4) *Jwil-Tulo* (tongue-brain preparation with lots of hot chillies) and (5) *Khātdā* (a pumpkin preparation with jaggery), (6) *Jalā Pochchyā Jagarhā* (old sticky rice beer in which maggot has formed and straw covered as strainer), (7) *Āduri-Guduri* (intestine and stomach preparation), are a must. It is offered as a concluding item of a feast of a marriage before the village leaders, elders and relatives. It is the rite to show respect to the society and become a member of the society. It is taken with exchange of pleasantries. After offering a *Khānā Poi* only a person gains entry and becomes a member of a *Dajha Vijār Sabhā* (public trial). The rule is that the *Sāwālā* should know where the items are kept in the covered plate and he should be able to indicate the items correctly without uncovering it. If he cannot indicate properly, he may be fined. On the other hand, the *Sāwālhā* also reserves the right to tease and call any one by name like *Ghu Kheyā* (stool eater), *Chit Kheyā* (liver eater), *Āduri Kheyā* (intestine eater), etc., who does not know how to take the items serially.

27. *Bo Gajhāni* (handing over of bride): Before leaving for their home, the bride's parent or a relative hands over the *Bo* (bride) to the groom and the parent of groom, to look after the bride as their own with the request to scold the bride at the first mistake, to beat at the second mistake without causing injury to eye, ears or fracture of bones, etc. And at the third mistake to send her back on commission of serious mistake. Earlier such a handing over used to be done by a good orator or through a ballad singer, *Geingkhulee*. He used to narrate the duties of a wife and husband through ballads very lucidly.

28. There is a custom to send the newly wed couple to the parent of bride with present like sweetmeat, cakes, wine, etc., for a visit after two-three days from marriage. The couple should be accompanied by the *Sāwālhā*, the younger sister/cousin sister of the groom or in absence a young girl who became *Phur Bugiya* (the carrier of marriage provisions at the time of marriage), an old female relative of the groom, and other five to eight men and women. This visit is called *Byhā Suth Bhāngā*. This visit is a must and the newly-wed couple is not permitted to enter others house without the *Byhā Suth* visit and *Byhā Bur*. They stay there for two to four days and return with equal befitting presents from the bride's father.

29. After marriage, the *Byhā Suth* visit is compulsory. If the marriage is performed at the house of the groom the visit should be at the house of the bride's father. If the marriage is at the house of the bride, the visit should be made to the house of the groom. If the groom or bride has got no house, the visit should be made in the house of the nearest kin, i.e., in the house of a relative of the same *gutthi* of the groom or bride. If no relative of same *gutthi* is available, it should be performed under a *Heil Gāch* (an evergreen tree) and the couple and party should spend two nights under the evergreen tree.

30. A newly-wed couple is expected to perform the *Byhā Bur* after return from *Byhā Suth Bhāngā* or to at least listen to *Phāreikh* (religious discourses) by inviting a monk or monks.

31. *Bizu Berān*: A newly-wed couple must spend the first *Bizu* after their marriage at the house of bride's father/groom's father or a relative with friends. This visit is not compulsory but if the bride was born on a Wednesday, or if she is of the age of pair years like 18, 20, 22, she must spend the first *Bizu* in her parent house.

32. *Rāni Melā* (Widow Marriage): A widow has the right for remarriage in the Chakma Society. She need not follow all the marriage rules as stated above except the *Jadan* and *Chumulang* ritual.

33. *Polyandry*: A woman is not expected to marry two persons. But there is one instance at Simeisury in CADC in 1973 when *Ghuttya Chakma* alias *Kurmhwa* had arranged one more husband named *Sudhambha Chakma* for his wife *Royhābi Chakma*, a sister of *Ranjanya Chakma* (chairman, VCP of that village) of *Bhudho Daghi, Dhamei Gozā*. They lived their lives together till death.

34. *Polygamy* is permissible in the Chakma society (a) with the permission of first wife (b) if the wife is suffering from serious disease or mentally imbalanced, (c) if the first wife cannot conceive, (d) On inablity to perform sexual act and (e) if no male child are born, (d) if the first wife become insane, (e) if the first wife is sentenced to undergo imprisonment for more than six month, (f) if the wife remains away from the husband for more than six months, without his consent and (g) if she is proved to be infidal. Provided that, the husband should not neglect his first wife or wives and should treat all wives, equally.

35. *Guro Melā* (Child Marriage): Child marriage is not generally conducted in the Chakma society. The age of 21 years for a male and 18 years for a girl is found to be suitable age for marriage. Earlier, a boy was found suitable for marriage when he goes to *Jum Kaba* and a girl when she binds the *Khādhi* (breast cloth).

36. Prohibited time of Marriage:

(a) Marriage is not generally performed in the month of *Jeth* (16th May to 15th June) and in the month of *Puch* (16th December to 15th January).

(b) During the period of *Wa* (from the new moon day of *Ajhār* month to full moon day of *Ajhin* month), the time in which the Buddhist monks starts observing rainy season and do not spend a night outside their resident).

(c) A person may receive more than one bride in his house in a day but he cannot marry off two daughters in a day. In case of marriage of one daughter and one son in one day, first the daughter should be sent off and afterwards only the bride should be welcomed.

(d) The younger son may be married off first if the elder son permits. Likewise, the younger daughter may also be married off first if the elder sister permits.

(e) Some people even avoid to bring two brides in a house in the same year. If they marry off two sons in the same year, one of them should not spent even a single night in the house until the *Bizu* festival is over.

37. The date of a marriage may be changed if both parties agree.

38. As the Chakmas follow the Patriarchal system of society, a Chakma girl or woman who marries a non-Chakma ceases to be a Chakma. On the other hand, if a Chakma male marries a non-Chakma girl or woman, she is entered into the Chakma Society if she follows all traditions and customs.

39. Court marriage is permissible if they are of marriageable age and the relation permits and if there is no objection from the father/guardian of the bride. But after Court marriage, the couple must perform the social marriage rituals like *Jadan, Chumulang* and *Khānā Sirānā;* or they are liable for punishment for committing unsocial act of *sinyeli* and may be out-casted or made out of society. Since if a person want to live in a society, he must obey the rules of the society. Further an individual is always under the society and the society is not under an individual.

40. As per custom, the father of a girl has the right to take back his eloped daughter after their return, even after giving birth to twenty children if he does not agree with a marriage if the couple elope and resides at far away place and beyond the reach of the father.

41. If two lovers commit elopement, they are punished for illegal sexual relation and the girl is restored to her parent/guardian. A marriage cannot be held without the consent of parent of the girl. But if the lovers elope for the third time, they are fined for every elopement for illegal sexual relation but are free to get married at the fourth elopement if the relation permits.

42. During a marriage, there is a custom to collect money contribution as *Sigoli* for which record is kept so that the doners of *Sigoli* may also be contributed at the time of marriage in their family. But this custom is fading away and now-a-day, marriages are held without *Sigoli*.

43. It is customary that the parent of a bride should accept bride price called *Dābhā, Dudholhee Tengā* (price for breast feeding) and *Boālee* (provisions for the bride). Which may extend to thousands of rupees, rice, paddy, wine, pig, buffallo and provision for ornaments and special dresses for the bride. As per ***Chāndabi Bāramāch***, she was charged Rs. 140/- (Rupees one hundred forty) even after she gave birth to an illegimate child when the wage per day was only **two *Ānnā or sillings*** (during that

time eight *drums (kānā Poijhyā)* were two *Ānnā or silling* and now after introduction of 'Matric System', it is equal to twelf paise). So, the *Dābhā* (bride price) was so high for a beautiful girl during that time. A marriage without *Dudholhee Tengā* is regarded as *Kanyā Dān* (gifting of girl) and in such a case the parent of the bride cannot keep any relation with the bride and her husband. The parent cannot even rest under the shed of the bride and groom, not to talk about visit. Since the Chakmas do not keep any claim on a gifted thing. Now-a-days, *Dābhā* and *Boālee* is not much demanded and only a token *Dābhā* of rupee one to rupees five is accepted as *Dudulhee Tengā* if both parties agree to a marriage. But some parent demand ten to twenty thousand rupees as '*Dābhā*' till date.

44. Except after the third elopement, no marriage should be solemnised without the consent of the parent/guardian of the girl. The initiator, the *Ojhā* (priest) and others involving a marriage without the consent of parent/guardian are punishable for solemnising an illegal marriage.

45. A marriage between *Garbā Kudum* (odd and incest relation) should never be solemnised. The society never permits a marriage between *Garba Kudum*. The view of the society is that, human have relation and animals do not. If they do not maintain a relation what is the difference between a human and an animal? So, whenever any odd relation is proved, they should be immediately sepearated and punished as per custom.

46. The children out of a union of *GarbāKudum* should follow the relation of the mother.

47. After marriage, the address of the husband becomes the address of the wife.

48. A wife should accompany her husband wherever he takes.

8. Chhinyeli Duch (Illegal Sexual Offence)

The Chakma society does not permit sex beyond a marriage. Sex without marriage is always punishable with fine of cash, cock and pig. An act of uncontrolled sex is called "*Chhinyeli*" and a person who commits such an act is called '*Sāndā*'. The notorious *'Sāndā'* is said to be one *Ālpudi*. Who is said to have been fined 180 pigs and another 120 cases remained under-trial. In this regard a composition runs–***"Maneipuri Jhee Ālpudi, Sughor dilha Na Kuri (9 × 20), Ārha bāgi raiyhon Chhahkuri (6 × 20")*** (The daughter of Manepuri is Ālpudi, She was fined 180 pigs and remained unrealised 120). She was reported to have been taken to the Chakma king Bhuban Mohan Roy after fining 180 pigs. When Rja Bhubhan Mohan Roy asked her why she was committing such act? She is reported to have answered in rhyme – ***"A..n Kattā ! Mar nāng hoiyhe Ālpudi, Nitto Gābhur Marat berān ma laghe pāl badi, Khodhāi dye Kānā! Kārhe garhim mui Mānh***? (Oh my Lord ! My name is *Alpudi* (Spurred Lady), The youths always accompany me in group. The God has given me the hole, whom should I deny?). The Raja stopped her to say further in shame! From that day the Rājā stopped fining her any more.

The Chakma society also does not permit to talk about sex openly in public. A person who talks about sex in public is regarded as shameless and *Beātdap*. For which even the love songs are not permitted to be sung in public. One may talk about sex with a friend and a close *Khellyā Kudum*. Otherwise such a person may be fined. Even in court proceedings of *Dajha Vijār Sabhā* no direct word of sex are uttered. Instead, symbolic '*Pāgal Hanha*' (Go made), '*Sik Garānha*' (skew), '*Khajarānā*' (explore), '*Somānā*' (entry) etc., words are used. Likewise instead of semen they use '*bich*' (germ) and instead of 'ejaculation' the word *'gāli dena'* (to ooz out), etc., are used. One '***Mhichri Bāp'*** is notoriously famous for talking about sex in public. The following are the rules on *Chhinyali/Sinyāli*:

1. No person is permitted to have sex without a marriage.
2. Having sex without marriage in a house or place is said to have caused such house or place *Asijhi* (impure) and hence, such a house should be purified with *Kajai Pānhee*.
3. Illegal sex is always fined with cash, cock in case of unmarried girl and boy, *sugor* (pig) in case of married. The fine of female and of unmarried is less than a male and married person. A habitual offender is fined heavily. The fine of pig may be from three *mhut* (fist measure) to seven *mhut* (fist measure) considering degree of the offence.[2]
4. Earlier, it was the *Duchtur* (custom) to cook a fined pig under an evergreen tree by the offenders and distribute it among the villagers in the form of a feast as a token of seeking forgiveness from the society members for committing such unsocial act. They had to announce their offence.
5. The system of fining of pig is not compulsorily practised by the people of *Dhamei Gozā* if the *chhinyeli* offence committed is within *Dhāmei Gozā*. However, they must pay the fine of pig if the illegal sex is with person of other *Gozā*.
6. If an illegal sexual offence is of a married person and between *Garbā Kudum*, it is a major offence and a case of *Khellye Kudum* and of a widow, widower or unmarried person, it is regarded as minor.
7. After marriage, if a marriage is found to have been solemnised between *Garbā Kudum*, such a couple are immediately separated and punished for illegal sexual relation. On the other hand, the persons who have knowingly solemnised such marriage are punished heavily.
8. The patron, helpers, and the parent of a marriage between *Garbā Kudum*, if found to have been conducted knowing their actual relation, are fined heavily.
9. Unmarried youths and persons who have not offered '*Khānā Poi*' as a respect to the society are prohibited to hear a *Chhinyeli Vijār*.
10. The *Ojhā* who conducts an illegal marriage is also fined heavily and may be baned for life-time.
11. A love affair between a married and unmarried and also of widow/widower and a married person, and if a sexual relation is proved, both are punished under *Chhinyeli* offence. In such case, the unmarried and widow/widower is given lighter punishment.
12. If an unmarried or widow become pregnant, she is fined for *Chhinyeli* offence. On the other hand, the person who is responsible for such pregnancy is also fined under *Sinyeli*. If it is proved that the responsible person is a married person, the punishment should be heavy and if it is by a *Garbā Kudum*, the punishment is heavier and they may be subjected to undergo the ordeal of *Jhendrā*.
13. Except in a case of *Balājuri* (rape), an unmarried pregnant woman is punished for illegal sexual offence. In case of *Balājuri*, she is not punished rather she gets *Lājo Bhār* and *Khodhi Puron*.
14. Except in a case of *Balājuri*, a pregnant woman accusing any person being to be the cause of such pregnancy, if not proved, such a person against whom allegation was brought is entitled to get *Lāja Bhār*. In case of *Balā juri, Lāja Bhār* is not awarded. If a man or woman falsely indicates any illegal sex relation with any person and if it

is not proved, the aggrieved is entitled for *Lāja Bhār* and the indicator has to pay *Ātto Kubuli Sugor* (self admitted fine of pig).

15. Elopement by unmarried persons, with a view to marriage, is punished for illegal sex relation during the elopement period.

16. After elopement, the girl or woman should remain under the custody of a *Hāgim* till the case is finalised. This rule was introduced to ascertain who is the initiator, or who is fully or partly responsible for such elopement or whether such elopement was by force or voluntary. Since in an elopement case, the statement of the female decides the offender.

17. The helper in an illegal sex and of an elopement are also punished. The fine of an *Ugil* (who instigates and helps and illegal sex relation) is heavier than the offenders.

18. A marriage cannot be held without the consent of the parent of the girl. As per custom, the girl must be returned to her parent. In case of elopement by the same girl for the third time with the same person, their marriage may be solemnised without the consent of parent at the fourth elopment.

19. After elopement, if the parent of the girl consents for marriage and if they come to any agreement, the eloped couple may be married off after payment of fine for their stay together during the elopement period. Without payment of the social fines, no person should keep any relation with the eloped person.

20. A marriage may be stopped on non-payment of fixed *Dābhā* in advance.

21. If an elopement is committed by *Garbā Kudum*, such a marriage cannot be permitted. Such a couple should be separated immediately at their return, even if they get 20 children.

22. The children out of *Garbā Kudum* should follow the relation of the mother.

23. An illegitimate child is looked down upon in the society, though the society accepts it. They cannot occupy the hereditary social post of the father.

24. A child born out of the union of unmarried couple will be known as *Jārbwa* (illegimate).

25. The mother is the legal guardian of a *Jārbwa child*. But the father also has the right to claim his child though he needs to pay fooding, etc., maintanance for at least six months till the child's *Bhāt Dharā* (literally catch of rice and actually start of taking solid food).

26. It is the mother to decide whether the *Jārbwa Child* will remain with her or the illegal father of the *Jārbwa child*. The *Vijār Sabhā* may also decide for the guardianship of a *Jārbwa* child considering the conditions of the mother and the father.

27. A child born out of the union of illegal parent, due to elopement or out of union between *Garbā Kudum*, is restored to the mother and the society accepts such child since the child has got no share in parent offence. But such child should follow the relation of the mother.

28. Having illegal sex relation with more than one person is equally punished.

29. A person who misbehaves with a *Garbā Kudum* is liable for punishment for *Shlil Hāni*.

30. An abettor of elopement is also liable for punishment.

31. After divorce, if a couple sleep together without performing *Chumulang* is also liable for punishment under *Chhinyeli*.

32. A daughter-in-law, sister's son wife, mother-in-law (in case of male), wife's elder and older sisters, elder and older brothers of husband, younger brothers wives (in case of male), wives of nephews (in case of male), etc., are not permitted to be touched not to talk about beating. In such case, the offender is punished considering the degree of the offence. He may even be punished for illegal sexual act.

33. An accused against whom a *Chhinyeli* case is pending in a court of law cannot get married unless such case has been finalized.

34. A child conceived during elopement or kidnapping for marriage, or any other unlawful situation and if the marriage of such a couple is not held due to any reason, the responsible male must bear the maintenance of such child from pregnancy to till the child attains the age of major or as may be decided by the court.

35. An illegal sexual union with a non-Chakma by a Chakma female may be treated as an actual offence under the category of *Garbā Kudum*.

36. A person who arranges an illegal sexual relation is known as an '*Ugil*'. The punishment of a Ugil is more than the offenders.

37. A person who helps an illegal sex relation is known as '*Sāhāchjyakāri*'. He may also be fined as the offenders.

38. A person who boasts of having sex with any person is also fined *Āpta Kubuli Sugor* (self admission pig). If such a relation is proved, the counterpart is also fined. If not proved, the alleged male/female reserves the right to claim *Lāja Bhār.*

9. Chhārā-chhāri Sudhom (Divorce)

A divorce may be obtained on the following grounds:

1. (a) On mutual agreement. In that case the husband must issue a *Chhur Kāgoch* (divorce letter) in presence of three witnesses, (b) For habitual negligence of own duties. (c) For wilful disobedience of the husband. (d) If husband is torturous, (e) If the husband or wife is proved to have committed adultery or unfaithful, (f) The husband or wife is incapable of natural sexual act. *Explanation:* A contagious or stinking disease or a physical abnormality developed giving a horrifying appearance which is likely to arouse a distaste, aversion or panic with physical contact shall be a legitimate cause of incapable of natural sexual act though he/she may be actually capable of doing sex. (g) For conversion into other religion. (h) On disappearance for more than six months without any information. (i) On second marriage without permission or legitimate cause. (j) On conviction for any offence for more than six months jail term. (k) On becoming monk or nun for unlimited period. (l) On being *Richswa* (suspicious with others), for being a *Richswa* (a person who suspects without any base of being having affair with others). (m) If the husband is negligent in earning and maintenance of wife and family. *Explanation:* A failure to work by a physical challenged person due to accident or disease does not amount to negligence in earning or maintanance. (n) Habitual drunkard, gambler and browler. (o) If the husband and family members are torturous and merciless and commit unnecessary physical and mental torture. (p) Humiliates, lowers fame and honour and also deprives legitimate rights. (q) Endangers life and safety. (r) Compels unsocial or illegal act. (s) If the husband or wife causes a hatred and distaste by an act of commission or ommission.

2. A court is expected to grant a divorce after proper examination of the circumstances of disappearance of a husband and try for reconciliation.

3. In a divorce due to the fault of the wife, the desire of the husband for guardianship of children and distribution of properties shall be given more weight.
4. "Generally, the father gets the guardianship of sons and the mother gets the guardianship of daughters." The suckling son (breast feeding child) remains with the mother for certain period, i.e., till the age of six months, at which age a child starts taking *Bhāt* (solid food) and can survive without mother's breast.
5. In a divorce due to the fault of the wife, the husband reserves the right to get back *Boālhee, Dābhā* and expenditure of marriage in full or part. (e.g. In the divorce suit between Smt. Kanyabi Chakma of 148 Bhusan Cherra Circle and Shri Jugendra Lal Chakma of 154 Aima Cherra Circle, Smt. Kanyabi Chakma was ordered to return 300 rupees to Shri Jugendra Chakma since the divorce was granted due to the fault of Smt. Kanyabi Chakma. Case No. 97 of Chakma Raj Court, 1959).
6. A pregnant woman has the right to get the expenditure of delivery, *Kajai Pānhee* and maintenance from her divorced husband or any other person who is responsible for such pregnancy for up to the age of six months in case of husband and wife and up to 18 years of age of the child in case of *Jārbwa Pwa*.
7. In a divorce due to the fault of the husband, the wife's opinion should be given more importance for the guardianship of children and distribution of properties. After divorce, if a father wants to keep relation with his children, he must bear at least 50 per cent of educational expenditure of the children. Otherwise, the wife reserves the right not to allow to meet the children.
8. A divorce cannot be granted if the husband or wife do not want to take the responsibility of a breast feeding child. In such case, the mother must take the responsibility. However, if any relative or any person volunteers to take the responsibility of the child and if the *Vijār Sabhā* feels no danger for the child such a volunteer may be allowed to bring up such child and the couple may be granted divorce.
9. In a divorce due to extra-marital affair of the husband, the divorced wife has the right to get maintanance as may be fixed by the court. In case of affair of the wife, the person responsible for such affair should pay a compensation to the husband as may be fixed by the court.
10. In case of mutual divorce, the children above the age of seven will go as per their desire and the children below the age of seven years and up to six months of age shall be restored as: the male with the father and the female with the mother. A breast-feeding child till the age of six months (i.e., age of *'Bhāt Dharā'*, the age of starting taking solid food) will remain with the mother. In such case, the father must provide maintenance. Afterword, the male child should be restored to the father. It may also be done otherwise on mutual agreement or as may be decided by the court considering the upbringing capacity of the father and mother. The children above the age of seven years may also change their guardian if their step-father/mother is found to be atrocious.
11. If a wife is divorced due to her fault, the husband reserves the right to claim the *Boālhee* (properties like dress and ornaments carried from the groom for the bride at the time of marriage). She may also be sent back with a single dress. In other case, the *Boālhee* items are regarded as personal property of the wife.
12. If a divorce is granted due to the fault of the husband, the wife may be given 25 per cent of the properties of the husband. Provided that, the male children have the right

to get equal share of father's properties after his death. In addition, if the wife is abandoned with her children, the husband should pay a maintenance of up to 50 per cent of his income till her remarriage or death. Provided further that, this amount is not payable if the wife is solvent or if she is maintained by others.

13. In a divorce due to fault of both husband and wife, the properties may be distributed on mutual understanding at the rate not less than the ratio of 60:40 for husband and wife. The male children always have the right on father's property after his death.
14. All presents received at the time of marriage including presents given for the personal use by the husband or wife are the joint properties of the couple. Except the *Boālhee* (properties like dress and ornaments carried from the groom house at the time of marriage), which shall be personal property of the wife.
15. After *Chhārā-chhāri* (divorce), the wife and husband are free to get married.
16. After divorce, the ex-wife and ex-husband loss the right to have sex without remarriage.
17. If the ex-wife and husband are found to live together without remarriage, they are liable for punishment for illegal sex.
18. A child born out of the union of ex-wife and ex-husband without remarriage will be treated as *jārbwa* (illegimate).
19. On mutual agreement, a divorced wife and divorced husband may remarry.
20. After divorce, both husband and wife shall loss right and authority over each other.
21. After divorce, the wife shall loss family title, surname and rank of her ex-husband.
22. After divorce, a wife shall loss the right of inheritance of husband's property and if the husband is working in a pensionable job, the right to get family pension at his death.
23. A divorced wife or husband shall be liable to pay all claims as may be fixed by the customary court at the divorce trial.
24. A newly wed bride may sometimes run to her parent for the atrocities committed by the in-laws. If such atrocity is proved, the bride is sent back to the in-laws after obtaining a bond of good behaviour from the atrocious in-laws. If the bride runs for the second time, the husband is directed to live in separate house. If the husband does not obey the court direction, a divorce may be granted.

10. Marā Sudhom (Dead Rules)

1. On the death of any old person, there is a custom that the relatives may fire a gun in the air to show respect.
2. There is also a custom to beat drum at the dead house with the rhythm '*Chotdheng chotdheng dendreng, Magadā Rādhā Dendreng, Theim ni na theim gāngkuley jeim*', etc.
3. It is also a custom to burn an *Ālsya* (making of fire with paddy husk on a earthen or metal pot) and keep it at the entrance of the dead house and every houses of the neighbours till the cremation of the dead body.
4. No food is taken at the dead house till cremation of the dead body.
5. It is the duty of every neighbour to visit a dead house and help the bereaved family members in every possible manner.
6. The Chakmas bury the unteethed children and a person died due to leprosy, cholera and other transferable diseases and they put *Phundri Chumo* (a bamboo cylinder) above the

chest of the buried body from the dead body to the outer soil and also put crossed bamboo chips called *Chidyā Keim* at the rate five pairs into five pairs for a male and seven pairs and seven pairs for a female on a grave. They clean a dead house only after removal of the dead body.

7. It is customary that the family members of a dead house should observe *Shādhāng* for seven days, i.e., by avoiding fresh meat or fish, wine, avoid sex during seven days till the *Dharma/Sāt Dinnyhā* is over.
8. No dead body is burnt or buried on a Wednesday.
9. A dead body may be mummified and kept buried or hung from a tree if the family want to cremate it on a grand scale by making a *Gheelyā Ghar* (wheeled chariot) or when the family has got no immediate means to perform *Dharma* since it is customary to perform the *Dharma* on the seventh day after cremation.
10. A dead body should be carried for cremation in the afternoon.
11. At first, a dead body is given bath with the water brought specially in five decorated *Chumo* (bamboo cylinders) in case of male and seven, in case of female and put on new clothes and transferred to a *Bar Ghar Sommreng Ghar* (a plateform made of three rafter of bamboos consisting of three bamboo each to the measure of the dead body, above which five more cross rafters are placed in case of male and seven rafters in case of female and on which a bamboo mat of (five pairs by five pairs in case of male and seven pairs by seven pairs in case of female) chips is spread on which five/seven ply of white clothes is laid and on which the dead body is laid after changing the dress with new clothes. Above the dead body another five/seven ply of white clothes is covered. The hair of the dead body is combed and offered rice, betel rolls, bidi/cigeratte and *Dāt Kādhee* (tooth pick). Here the relatives and neighbours may offer money called *Bugo Kurhi/Ghāt Pāro Paijhyā* (chest money/Paise for crossing a ferry ghat) with the belief that the dead has to cross a ferry of a river to reach other abodes. There is also a custom to put a silver/metal coin in the mouth of the dead with the belief that the dead will get silver white teeth in his next birth. In the evening, monk(s) are invited to deliver religious discourses where they explain about the impermanancy of everything in the universe. Drum is beaten continuously and sometimes religious hymn is also sung and epic like *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* are also read out. A dead body may be kept uncremated for few days to wait for the relatives from a distant place, and if the death has occurred on Tuesday or Saturday evening. A dead body is carried to funeral pyre only in the afternoon. Before carrying the dead body to cremation ground it is transferred to a decorated stretcher called *Alang* and a ritual called *Marāi-Jedāi Phārak Hanhā* (separation between dead and alive) is performed by drawing seven strings of thread between the dead body and a live chicken. One end is bound with the stretcher of the dead body and the other end with the live chicken which the family members holds at the verandah of the house where permission is sought from the assembly for separation of dead and alive saying *Marāi-Jedāi Phārak Habhār Hugum āghe Ni Nei*? (Is there permission to separate dead and alive?), if the answer is affirmative, the string of thread is cut off with a *Dulhuk* (a sharp blade made of outer skin of a bamboo) in one go and the dead is carried off to the cremation ground. (This rule might have come to the society since everybody had to follow certain rules like *Khānā Sirānā*. If anybody did not throw a *Khānā*, he is not regarded as a member of the society and the society does not respect such person. So, his body was carried below the knees without any regard, unless his

relatives had sought permission from the general public with a bottled of wine and *Pān-Bādā* or if the dead person was out-casted or if the dead person had violated any serious social rule.). Before carrying the dead, some people touch the house for five or seven times (in case of male or female) with the *Ālang* with the leg side of the body and the body is carried to funeral ground. It is also customary that a *Thabhāk* (leaning supporting post) of the dead house and fire should be carried from the dead house. With the fire and supporting post from the dead house, torches are made at the funeral ground by splitting the supporting post taken from the house and such torches are used to set the first fire on the pyre.

12. At the cremation ground a *Rubho Kur* (funeral pyre) is already kept ready by the neighbours by posting three pairs of wooden posts called *Kuung Gāch* horizontally. In between the *Kuung Gāch* five or seven layers of fire wood are placed. A *Chānmwa* or canopy is also made above the pyre by posting four bamboo poles at the four corners and by binding the four corners of a white clothe on the top end of the poles. A pyre may be placed east to west or north to south direction. It is a custom that the male be laid head east or northward and the female west or northward. It is said that the old custom to lay a dead body is northward. But later a female dead body was laid westward and a male head eastward. This practise has reportedly come into practice after the Chakma king had married a Moghul princess who took the promise to cremate her head westward. Before laying the dead on the funeral pyre a wealthy person may be drawn on a *Gheelyā Ghar* (wheeled chariot) by binding ropes and canes from both side on a field and pulled by two groups, representing heaven and hell on a wheeled chariot called *Gheelyā Ghar*. A dead body may also be carried and jerked on a *Rādhā Ghar* (chariot) by carrying on the shoulders and making five or seven rounds around the funeral pyre. In absence of the *Gheelyā Ghar* or *Rādhā Ghar*, the dead body is rounded on the carrying stretcher, *Ālang* and given five or seven rounds around the funeral pyre touching pyre with the *Ālang* in every round. Afterward the dead is laid on the pyre. On the pyre also hair is combed and rice, *Dābā* (bamboo habool babool, the tobacco pipe), betel rolls, *Bidi* and *Dāt Kādhee* (tooth pick) are offered and the leftover rice is packeted with plantain leaves and kept on the pyre. Afterward, some may resort to listening to discourses from a monk. After the religious discourses is over, fire is set on the pyre first by the elder son, if of a father or mother, by the father if of a son or daughter, brother in absence of father, husband of the wife and then other family members. In absence of son and brother, other relative of the same *Gutthi* (genus) may set the first fire. In case of absence of relatives, any villager may set the first fire. If there is any difficulty in burning the body since some flesh do not easily burn or fall out of the pyre. In such case, the flesh is cut into small pieces and put again in the pyre. Sometimes, it has to be hit with a bamboo pole called *Chhara Bāch*. After burning of the body is over, all are expected to take dip in the river and reach home without looking at the back. At home they are offered to eat bitter vegetable like bitter gourd leaves/bitter gourd and other bitter items.

13. At the evening a measure of rice, say one *Dhah* (measurer made of bamboo cylinder or any metal canester) is kept cooked on the oven for the dead with a boiled egg, without shell. Such rice is called *Kānjabā Bhāt*. The rule is that the rice should not be stirred at the time of cooking. It is done with the belief that the soul of the dead will visit the house at night. On the next morning the sign of visit of the soul is examined on the rice and the egg. Sometimes, teeth mark on the egg and finger marks on the rice is said to be found!

14. On the next day of burning a dead body, it is the custom to shave heads by the sons in case of parent's death at the funeral place. It is also a custom to clean and sweep the burning place and flow the ashes and bones in the river and also erect a fencing called *Mulo Tengerhā*. On going to the burning place first some bones especially the little finger bone is collected in an earthen or metal pot for ceremonial flowing of the bones. The pot is covered with banana leaf and bound with seven strings of thread. Afterward, the ash and bones are carried to the river and flown. The site is properly cleaned and sweeped. A fencing called *Mulo Tengerhā* is erected by posting four pieces of bamboo to the height of waist. Some even plant four banana trees at the four corners. A door is kept at the fencing for entry. A canopy called *Tala Chānmwa* is also placed over the fencing by binding at the four corners of a piece of white cloth fastening at the top end of corner posts. Inside the fencing, a pitcher full of water, a dao, a water jug, comb, a *Dāba* (tobacco pipe), bidi, cigarettes, betel rolls and the left over comb and bottle of scented hair oil are also placed. Some even sow paddy, cotton and other vegetable seeds around the fencing. At last, the pot in which bones are preserved for is flown ceremoniously. It should be flown by the elder son in case of death of parent, by husband in case of wife, by the father in case of children, by brother in absence of father/husband and by a relative of same *Gutthi* in absence of father, brother or husband, The rule is that the bone flower should first go to knee deep water with the bone pot binding one end of seven strings of thread at his little finger. The other end of the string should be held by another person from the river bank. On reaching knee-deep water of the river, he will become naked, even follow away make a hole on the covered pot with his finger and pour water. Afterwards, it should be thrown away at the back down the river, above his head if the bones are of elder relative and between the legs if the bones are of a younger relative with the prayer never to face such death in future and he should be drawn to the bank by the holder of other end (usually by a son/brother/relative) of the thread and should come out naked after removing even the *Pharotduri* (thread bound around the waist) and come home directly changing new dress on the bank without looking back. In the mean time, a member of the family may close the door of the fencing and ask the dead not to move from the place until seven days rite (the day of offering for the dead) is over. At home, the persons who went to flow the bones are offered to eat bitter curry. It is customary that all persons who participated in the flowing of bones should take bath dipping in the river and reach the house of dead family without entering others house or looking back. Any person from the burning ghat, after flowing bones, entering others house, without first entering the house of dead person, may be asked to bear expenditure of *Bur Pārā* as it is believed that such a person generates *Balā* (misfortune) if he enters others' house. Lamps may be lighted at the burning place every evening by the family members of the dead person till the day before *Dharma*.

15. On the seventh day a *Dharma (*after funeral rite*)/Sāt Dinnhyā* (seventh day rite) is held for the departed soul after seven days from the day of burning the dead body. But in case of *Phemā Gozā*, it is held on sixth days like the Tripuris or at lesser days. Some sons also become *chāmanhi* (temporary novice) at the temple in dedication to parent so that the virtue gained in the *Chāmanhiship* should go as a virtue to dead parent. At least one monk and if possible, more than four monks should be invited at a *Dharma*. If no monk is available at least one *Shraman* (novice monk) should be invited.

16. On the day before the *Dharma*, the food items for offering and dedication and for general feast are kept ready for cooking. Other items for dedication are like monk's robes and their necessities like razor, stick, water strainer, needle, umbrella, mat, thread rolls, pen, exercise books, religious books and items like primers. *Tāngon* (banners), *Phohrhā* (hand woven banner), *Phānāch* (hot ballon made of colored papers) etc., are kept ready. Foods and drinks, even gold, silver, umbrella, cow, civil dresses and other items are also dedicated for the dead person. On the evening before the *Dharma*, a person goes to the burning place and invites the dead person to attend the *Dharma* on the next day and have the *Āk Bārhā Poi*. He also opens the door of fencing.

17. On the day of *Dharma*, all the available foods and drinks are prepared in the early morning and dishes for the *Gonghei* (*Gojen*/Buddha), the monks, the departed for offering at home and at the place of burning. The plate offered at home is called *Āk Bārhā Poi* or *Digo Poi* (plate for first offerings/plate of desired) and the dish to be offered to the Burning Place is to be carried in a *Pun Chichchyā Khājā* (a basket specially woven for the purpose keeping the sides of the corner of the bottom of the basket open). In an *Āk bārhā poi*, rice, sticky rice, a *Buk Chichchyā Kurho* (a full boiled chicken which has been cleaned by cutting the chest), pork, other fresh items and dry meat, fish, dry fishes, other vegetable curries, milk, curd, jaggery, rock sugar, sweets, biscuits and all other available food items and drinks are arranged. First the plate for *Gonghei*, second for the monks, third the *Āk Bārhā Poi* and third the *Pun Chichchyā Khājhā* are prepared giving from all the items. It is done with the belief that the dead person should quence all his desire of food and get salvation. While offering the *Ak Barha Poi* (invitee dish), to a dead soul, a person from the family members first open the cover and lights a lamp. Afterward *Gheela-Kajai* dipped water and wine is sprinkled to call the soul. If the dead person is an elder, it should be offered vowing in folded hands by every younger members of the family. If it is of a younger, vowing is not necessary and it should be offered by just sprinkling *Gheela Kajai Panhee* and wine. Now-a-days wine is not sprinkled but sandal wood dipped water is used. Now coming of a fly or insect is observed. If a fly or insect sits on the *poi* for a while and goes away, it is understood that the dead soul has accepted the offerings and had it. The left over is carried out to the *Ijor* (outer platform of a typical house) *or Udhon* (courtyard) and given to be eaten by others. A member of the family or a person of the same *Gutthi* do not eat the left out of an *Ak barhapoi*. But in some Gozās, like the *Borbwa Gozā* it should be taken only by persons of same *gutthi*. The food and other items meant for dedication like food, drinks, *Tangon (banner), Phanach* (hot balloon made of coloured paper), *Phohra* (hand woven banner), *Hajar Batti* (thousand lamps), monks robes and other items are first dedicated for the departed to the monks after receiving *Panja Sheelas* (five precepts of Buddhist) and listening to religious discourses and with flowing of water from a jug, keeping a lighted lamp, chanting dedication prayers and keeping the Earth, water, lamp and the gods as witnesses. If it is dedicated to only one of two monks, it is called *Puggalik dānā* and if it is decicated to four or more monks, it becomes *Sangha dānā*. *Sangha Dānā* is believed to be most virtuous since it goes to all past, present and future monks. While in a *Puggalic dānā*, if the monk does not observe the 227 precepts of a monk, it may not be virtuous. This process of dedication is called *Pānhi Dhālā*. Afterwards, the assembled neighbours are offered a feast and the *dharma or Sāt Dinnhyā* is over. A *Dharma* may be performed another two more consecutive times on the same date and at any time for the dead. A person may hold

his own *Dharma* before his death if he feels that his *Dharma* will not be performed properly by his sons or other family members or relatives. In such case, no *dharma* is required to be performed after his death. Only burning of the body and flowing of the bones in the river is sufficient for his death ritual.

18. A periodical *Dharma* may also be performed for a dead person every year on the same date of '*Sāt Dinhyā*' for two more years. Such *Dharma* is called *Bajarhi*.
19. An irregular *Dharma* may also be performed for the dead parent or a relative whenever it is possible. Such *Dharma* is called *Karma*.
20. Any person may perform his or her *Dharma* when he/she is alive. When he/she feel that his/her *Sāt Dinnyā* will not be performed properly by the sons. Or that he/she has got no son to perform the *Sāt Dinnyā*. In such case no after death rite is necessary, except burning the body.
21. A person may also perform *Gārhee Tānā* during his lifetime.

11. Dharma Sudhom (Customs on Religion)

1. One should not act against own religion. It is the duty of all to prevent any act against own religion.
2. No monk or novice monk should be humiliated in any way.
3. An idol of Buddha, a place of worship and a place of learning should be treated as most sacred.
4. Every family should contribute for the maintenance of a temple.
5. In a religious function, during a *Dharma*, at the time of hearing *Phāreikh* (religious discourses) and at the time of singing of hymn, no person should enter such place or participate in such functions under the state of intoxication.
6. Every person should try to abstain from work on the days of *Bizu, Hal Paloni* and on the days of *Buddha Purnima, Ājharhi Purnima, Ājhini Purnima* and *Māghi Purnima* and go to a *Kyang*.
7. Every familiy should contribute *Pālhā Syang* to a *Kyang*. On inability to offer *Pālhāsyang*, such family should contribute some amount to the management committee in lieu of *pālhā Syang*.
8. The village leaders should contribute labour and resources for the development of a *Kyang*.
9. Pollution of a secred place is punishable offence.
10. One should not enter a temple in intoxicated mood or with shoes.

12. Sāgā Sudhom (the Ownership Mark and Traditional Land Holdings)

'*Sāgā*' is the sign of ownership on a free land which is selected for Jhum cultivation or other ownership by putting two chips of bamboo in a crossed manner on the stem of a small tree or of a bamboo pole or by posting it by clearing a small portion of the jungle, on a log, on a bee hive, or after making a *Jhogā* (habitation for fish, shrimp at the corner of a water pond or stream). It should be put in a visible place so that other people can understand that the land has been selected by others. The sign declares that it can be used only by the person who had selected it and it will be illegal on the part of others to try to use it. This *sāgā* is followed traditionally from time immemmorial. Though it is generally used for the purpose of selecting a new land, it is equally used to establish ownership on a log, bamboo, sunn grass, cane, bee hive, fish pond, a bird's nest, etc.

1. A *sāgā* should be marked on a free land and it cannot be marked on settled land. Actually, this custom was generally used when there was no system of land settlement and when people lived on Jhum cultivation.
2. A *sāgā* should be marked at a easily visible place. It was generally put at the way of climbing a hill. If there is two-three ways to climb a hill, it should be put at two three places.
3. It is illegal to mark a *sāgā* on a land of more than own requirement.
4. A sāgā remains effective only for one season. If one could not cultivate a *sāgā* marked land for any reason, and if he wants to cultivate it in the next year, he must put the *sāgā* a new.
5. If more than one person puts a *sāgā* on a particular portion of land, the person who had put the first *sāgā*, has the first claim.
6. If a person cannot cultivate a *sāgā* marked land for any reason, he must disown it in favour of others informing the head of the village.
7. Traditionally, a person has the right over his own *Rānnyā* (abandoned Jhum land). After Jhum cultivation is over, the land is fallowed and kept without cultivation for few years. If others want to cultivate jhum on a *Rānnyā*, he must seek permission from the owner of the *Rānnyā*. If it is allowed to others, the ownership of *Rānnyā* is transferred to the second cultivator.
8. A person gains ownership right on the products of a jhum till the day of *Bizu*. Afterward, the products like vegetable, chillies, etc., may also be extracted by other villagers from the *Rānnyā* and the owner of the *Rānnyā* should not object to it.

13. Sambut Bhāk Pānhā Sudhom (Heirship)

Earlier, the Chakmas had no permanent immovable properties since they lived a nomad life doing shifting cultivation of jhum. Every year, they had to search for new jungle and land for jhum cultivation. But with the growth of population and decrease of virgin jungle, they had to settle permanantly at a particular place and had to make jhum repeatedly on the same jungle and land and so they had to seek permanent settlement on particular land. And thus, the question of property inheritance came up.

On accumulation of any inheritable properties, if the owner dies without any will, the question of heirship and succession for distribution of such properties arises. And so the society had to decide on such issues and make rule.

In the Chakma society, if the head of a family dies, the responsibility of his after-death rituals, payment of debts and other responsiblities are also connected with the rules of inheritance. Since, after his death, there are some rituals which are to be performed as per custom. After observing all the social and religious customs only then a person gains the right of inheritance. All movable and immovable properties of a dead person are inheritable. But there is no written rule how to divide the movable peoperties like furniture, crockeries, dress, ornament, cattle, etc. It is done amicably by the relatives. Only land and other immovable properties are regarded as inheritable properties.

Whole the immovable properties of a dead person cannot be placed for inheritance. The expenditure of after death rituals, the unpaid loan and the sold properties but not mutated should also be deducted from the property. Only the balance properties may be taken for heirship.

The policy of inheritance in the Chakma Society is to preserve the properties within the *Gutthi* (genus), i.e., with the sons, brothers and nephews.

1. A wife does not inherit property of husband unless specially willed or if the sons have no objection. They only get maintenance so long as they remain unmarried or till death.
2. On the death of father, the son(s) in whose care he expired, is the legal heir of father's property.
3. In absence of son, the daughters become the legal heir of father's property.
4. In absence of children, the widow becomes the heir of husband.
5. If the husband dies before the wife of a childless couple, the nearest relatives of the husband become the legal heir of the property of such person agter wife's death.
6. A widow does not inherit the property of husband; she only enjoys it. At the second marriage, she losses the right to maintenance from the first husband property. However, if there is no son to inherit it, she may become the heir of husband's property.
7. If the children are minor at the time of death of their father; the mother is the rightful guardian of the children and property. But she cannot dispose off the permanent properties like land, house site, pond, etc., of the husband.
8. A widow who has left the house of father-in-law without consent of the husband's family members or who has married a second time cannot be the guardian of the share of properties of husband. If she remains in the joint family, she may ask to include the name of her sons in place of her husband. If there is no objection from the members of husband's family, she may also ask for separate registration in the name of her minor children and become guardian of it.
9. In a joint family, if a joint owner of a property dies, his share should be mutated to the actual heir of such property.
10. If a person dies without a son and if a married daughter also dies before him, leaving son or daughter, the son of his daughter is the heir. In absence of a son to his daughter, her daughter will inherit the propery of her father.
11. If a son dies before the father leaving a son, he will inherit the share of the father. If there is no son, the daughter will inherit it.
12. The heirs of a person dying without repayment of any loan availed, may be held responsible for such loan unless he is found to be bankrupt.
13. The property of the father is inherited by sons of single or different mothers. But an illegimate son, a son of the mother who has not solemnised marriage with *Chumulang* and other social rituals cannot inherit father's property.
14. If a person dies leaving behind movable and immovable properties, his sons are the legal heirs. Since a widow is only allowed to enjoy the properties of husband and she is not permitted to sale the immovable properties like land, house site, fish pond, garden, etc. If there is no son to heir, the brother(s) of the husband will inherit it. In the absence of own brother of husband, the father and in absence of brother and father, his own uncles will inherit it. If there is no heir, such properties should be sold by the concerned *Dajha Vijār Sabhā* and dedicated for his religious rites.
15. If the wife dies before the husband, all her properties are inherited by her husband.

16. In sharing the house site and water pond between the sons, if there is any dispute among them, the *Vijār Sabhā* may distribute it considering the existing value of the property.
17. If there exist dispute over house site, land and pond, between brothers and none want to disown the claim on a particular house site, land and pond, the court will decide it.
18. If there is no property except the house site and pond, the value of property shall be distributed among the heirs.
19. In distributing any property, the sons in whose care parent expired may be given more weightage.
20. On the death of a married son, his son(s) will inherit the share of the father.
21. A lunatic and an infirm son also get equal share of the father's property.
22. The property of unmarried brother is inherited by his own brother(s) on his death.
23. A son who lives separately from his father during his life time can also inherit the property of father. Provided, he must attend the funeral of his father. If he willingly absents himself from the funeral rite, without any legitimate cause, he is not entitled to inherit father's property.
24. A disowned son cannot be heir of father's property. However, such disownment should be approved by a court.
25. If a person dies with more legal wives, all his children inherit properties.
26. Any person may will his properties to any person, or persons, to any organisation during his life-time.
27. It is natural that a son should maintain his own parent, unmarried sisters and minor brothers. If a son fails to maintain it properly, he may be debarred from inheriting parent properties. If a complaint of non-maintanance is reported to a court, the court may direct the son to pay certain percentage of his monthly income to his parent, unmarried sisters and minor brothers.
28. If a person got no son to maintain him/her, the duty to maintain him/her goes to daughter(s)/son in law(s).
29. On marriage with a non-Chakma a Chakma girl loses her right to inherit the property of parent property since she is no more a Scheduled Tribe. As such she cannot own any land in the Tribal Scheduled area.
30. In the Chakma society, a daughter does not inherit the property of the father unless specially willed. They only enjoy it till marriage. But if there is no male son to a father, his properties are inherited by his daughters.
31. The son inherits the properties of father. In the absence of son, the widow daughter-in- law with her son, and unmarried daughter(s) are the heir of a dead father's properties.
32. A post-humus son, adopted son and an illegimate son are sons of a person. The widowed daughter-in-laws, son, grandsons, minor and unmarried daughters are entitled to get maintenance from a deseased property.
33. If a father dies leaving behind sons, his sons get equal share of his property, unless he had disowned any.
34. If a son lives separately during the life time of his father, he may also get equal share of properties.

35. If a person dies before marriage or without heir, his properties are given to his brothers. In absence of brothers, to his sisters and in absence of brother and sister to his uncle and in absence of uncle to his uncles sons.
36. A Chakma widow does not inherit the property of the husband. She only enjoys it till her remarriage or death. But if the husband leaves her behind without heir, she becomes the rightful heir.
37. If a person dies without marriage and without father, mother or brother, except a sister, his sister inherits his properties.
38. If a widower dies in the house of a daughter and the daughter was maintaining him, the claim of such daughter be given more weightage than the sons who are living separately.
39. If a son lives separately from his father and a daughter, her husband and children come to live with parent and look after them properly, the daughter gets equal share of father's property with the mother.
40. If a daughter, in the absence of her brothers' come to live with the widow mother and the widow mother dies in her care and care of her husband and children, they are entitled for inheritance of widow mother's properties.
41. A person dying leaving behind wife and daughter, the widow and the daughter will be his heir.
42. If a grand father dies leaving behind only a grandson through his daughter who was looking after him, her son (grandson) will be the rightful heir of grandfather's property.
43. A person dying a bachelor, and his properties shall be inherited by his own brothers. In absence of brother, by own sister and in absence of own sister by parent.
47. An illegimate son cannot inherit father's property. He cannot also occupy a hereditary social post and cannot be a member of *Dajha Vijār Sobhā*.

14. Pālak Lanhā Sudhom (Adoption)

1. Any person may adopt a child.
2. Any widow or poor family may give a ward to be adopted by others.
3. An orphan may also be adopted as own son/daughter.
4. An adopted son/daughter will enjoy the properties of adopted parent. He/she will also inherit it as the natural children of the adopted father.
5. A son or daughter given for adoption cannot be reclaimed back by his natural parent without justifiable reason.
6. A non-Chakma child may also be adopted.
7. An adopted son will follow the *Gutthi* of natural father. But a non-Chakma child adopted shall follow the *gutthi* of adopted father.
8. An adopted son may adopt the surname/*Gozā* of adopted father.
9. An adoption may be solemnised with the ceremony of *Pānhi Dhālā* in presence of monks and village leaders or in a court.
10. An adopted son/daughter (and daughter's husband) must maintain the adopted parent at their old age.
11. A person adopting a boy/girl must bring up him/her as his own son/daughter. If a person or his wife and children commits atrocities on the adopted son/daughter, they are liable for punishment.

15. Sambut Kabalā (Will of Property)

1. A person may will his property to any person.
2. A person attaining the age of 21 years may execute a will.
3. A person may modify a will during lifetime.
4. A will of latest date will be operative.
5. In willing a property for a minor, an infirm, a lunatic, the conditions of mutation, the operation of the property and change of ownership should be clearly indicated.
6. A will may be executed in a court or in presence of village leaders.
7. A copy of will should be given to local *Dajha Vijār Sab* or Court.
8. A whole or part of property may be willed.
9. A will is operative only after the death of the person executing such will.
10. A will may be written in own hand or caused to be written by others. In case, it is written through others, the signature of the writer and three other witnesses are necessary.
11. In absence of a will the witness of the wife and any other persons, if expressed at death bed may be accepted as will. Provided that such a witness cannot be a beneficiary of such will.

16. Jādat Bharāna Sudom (Induction of a Non-Chakma into Chakma)

The Chakma Society follows Patriarchal system. As such, any non-Chakma marrying a Chakma man or boy automatically becomes a Chakma. In case of Chakma female, as per traditional custom, if they marry a non-Chakma, they automatically loss their identity of Chakma and enter into husband's communitym and loss their tribal identity. As such their children become non-Chakma.

As per law, a non tribal cannot own any land or immovable properties in the protected areas and Sixth Scheduled areas and hence their non-Chakma husbands need to be inducted into Chakma by following certain rules as per tradition. Earlier when a non-Chakma wanted to become a Chakma, he had to offer a feast inviting the village leaders, elders and *Bujho-Kheejhā*. After the feast was over, he would place his request before the *Kārbari* with the promise to become a Buddhist and abide by all tradition and customs of the Chakmas. The *Kārbāri* will then fix a date to decide on the matter and invite the *'Dach Murukbi*, to decide on the request. The *Dach Murukbi* consist of old people and married people who had offered *Khānā Poi* at their marriage. Unmarried, illegimate and person who had not offered *Khānā Poi* at their marriage are debared to take part in any social matter and decision-making. (They may be called only as a complainant, accused, witness or as a volunteer). When the majority approved such induction, such a decsion was sent to the *Dewan* for approval. If the concerned Dewan approves such proposal, he may consult the *Raja* on the matter. If approved, such a person was asked to become *Moisyang* for at least seven days and inducted into the community in the Goā of his wife with a new name of *gutthi* (genus) in his community name or in his personal name or any of his act or feat.

At present, in CADC Mizoram it may be done by following similar procedure. A person willing to be inducted into the Chakma society may put his request with promise to accept *Buddhism* and follow the tradition and customs of the Chakma society before a *Kārbāri* or the President, Village Council of the concerned village. The concerned *Kārbari* or VCP will discuss the matter by calling a general meeting of the *Dach Murukbi* and and if the majority of the *Dach Murukbi* accepts it, it should be sent to the CEM, CADC with detailed report for approval. If the CADC

approves it, such a person may be asked to become a *Moinsyāng* for at least seven days and admitted into Chakma in the *Gozā* of the wife with a different name of *gutthi*.

17. Miscellaneous

1. A family programme like birth, marriage, death, *Dharma*, treatment of a sick, are regarded as social programme. So, all should voluntarily assist such family without asking. Offering of *Bhāt Majā*, participation in a *Māleiā, Māleiā, Dajha Kām, etc.*, are also social duty.
2. In the Chakma Society, the monk occupies the highest position. Everybody should vow before a monk and show respect.
3. In a *Sālijhi Vijār*, the *Bibādi* may be asked to pay some amount as *Khwa Bhānghoni* being extra-expenditure for tea, etc., during the *Sālijhi Vijār* if he is found guilty.
4. A family may prepare wine for own consumption and for offering to guest. But one should consume or offer one *Jaghā* (peg) in a *Khāp* (bamboo cup of the volume about 120 ml) before meal. At best one should take two *khāp* only in the name of *Pet Tādānā* (literally to warm up the stomach).
5. *Griha Kālin Griha* or breach of family peace is regarded as a grave offence in the Chakma society. The following acts are regarded as breach of family's peace:
   (a) To keep illegal relation with a married person,
   (b) To spread romour against a married couple or person to cause divorce and separation,
   (c) To instigate for separation of a married couple,
   (d) A non-Chakma committing an offence in the Chakma area should be tried in presence of members from his society.
6. A Chakma committing an offence in the non-Chakma area should be tried in presence of Chakmas. Preferably, at least a member from his village *Dajha Vijār Sabhā*.
7. A request of non-Chakma village council to apprehend a Chakma culprit should be honoured.
8. Likewise, a requisition of a *Chākma Vijār Sabhā* should also be honoured by the non-Chakma village council.
9. In the absence of any proof, the *Dajha Vijār Sabhā* may resort to *Sabat* (oath). In that case, the oath taker reserves the right to ask the opposite party for oath.
10. It is illegal to enter a *Kājāri* room under intoxicated mood. Such a person may be instantly fined and ousted even by using force.
11. Contempt of any court is a serious offence.
12. A complaint should be in written form and accompanied by required fees as may be prescribed from time to time.
13. A written complaint with requisite fees is known as '*Najar-Talap*'.
14. A guilty is liable to pay court expenditure called '*Khwa Bhāngani*'. In case both the accused and complainant are found guilty, both are liable to pay court expenditure as may be fixed by the court from time to time.
15. A guilty is liable to pay the court fees if the allegation is proved and the complainant gets back the *Najar*. If the allegation is not proved, the complainant should bear the

court expenditure in addition to *lājo bhār* to the accused as may be fixed by the concerned court.

16. On the demand by the complainant and accused, copy of court proceedings must be supplied on payment of fees as may be fixed by court from time to tome but it should not be more than double the price of papers, writing and printing.
17. Except the court fees, court expenditure is not required to be paid in a court where a regular judge/magistrate presides over a trial.
18. In case of appeal, the appellate fees should also be deposited along with the application as per rate, as may be fixed from time to time.
19. On receipt of any court fees, a receipt should be issued by the concerned court.
20. A wife who does not want to return home may be taken home by her husband even by applying force. He should also be helped by others to get back his wife.
21. Any person who shows disrespect to elders, sings *Ubho Geet* (lascivious songs) in public, openly talks about sex, and shows person is said to have committed *Beatdobi*.
22. The Chakmas believe in *Mandar, Jādu, Tonā, Āng, Chāllān, Dajhā, Phee, Bolā, Duch, Khumho, Bhārbwa, Ek Garanhi, Phārak-Goronhi*, etc., A person found responsible for causing harm with *Mandar, Jadu, Tona, Chāllān, Phee*, etc., is liable to correct them and also receive punishment in the form of fine, bearing the expenditure for correction and also to pay compensation and undergo jail term as may be fixed by the court.
23. *Mandar* is a mantra or magical chant used to cure any ailment or to cause harm.
24. *Jādu* is corrosive substances administered to cause harm.
25. *Tonā* is the use of magical rite on the supposed enemy or spirit to deactivate power or to cause harm.
26. *Āng* is megical designs used in a *challan* or in a talisman for protection and causing harm.
27. *Chāllān* is rite with magical writing applied to depute spirit to cause harm.
28. *Bāān* literally means an arrow. In this context, it is the application of magic to cause harm to an enemy.
29. *Duch* is an offence or offensive place believed to be haunted by spirits.
30. *Khumo* is certain prohibitions observed by certain *gutthis*.
31. *Bhārbwa* is offensive position of a house or place of cultivation.
32. A *Phee* is a misfortune acquired on seeing certain things and certain happening like *Gui Marā* (seeing a dead monitor lizard), *Dur Marā* (seeing a dead tortoise), *Gharat Lwo Porānā* (finding blood without source in a house), *Gutthitthun Bāghey Kheley* (if any one is attacked by a tiger from the *gutthi*) *Kugur Chāla Ugure Udhonā* (climbing of a dog on the roof), *Chālot Chil Porānā* (sitting of kite on the roof), *Sigirā Chālat Porānāā* sitting of hawk on the roof), *Sobon Chālat Palhe* (sitting of vulture on the roof) *Gharat Sāp Udhonhā* (entry of snake in the house), *Kurhoi Naram Badā Pārānā* (laying of soft egg by a hen), *Jāmā Bodā Pārānā* (laying of double egg by a hen), etc., and entry of new born mother without *Kajai Pānhi* in others' house, entry of bride or groom without *Byāh Suth Berān* and *Byāh Bur*, entry of a person from *Hār Bhājhā* without first entering the dead family house, entry of king in a common man house, etc., are of thirty-three kinds. A *Phee* should be rid off with *Bur Pārā*.

33. A *Balā* is acquired impurity due to certain happening like occurrence of birth, occurrence of death, marriage, etc. A *Balā* may be rid off with *Mādhā Dhwa or Bur Pārā.*
34. A *Dajhā* is the misfortune acquired due to planetary position. A *Dajhā* should be inactivated with *Chumulang* and *Bur Pārā* only.
35. A place, house or person may be purified/sanctified by sprinkling *Gheelyā Kajai Panhee or Mādhā Dhwa.*
36. Causing harm to any social properties like – school, temple, market, road, river ghat, water pond and well, river and stream, forest, cremation ground, bridge, banyan and peepul tree, electric and telephone wires and posts, water pipes and points are also be treated as commission of offence.
37. The *Dach Murukbi* may prescribe contribution from every family like cash and rice from every family where death has occurred or in any other programmes like marriage, birth, a religious programme.
38. A person committing more than one offence may be tried many times for every offence and he may be punished on every count.
39. A person convicted to undergo imprisonment and fine and cannot pay the fine will undergo imprisonment as may be fixed by the court on the basis of prevalent wage rate.
40. An elder do not commit any offence if he slaps a younger for preventing any commission of offence or if in his opinion the younger has committed any wrong.
41. *A Kadhā* (abusive language), *Ku Kadhā* (foul language), and *A Jabā* (curseful language) should not be uttered. No *Begeyhā Kadhā (lascivious language)* should be uttered in public.
42. A male slapping or attacking a female other than his own relative may be charged for molestation.
43. No woman should not use any abusive language called *Ku Kadhā, A Kadhā, Ajabā* against a male. If such a language is used, the male has the right to slap her. In such case, he does not commit any outrage to her modesty.
44. An unknown person and an official should be called in the respected 'plural' form.
45. A *Jāmei*, a *Shohr*, a *Surhee*, a *Jeghat*, a *Bo*, a *Labai* should be called in respected 'plural' form by a male and a *Sohr, Bhijhur, Jāmei, Bhona Jāmei* by the female.
46. A son-in-law who gets beating from the father-in-law or mother-in-law without any fault is entitled to receive a *Khāru* made of silverfrom the concerned.
47. Wine is integral part of the Chakma society. It is used to appease deities, as a medicine, to invite the soul of a dead-on *Dharma*, to entertain a guest, as a present for seeking pardon, as a respect with a *Pān Bādā* and for personal consumption, in a feast at marriage, after death rite, etc. So wine may be made at home for these purposes. But a person should not drink more than two *Khāp* (a bamboo cylinder cup of the volume about 120 ml) in the form of *Pet Tādānā.*
48. Prostitution is prohibited in the Chakma Society.
49. No person should loiter, commit mischief, or quarrel or fight under the state of intoxication. Such a person may be fined.
50. A non-Chakma, marrying a Chakma and who adopts the Chakma custom and religion and do not go back to his community may be admitted into Chakma with the approval of

Dajha Vijār Sabhā by throwing a *Khānā*. In such case his descendents will get the identity of their mother's *Gozā* with a different name of *Gutthi* as in *Bhudho Gutthi, Bāngāla Gutthi, Magha Gutthi, Tibiryā Guttthi*, or in the name of the community or of any act or feat of the father.

51. The children of a Chakma mother whose father is a non-Chakma, if remains with the Chakma mother and adopts the culture and religion of the Chakmas may be admitted into Chakma. In such case they will be identified in the *Gozā* of their mother and they will form a new *Gutthi* in the name of community of their father or in the name of a feat, act that their father performed or peculiarity of the father.
52. As per custom, a person selects an area of jungle for making a jhum and puts a sign by clearing a small area at the visible road side or other easily visible place by posting a bamboo or a small tree stamp to the height of chest and puts a cross at the top by splitting and also place a lump of soil. Such a sign is called *Dhāchsyā Lāgārā* or *Sāgā*. Such a sign declares ownership on such land. If any person try to make a jhum on that plot ignoring such sign, he violates the customary rule and liable to be fined.
53. A *Sāgā* may also be used on finding a bee hive in the jungle with a view to collect it later, on finding a log, on making a *Jhoghā* (habitation for fish or shrimp) on the bank of a river, on a pond in the stream, while flowing a unmanned logs and bamboo rafters in the river, on a plot of land on the bank of river for vegetable gardening, etc. Such a *Sāgā* declares that there is a owner of it and others should not interfere with it.
54. A person going to a girl's father with a marriage proposal is also said to have put a *Dhāchsyā Lāgārā* or *Sāgā* on the marrigeable girl. He is also said to have done *Sāngu Dwar Band* (closer of entrance of a *Sāngu* the entry climbing ladder). Therefore, it is customary that no other party should go with marriage proposal for that girl unless the first party has been denied or he has dropped the proposal.
55. It is a custom that a baby should not be laid on other baby's *Dhulon* (cradle).
56. The Chakmas regard the kernel of a *gheelyā*, *Kajai* and *Ābedhi Sudho* (thread spun by a girl who has not attained puberty, i.e., who has got no period) as the most sacred things.
57. A female who has attained puberty should never go over a male.
58. A *Tigini* (tuff of hair maintained on the head) worn by any person, should never be cut off without the consent of the keeper. Since such a *tigini* is kept as a sign of vow to become a *chāmenhi* in the temple.
59. A male cannot change the *gutthi*. He must belong to the *gutthi* of natural father.
60. A *Gozā* may be changed after permanently shifting from one *Gozā* to another. Since change of *Gozā* is change of own leader only.
61. In a *Meichbān*, either a *Melā, Jāmeiā, Dharma* or any other arrangement of feast, the host engages the *Bāwāchsis* with one bottle of wine and a chicken. In a marriage, they are given money, additionally. But that money they do not spend for their own use but to present at the time of blessing of the married couple.
62. The *Pochchonhees* are also invited with a bottle of wine in a feast.
63. The *Bawachsis* and *Pochchonhees* are not supposed to leave the house of the host since they are responsible for the smooth celebration of the occasion. If they leave without completing their duties, are liable to be fined.

64. The Chakma king cannot enter the house of a general public. Since, it is tradionally believed that a king is a God sent one with more powers and divine weight. And a general public cannot bear such powers and weight. So a general public must be immediately promoted to the post of *Kheejhā* at the entry of a king in his house to enable to bear the weight of such power or the king should pay the expenditure for *Bur Pārā* to rid off from *Māng Phee* (*Mang*, a king in Burmese, *Phee*, acquired misfortune).
65. A person causing *Phee* or *Balā* must bear the expenditure of *Mādhā Dhwa* (to get purified by washing the head with mantra chanted water)/*Bolā Kādā* (to inactivate the misfortune)/*Bur Pārā* (to make offering in lieu).
66. A person causing *Bhārbwa* should rectify the position.
67. A *Dharma Kudum*, adopted with religious rites (like burning candle, testing blood of each other, through dedication with dripping of water in front of a monk reciting religious discourses) should be given more weight than a natural relation.
68. Causing impurity to a sacred place like temple, school, place of worship is prohibited. A person committing such offence is fined and asked to clean and sweep such place. He is also asked to sanctify it by spraying *Kajai panhee*.
69. Forcing or secretly administering anything one do not like is prohibited. However, it may be done to save life.
70. Calling by name, that one dislike is prohibited. However, if any person earns such name by an act or feat is permissible.
71. Disrespecting any guest is prohibited. A guest should be provided available provisions like *Pan, bidi, dābā dhundo, mat, jagarhā/kānjee* and *bhāt* with *māch, herā* and other *gam tyan*.
72. A traveller seeking shelter for one night should not be denied. He should be provided available food and drink.
73. Meat of a big animal hunted should be shared with at least people from three *gutthis*. It is better to distribute among the villagers as *ghar bhāk* as in the olden days.
74. Young people are expected to show respect to elders by vowing before them and touching their feet.
75. The elder are expected to bless young by touching their heads.
76. The *Dāch Murukbi* of own village reserves the right to punish an offender for an offence committed in other village in addition to punishment given in the village of place of offence for earning bad name for the village.
77. There is a custom in the Chakma society to keep *Gābhur* (helper/servant) to do necessary works in a family. A *Gābhur* may be *Mhāch Thigā* (monthly) or *Bajhar Lākkwa* (yearly). A *Gābhur* should not be ill-treated and be provided food, medicine and dress. It is the responsibility of the head of the family for the proper treatment of a *Gābhur*. He should be treated like a family member.
78. It is illegal to take up a case of other villager committed in other village, for trial.
79. In case of elopement for marriage, the trial should be held in the village of the girl/woman. The first trial of a case should be held at the village under which the offence was committed.

80. A person who does not obey the decision of *Dājhā Vijār sabhā* losses the right to live in the society. He/she may be driven out of the society or made Poiya *Bārhā/Jāda Bārhā*. In such a case nobody. Even his/her relatives also cannot keep any relation with him/her. If any body keep relation, he/she may also be made *Poiya Bārhā/Jāda Bārhā*. However, appeal is permissible at higher courts against such decision.

81. It is suggested that imprisonment of a convict against non-payment of fine should be calculated per day at half day wage of existing wage rate of the locality.

18. Punishment (Shāchti)

A state or society prescribes certain punishment for violation of certain established rules. A state or society make such rules for peaceful co-existence, bring development and peace in the community and also to ensure guarantee of rights and priviledges of other members. Violation of such rules is an act of encroachment to others' rights, denial of others to enjoy their rights and bring chaos in the society. Hence, punishment was prescribed to deter violation of others rights.

The punishment prescribed for any violation of a social rule in the Chakma society is very stringent. That's why crime rate in the Chakma inhabited area was very low. The punishment was awarded in four categories. For the first category, the fine was from 5 rupees to 20 rupees, for the second category the fine was 20 rupees to 40 rupees and for the third category the fine was from 40 rupees to 60 rupees and in extreme cases up to 75/- rupees for the habitual offenders. There was also corporeal punishment. Captain T.H. Lewing observed– "Crime of any sort is rare amongst the Chakmas; the most frequent misdemeanours are those connected with women, and for these a certain scale of fines is allotted. The said fines are divided between the Chief of the tribe and the head man or Dewan." If a man runs away with another man's wife, he has to repay to the injured husband all the former expenses of marriage, and is fined 40 to 60 rupees. Should near relative (within certain prohibited degree) fall in love with each other, it is usual for both of them to pay a fine of 50 rupees and corporal punishment is also administered' page 100, Wild races of South Eastern India. We also find in the *Chandabi Bārha Mhāch* that she was fined 50/- rupees for unable to prove her allegation against *Nuaram. Chāndabi* was also charged 140 rupees as *Dābhā* for marriage with *Phul Chand.* Such a punishment was awarded before 1870. In 1870 the Statistical Account of Bengal states. "The price of labour of the hill-men during November, December, and January may be stated $7^{1/2}$d a day. During the cultivation season, local labour is not obtainable even at the rate of 2s. a day, and the coolies of Chittagong District have to be engaged: their average daily wage are $6^{3/4}$d" p. 76 *A Statistical Account of Bengal.* Which means one day wage was =7 Paise 2 durums (*Kānā paisā*), and 6 sillings 3 drums (6 paise 3 *Kānā Paisā*) since *4 drums* equal to one *Silling* and four *sillings* equal to one *Ānnā* in 1870.

Money was very dear during that period. It may be clear from the popular rhyme sung by the *Bhadha Dāghi of Barbwa Gozā* that–***'Tengāt Bālā Teichswa, Kāmei Ānhilha Bichsw, Geingkhulee Sunilha Reittho'*** (wages of twenty-three days labour is rupee one, Biswa did earned it, and heard *Geingkhulee* ballad whole night). That, "there was one Biswa, belonged to *Bhadha gutthi,* of *Barbwa Gozā*, He earned one rupee by working for twenty three days and listened with it *Geingkhulee*, the *ballad,* a whole night'. Which means the value of one rupee during that time was twentythree days of labour and at present rate of wages rate - 23 days × 300/-rupees=Rs. 6900/-. In the 1930s a person could earn only **two to three** ***Annas*** after working a whole day my father. In 1966, the wage for a day work was **three** rupees and in 1973 it was Rs. 4.25/-.

Therefore, considering the value of money during 1870, the value of one rupee was eight and half days to nine and half days and before that twenty-three days of labour. Leaving aside

everything, if we take the average of about 8 days wage, the value of one rupee in the olden days will be 2400/- rupees at the present-day wage valuation of Rs. 300 rupees per day. So, if we still charge the old rate of money fine, there is no logic and it will turn out to be a farce instead of a punishment. Since now a day some senior official get more than Rs. 1,00,000/- as salary per month which means more than Rs. 3333/- per day. If he is fined only 50/- rupees for a social offence, what will be the affect to him? Since the motto of awarding punishment is to deter others from committing and repeating of such act in future and also affect the offender's life and to compensate loss or harm caused to a victim. Considering this fact, it is recommended that a punishment for violation of any law should at least be determined with the rate of prevailing wages rate. And hence, taking the average of nine days wages for one rupee, the Chakma customary law offenders should be punished as under:

I. During Vijār or Trial

1. For leaving *Vijār Sabhā* or Court Room without permission from the presiding offcer, a fine of 45 days prevailing wages to 90 days wages.
2. For causing quarrel, fighting and other disturbance in the *Vijār Sabhā* or Court Room a fine of 45 rupees to 135/ day wages.

II. Birth (Janam)

1. For entry in others house without *Kajai Pānhi*, the expenditure for *Bur Pārā* and a fine of 90 rupees to 180 days wages.
2. For non-payment of prescribed present to the *Pādhu Ojhā*, and if the *Pādhu Ojhā* has not wipped it off, the prescribed presents to the *Pādhu Ojhā* and a fine of 40 to 120 days wages.
3. For torturing a pregnant woman, compelling, her to do hazardous work, etc., a fine of 90 to 180 days wages and to undergo an imprisonment for six months to one year. If any injury has been caused to that pregnant woman, the expenditure of treatment and also *Khadi Puran* should be paid by the offender as may be fixed by the *Vijār Sabhā* or court.

III. *Melā* (Marriage)

1. If a person objects a *Jadan* without any legitimate cause he may be asked to pay *Lāja Bhār* which may extend to pay 90 to 180 days wages and to pay a fine of 90 to 180 days wages.
2. A marriage between *Garbā Kudum* cannot be held. If such a marriage has been conducted, the couple should be immediately separated and they should be fined as a *Sinyeli* offender.
3. The helper of marriage between *Garbā Kudum* may be fine a sum of 270 to 450 days wages.
4. The *Ojhā* who knowingly conducts a marriage between *Garbā Kudum* should be barred to conduct any more marriage in his life time. He may also be fined a sum of 320 days to 480 days wages.
5. A couple who does not obey the verdict of *Vijār Sabhā* may be out-casted. The person or family who keep relation with an out-caste person may also be out-casted. In an extreme case, he/they may be driven away from the village.
6. A married woman cannot marry a second time without obtaining *Chhur Kāgoch* from the husband or court. Or she may be punished as per *Sinyeli*.

7. After Court Marriage, if a couple do not perform the social rituals like *Jadan, Chumulang, Byah Suth Bhanga, Khāā Poi*, it should be taken as commission of *Sinyeli* offence. As such they are liable for punishment for *Sinyeli*. Or they may be made *Poiya Bārhā/Jāda Bārhā*. Since if a person do not obey the rules of the society or does not observe the social rites, he/she has got no right to remain in the society.
8. After *Tin Pur*, if any party refuses a marriage without any legitimate cause, such a party is liable for payment of *Lāja Bhār* which may extend to 100 days wages and a fine which may extend to 150 days wages.
9. After *Sāngudwar Band*, if a second party put marriage proposal for the same girl, the second party is liable to pay *Lāja Bhār* to the first party which may extend to 50 days wages and a fine which may extend to 100 days wages.
10. A marriage without parent or guardian will be treated as an illegal marriage. As such, liable for punishment under *Sinyeli*.
11. A Chakma girl or woman eloping with a non-Chakma losses the right even to socialise with a Chakma unless they have accepted Chakma social punishment. Even the parent should not keep any relation with such girl or woman. If anybody keep relation with such girl or woman such a person may be out-casted. Likewise, a Chakma boy or man eloping with a non-Chakma should also accept the social customs of such community if he wants to socialise with them.

IV. *Maran* (Death)

1. A person found showing disrespect to a dead person may be fined which may extend to 45 days wages to 180 days wages.
2. A person found causing trouble, quarrel, fighting in a dead house may be fined which may extend to 45 to 125 days wages.
3. A person found entering other's house directly from the cremation ground after burning of a dead or after *Hār Bhājā* may be asked to pay the expenditure of *Burpārā* to such house-holder and also to pay a fine which may extend to 45 to 145 days wages.

V. *Chhinyeli* (Unlawful sex)

1. A *Chhinyeli* between a boy and a girl of *Khellyā Kudum* may be fined with a pig of 3 to 4 *mhut* (fist measure) and cash which may extend to 180 days wages for the boy and a cock and cash which may extend to 135 days wages.
2. A *Chhinyeli* between a girl and a married man may be a fined a pig of 4 to 5 *mhut* (fist measure) and cash which may extend to 360 days wages for male and a cock and a fine of cash which may extend to 225 days wages for the girl.
3. A *Chhinyeli* between a boy and a married woman may be a fined with a 3 to 4 *mhut* (fist measure) of pig, and cash which may extend to 135 days wages for male and a fine of 3 to 4 *mhut* (fist measure) of pig and a fine of cash which may extend to 135 days wages for the married woman.
4. *Chhinyeli* between married of *Khellyā Kudum* may be fined with up to five *mhut* (fist measure) of pig and cash which may extend to 450 days wages for male and four fist measure of pig and fine up to 360 days wages for female.
5. A habitual *Chhinyeli* offender may be fined up to six *mhut* (fist measure) of pig and up to 540 days of wages for the male and up to five *mhut* (fist measure) of pig and cash up to 450 days of wages for female.

6. A *Chhinyeli* between unmarried *Garbā Kudum* may be fined 4 to 5 fist measure of pig and cash which may extend to 360 days of wages for the male, and a pig of 3 to 4 *mhut* (fist measure) with fine which may extend to 270 days of wages for the unmarried female. They may also be asked to undergo *Jhendrā*.
7. A *Chhinyeli* between an unmarried girl and a married *Garbā Kudum* may be punished with a fine of pig which may be up to six fist measure and cash which may extend to 450 days wages for the male and a fine of up to four fist measure of pig with cash which may extend to 360 days of wages for the girl. They may also be subjected to undergo *Jhendrā*.
8. A *Chhinyeli* between an unmarried boy and a married *Gārbā Kudum* may be fined with pig which measure may be up to five fist measure and a fine of cash up to 360 days of wages for both. They may also be subjected to undergo *Jhendrā*.
9. A *Chhinyeli* between married *Garbā Kudum* may be fined a pig up to 6 fist measure of pig and a cash up to 540 days of wages for the male and pig up to five fist measure of pig and chash up to 450 days of wages for the female. They may also be subjected to undergo *Jhendrā*.
10. Habitual offender of *Chhinyeli* between *garbā Kudum* may be fined up to seven fist measure of pig and cash up to 630 to 720 days of wages. They may also be out-casted and driven away from the village.
11. After marriage, if a relation is proved to be between *Garbā Kudum*, the couple should be immediately separated. The couple is also fined as a *Chhinyeli* offender which may extend to a pig up to five fist measure and cash 450 days of wages for the male and a pig up to four fist measure of pig and cash up to 360 days of wages for the female. The parent/guardian of such couple may also be fined up to 360 days each of wages. The *Ojhā* may be fined up to 270 days of wages and the *Sāwālhā* up to 180 days of wages. The *Ojhā* may also be debarred from performing marriage ritual in his life time if it is proved that he had knowingly solemnised the marriage.
12. If an unmarried girl or widow becomes pregnant and the relation is proved with a married man, such a male may be fined a pig up to five *mhut* (fist measure) and a fine up to 225 days of wages. He may also be asked to pay maintenance to the girl or widow and the child for a certain period. He may also be asked to bear the fine of the girl or widow.
13. Except in a *Balājuri* case, if the unmarried pregnant female cannot prove the responsibility of any person, she may be fined a pig up to four fist measure and a cash up to 270 days wages.
14. Except in a *Balājuri* case, if a person is accused to be responsible for such pregnancy and which could not be proved, such a person reserves the right to claim *Lāja Bhār* from the pregnant female and she may also be fined up to 100 days of wages.
15. If any male or female spreads a rumour about illegal affairs of any male or female, and if it is not proved, such a romour monger may be fined which extend to 180 days of wages.
16. If a rumour of illegal relation is proved, the rumour monger may be awarded by the court from the fine realised from the offender as may be pleased by the *Vijār Sabhā*.
17. If an unmarried girl and unmarried boy elope for marriage, on finding them, they are immediately separated and punished under *Chhinyeli* for the period they have remained together, illegally.

18. The helper of elopement in case of *Khellya Kudum* may be fined with up to 180 days of wages if it is with unmarried, 270 days of wages if it is with a married and unmarried and 360 days of wages if it is between married persons. In case of *Gorba Kudum*, the helper may be fined up to 270 days of wages if it is between boy and a girl, up to 360 days of wages if between married and unmarried and 450 rupees if it is with married persons.
19. After *Chhara-Chhari*, if a couple is found to live together without *Jadan*, *Chumulang*, etc., they may be fined under *Chhinyeli*.
20. A person found to issue *Gabalā* and if he cannot prove the fact written in the *Gabalā*, may be fined up to 180 days of wages.
21. An *Ugil* who helps and abets an illegal relation is fined more than the *Sinyeli* offenders.
22. *Āpta Kubuli Sugor*: Any person, who boasts of himself of having illegal sex with any girl or woman, has to prove his relation. If proved, they will be punished under *Sinyeli*. If not proved, he has to pay the fine of a pig and cash called *Āpta Kubuli sugor* as per married and unmarried *Sinyeli*. He may also be asked to pay *Lāja Bhār* to the alleged girl/woman/boy/man.

VI. Phouchdari (criminal)

1. *Āghāt Garānhā* (Voluntarily causing hurt): Any person, who causes hurt voluntarily, may be fined, if it is a simple injury, up to 360 days of wages and if it is grievious injury up to 540 days of wages. The offender may also be asked to pay compensation as may be fixed by the *Vijār Sabhā* in addition to bear the expenditure of treatment.
2. *Āghun Bājhei Denā* (Setting of fire): The offender of arson is asked to pay compensation double the amount of property destroyed in addition to fine which may extend up to 360 days of wages.
3. *Bhejāl Milānā* (Adulteration): The offender who adulterates food and other items may be fined up to 450 days of wages.
4. *Bichsech Bhāngā* (Breach of trust): A person found to commit breach of trust may be fined up to 450 days of wages.
5. *Chukti Bhāngā* (Breach of contract): A person found to commit breach of contract may be fined up to 270 days of wages.
6. *Dāgedi* (Dacoity): Dacoity was handled by regular police from the time of British Administration.
7. *Rāhājāni* (Robbery). A robber is fined upto 450 days of wages in addition to return of and value of double of unreturned property.
8. *Dhuri Nejānā* (kidnapping): Except for kidnapping for marriage, other kidnapping cases are handled by regular police. In case of kidnapping for marriage, the offender is fined up to 360 days of wages in addition to punishment under *Sinyeli* for the period they have stayed together without marriage. He may also be asked to pay the fine of the female. The helper may also be fined up to 270 days of wages.
9. *Damānhā* (Intimidation): The intimidator is asked to sign a *Mujuligā* (Bond of Good Behaviour) for keeping good behaviour and if anything happens as per intimidation, the intimidator is held responsible. He may also be fined which may extend to 270 days wages.

10. *Khun Garibhār Chānhā* (Attempt to Murder): Attempt to murder is handled by regular police.
11. *Mābat Thagānā* (Cheating in weight and measure): A person who is found to have cheated others in any weight and measure is fined which may extend to 270 days of wages. He may also be asked to pay compensation double the value of the thing cheated.
12. *Mān Hāni* (Defamation): A *Mān Hāni* (defamation) case may be settled by ordering to pay compensation to the person defamed as may be fixed by the *Vijār Sabhā.*
13. *Mārāmāri* (Fighting): In a case of *mārāmāri* (fighting), the first attacker is asked to pay more fines than the second attacker which may extend to 180 days of wages. If any injury is caused, the person responsible is asked to bear the expenditure of treatment.
14. *Marana* (Beating): A person who beats other is fined which may extend up to 270 days of wages and he may also be asked to pay compensation to the victim and also bear expenditure of treatment, if any.
15. *Mijhyā Pramān* (False evidence): A person found to have deposed false evidence may be fined which may extend up to 360 days of wages. He may also be asked to pay compensation to the victim who had suffered due to such false evidence.
16. *Mijhyā Sākkhi* (False witness): A person found to have become false witness may be fined which may extend up to 360 days of wages. He may also be asked to pay compensation to the victim who has suffered due to such false witness.
17. *Phouchdāri Garānhā* (Assault): A person, who voluntarily assaults any person is said have committed *phauchdāri*. A *Phauchdār* is fined which may extend up to 180 days of wages.
18. *Rājadruha* (Offences against the state): Offence against the state is handled by regular police.
19. *Sarajantra* (Conspiracy): A conspirator is fined which may extend up to 270 days pf wages. He may also be asked to compensate the harm caused with such conspiracy which may be double the value of loss.
20. *Sambut Nachta* (Damage of Property): Any person, found to have committed mischief and damaged property, may be asked to pay a fine which may extend up to 270 days of wages. He may also be asked to compensate with double the amount of damage caused.
21. *Sudhar Mārānā* (Criminal trespass): A person who enters other's property, without the consent of the owner is said to have committed *Sudhar Mārānā.* Such a person is fined which may extend up to 270 days of wage.
22. *Chur* (Theft): A thief is fined which may be up to 270 dayswages. He may also be asked to pay double the amount of unrecovered stolen property.
23. *Chura Jinich Lānhā* (Receiving stolen property): A person who knowingly receives stolen property is liable to pay a fine which may be up to 180 days wages in addition to return of the property.
24. *Thagānā* (Cheating): A cheat is fined which may extend up to 270 days of wages. He may also be asked to compensate double the amount of cheating.
25. *Gorhā Bājhei Dena* (Abetment): An abettor is punished as per the offender of the crime committed.

26. *Jāli* (Forgery): A person found to have committed *Jali* (forgery) may be fined up to 360 days wages in addition to payment of compensation for the damage caused with such *Jali*.

VII. Miscelleneous

1. A *Bāwachcsi* who runs away from the house of feast without completion of duty may be fined up to 90 days wages.
2. A female who is found to run brothel may be fined up to 450 days wages and she may also be ousted from the village if she continues the trade. If it is a male up to 630 days wages.
3. A female who use foul language (*Ku Kadhā, A Jabā, A Kadhā* and *Begeyhā Kadhā*) against a male may be fined which may be up to 50 days wages.
4. A person beating up his wife may be asked to sign a *Mujuliga* (bond of goog behaviour) and may also be fined up to 90 days wages.
5. A person causing *Bālā* to others may be asked to pay the expenditure of *Balā Kādā* ritual in addition to fine which may be up to 90 days wages.
6. A person causing *Bhārbwa* should immediately rectify the position of *Bhārbwā*. On denial, he may be fined up to 180 days wages. His erection may also be forcively removed/dismantled.
7. A person entering a *Kājāri* (Court room) in an intoxicated mood may be fined up to 180 days of wages.
8. A person found loitering in public place in a drunken state and causing nuisance may be fine up to 90 days wages.
9. A person found to compel anybody to violate a *Khumho* (certain prohibitory act observed traditionally by certain *gutthi* people) may be fined up to 180 days wages and bear the expenditure of rite he has to perform.
10. A person found violating a *Sāgā* may be fined up to 90 days wages.
11. A woman found to have put her baby on other baby's cradle may be fined up to 90 days wages in addition to expenditure she may have to bear for *Mralā Pujo* ritual.
12. Anybody found to cause harm, injury, damage, etc., with *Jādu, Tonā Chāllān, Mandar, Āng*, etc., may be fined which may extend to 360 days wages. He may also be asked to make good the damage caused and bear the expenditure of treatment that may be required. He may also be asked to compensate such injured person. If irrecoverable harm is caused, he may be tried again for such damage. He may also be awarded imprisonment as may be fixed by the Court. The helper of user of *Jādu, Tonā, Chāllān* and *Mandar* may also be equally tried.
13. Anybody found to torture his children inhumanly may be fined up to 180 days wages.
14. Causing harm to any social property may be fined which may be up to 270 days wages. The offender may also be asked to do good the damaged properties.
15. Causing impurity to a sacred place may be fined up to 150 days wages and he may also be asked to clean and purify it.
16. Contempt of Court may be fined up to 270 days of wages.
17. Cutting a *Tigini* without the consent of the wearer may be fined up to 90 days wages.

18. Ill-treater of a *Gābhur* may be fined which may extend to 100 days wages and compensation if any harm is caused.
19. Ill-treater of adopted child may be fined up to 360 days wages and pay the expenditure of treatment if any or compensate the damage. The child may be given to other interested adoptor.
20. Secret administrator of food one does not like may be fined up to 180 days wages.
21. *Shandi Bhanga* (Breach of family peace): A person who caused breach of family peace is fined which may be up to 360 days of wages. He is also asked to sign a *Mujuligā* (bond of good behaviour).
22. The *Pochchonhees* who leave a house of feast before completion of duty may be fined up to 90 days wages.
23. Violator of a *Mujuliga* may be fined up to 180 days wages for the first offence and the fine may increase for every subsequent violation.

VIII. Scope of Amendment

Certain outdated provisions of this his Traditional Customary Laws may be abolished and new provisions may also be introduced to cope with the demand of time by the Chakma Autonomous District Council, Misoram by passing in its session.

Notes

1. "Lewin, Wild Races of South Eastern India, p. 100, Firma KLM, Calcutta, Reprint.
2. Bankim Krishna Dewan Bankim Krishana Dewan, *Chakma Jatiya Bichar Paddati*, Tribal Cultural Institute, Rangamati, 1990, p. 125.

10

Food and its Preparation

The staple food of the Chakma is rice which is grown in their jhum and now-a-days in the plain fields called *Bhui* (wet rice cultivation). In addition to *Dhān* (paddy), they also grow other grains like *Keich Piji* (wheat like grain), *Koun* (millet), *Jedenhā* (barley) and *Mokkyā* (maize). They also take jungle potato called *Álu*, *Kuju* (taro), Bhāchsuri (bamboo shoots) at food scarcity as a substitute of rice. They take meat, fish, vegetables, fruits and some worms and insects. They do not eat cow, monkey, dog, crow, vulture, tiger, etc. The followings are the local names of the grains, vegetable animals, birds, fishes, fruits, insects which they find from the following sources:

Jhum: They grow foodgrain like Paddy, *Keich Piji, Jedenhā, Koun* in their Jhum. In case of scarcity of food alternative food from the soil of jhum and like *Ālu* (potato) called *Pilyā Ālu, Heidho Theng Ālu, Mu Ālu, Dubwa Ālu, Bhudhi Ālu, Magaddam Ālu*, etc., *Kuju* (yam/taro) like *Sāmmwa Kuju, Chha Kuju, Nārekul Kuju, Phāghā Kuju, Binny Kuju, Muh Rāngā Kuju, Shāngālhee Kuju, Kuchsyālhi Kuju*, etc., from the jungle-*Koyeng Álu, Mwan ālu, Tat ālu, Pān ālu, Rhāmmadu ālu, Bāch tārā ālu.* They also sometimes take banana and jungle banana in the scarcity of rice.

They grow vegetables like *Āmilyā, Bigun,Chindrā, Dhāgha Sumi, Jheeghā, Koidhya Shāk, Koidhyā, Kudhu Gulo, Kudhu Shāk, Meyhā Shāk, Mhāmrā, Padhal, Phal, Porol, Pujhok*, etc. *Rei Shāk, Sugurhi Gulo, Suguri Shāk, Sumi, Tidyā Gulo, Tidyā Shāk.*

There are many vegetable, which grow naturally in the jhum like–*Āmbhoch Shāk, Bei Shāk, Bunduk Kuju, Ek Dāchchyā Kuju, Huringo Kān Shāk, Kāngārhā Gulo, Keliyā Shāk, Ojhon Shāk, Prāngā Shāk, Rānonhi Kiloni Shāk, Sejhāk Shāk, Siyhon Shak, Sorbho Āmilyā, Sorbwa Tidyā, Sugor Āmilyā, Tettol Gulo, Tidyā Bigun, Tidyā Kuju, Tong Shāk, Yoreng Shāk, Chhini Kheyhe Shāk, Kurho Chit Shāk, Piloi Shāk*, etc.

Jungle: From the jungle, they get fruits-vegetables like *Āgā (Bedāgi, Korodee, Keredo, Bheredo, Changphulo, Cha, Tāl, Chāng Phulo), Kuju Pongā, Amaludi/Kādā Mholā, Āmrā Gulo, Bāch Kojoi, Bāglāk Shāk, Ban Borhoi, Bāndar Mhāmrā, Baranā Shak, Bātbāttyā Shak, Bhāchsuri, Bhārāttho Gulo, Bherhol Āgā, Bogolhik, Bohrhā Gulo, Buri Gulo, Chāmanhi Gulo,*

Chhengei Gulo, Choi Shāk, Dembhal Gulo, Dheemā Tidā, Dhingi Shāk, Dumuchya Gulo, Erei Gulo, Erei Shāk, Gāngkuli Shāk, Ghere Ām, Godā Kolā Gāch, Gorheng Nārekul, Gutguttyā, Hottyāl Biji, Jaganhā Gulo, Jām, Jāngālhyā Shāk, Jhārbo Kogeye, Jhārbwa Mokkyā Biji, Jhārbwo Bei Shāk, Kach Kujhum, Kāli Kujhum, Kārmoch Shāk, Kātthol Dhinghi Pongā, Kātthol Dhinghi Shāk, Kekrak Shāk, Kent Gulo, Kettrāng Shāk, Khonā Gulo, Kharha Kojoi, Khāru Gulo, Khawnā Shāk, Khottiyhe Pujhok, Ko Gulo, Kolātthur, Kugi Tedhoi, Kusum Gulo, Lelham Pādā, Magha Putti.

Mārech Shāk (Kādā, Bhul, Rāngā, Heil), Mengani, Simei Mhāllyeng Gulo, Mon Kādā Gulo, Mudurho Shāk, Murho Dhinghi Shāk, Nal Ām, Ojhon Shāk, Pak Gulo, Phagarha, Ijā Dār Shāk, Puāng Biji, Pul Shāk, Putti Gulo, Ragach Ko, Sākkorhā.

Sechchan Shāk, Shighon Shāk, Sorbech Gulo, Sorbho Āmilyā, Sugor Āmilyā, Mormochchyā Āmilyā Tārā, Todega Jwil Shāk, Twā Shāk, Udol Biji, Ulu, Yoreng Shāk.

Meat of Animals and Birds: *Āljia Pejā (Owl), Bādhoi, Bālu, Begenhā (Tade Pole), Beng (Frog and Toad) (Bhobā, Korkori, Khachyo), Bhaluk (Bear), Bilei (Jungle Cat) (Mon Bilei, Kurho Chorā Bilei, Tumbāch Bilei (Civet)), Ut (Mongoose), Boda, Bogā (Heron), Borhā Sugor (Boar), Chāng Kurho, Changara (Sambar), Chheitdovā (Mag Pie), Chil (Kite), Choroi (Sparrow), Dārityā Ka (Dove), Dhudhukhāng (Crab eating kite), Dhung Ka (Imperial Pigeon), Douk (Snipe), Dur (Tortoise) (Mon Dur, Letti Dur, Pānnhyā Dur, Chulhee Dur, Chokh Ranga Dur, Chanā, Parbwa Dur), Gaba (Goyal), Gui (Monitor Lizard) (Phoraa And Mattya), Gulchidurhi, Hāch (Duck), Hari-Kurhi, Heil Ka (Green Dove), Heit (Elephant), Heitdāgā (Pi Tailed Green Pigeon).*

Huring (Deer), Jhārbwa Kurho (Jungle Fowl), Jhārbwa Sugor (Wild Boar), Jurgho Peikh (Bul Bul), Kāni Bogā, Ketkettyā (Horn Bill), Khanjan, Khokkeng (Gecko), Khurollya (Wood Pecker), Kodor (Pigeon), Māhl Murho (Armadillo), Kuduk (Porcupine), Māhrāngā (King Fisher), Mona, Mur Kurho (Khalij Pheasant), Nākkwan, Pādi Hāch (Teal), Pejā, Pyārā (Weaver Bird), Rāngi Ka, Rhangrāng (Spoon Bill), Satthā Peik, Shāp (Snakes) (Ājaba (phyton), Kālā Jāmuro (Black Cobra), Phool Jāmuro (White Cobra), Phechchwā Jāmuro, Betgulo, Kulobān, Tobhā (Green Cobra), Mātyā, Arhal), Chhalak (Flying Fox), Sigira (Hawk), Sudottubi, Tidhi Peik (Patridge), etc. *Todek (Parrot), Ugurhik (Finch), Yā Huring (Himalayan Goat).*

From the river fishes like=*Bāch Pādā Māch, Bāghei Māch, Bājā Māch, Bāmhoch Māch, Boal Māch, Bogori Māch, Bonnyā Māch, Chhee Māch, Dhal Bājā Māch, Ghāgat Māch, Ghonnyā Māch, Gottāllyā Māch, Gudhung Māch, Gulchha Māch,* etc. They get dry fishes and sea food *like: Sidhol (Shrimp/Fish Paste), Hāngar Māch Gulchha Māch, Huring Kobātlyā Māch, Ijā, Kādāl Māch, Kāliguni Māch, Kāngārhā* (crab*) (Jeit, Mon, Mhoi, Dutthyā, Rāngā, Dorjyā), Kāngelā or Thuttleng Māch, Koi Māch, Kuchyā Māch, Lungur Māch, Ladhā Māch, Māgur Māch, Māhl Māch, Mirgyā Māch, Mogā Māch, Moilyā Māch, Nāblāng Māch, Nākkrāng Māch, Pāblā Māch, Pudhee Māch, Rāndāliā māch, Ruhch Māch, Sāmuk (snail), Shāl Māch, Shālāng Māch, Sheloch Māch (eel), Sidhol Māch, Sil Bāghei Māch, Sara Pudhi Māch, Sil Lungur Māch, Silon (shell fish), Suguchya Baja Māch, Tāghei Māch, Tengā Māch, Tubi Kādā Māch, Tugur Māch, Tunhing Māch, Ugol Māch, Hāngar Māch (Shark), Sānghoch Māch (Ray Fish), Sugunhee (Dry fish) (Lottyā, Phachya, Chhurhee, Lākkhwa Māch, Nuneya (Hilsha), Ulugo, Ijaguri (Dry Shrimp), Ghannyā Ruk Chāndyā Mā,* etc., from the market.

From the river bank garden they get *Mulo (Radish), Rei Shak, Mulo Shāk, Mulo, Sorso Shāk, Sumi, Kudhu Gulo, Kudhu Shāk, Suguri Shāk, Suguri Gulo, Tidya Gulo, Tida Shāk, Choi*

Shāk, Murich, Gajar, Salgam, Bandha Kobhi, Phool Kobhi, Bigun, Khara Bigun, Dhimya Tidya, Todega Jwil Shāk, Tormoch, Kheerā, Bāgi, Gangkuli Shāk, etc. And from the garden, they get: *Ām, Aphal, Ātājhi Phal, Kāju Bādām, Borhoi, Bel Gulo, Dālim, Goyām, Jalpāi, Jām, Kādā Mholā, Kalā, Kamalā, Karengā, Kātthwal, Kogeyā, Kondāl, Leju, Lemu, Narekul, Subori, Tāl* and *Tronjā*, etc. From the jungle they get Ghere Ām, *Rām Kalā, Kwa gulo, Dembhal gulo, Nal Ām, Kujhum Gulo, Gutguttya, Bhārhatto gulo, Khāru gulo, Kāali Kujhum, Kach Kujhum, Putti gulo, Magha Putti, Kent Gulo, Chāmanhi Gulo, Buri Gulo, Bāndar Nhāmrā, Rach Ko, Erei Gulo, Jaganha Gulo, Sorbek Gulo*, etc.

The following are the list of items of food taken by the Chakmas:

Dhân (paddy)

1. Jeit (common): *Āmei Dhān, Bādheyeh Dhān, Bichnāli Dhāna, Bigun biji Dhān, Chhurhi Dhān, Chigon Dhān, Chinal Dhān, Ehjhāl Dhān, Gehlhang Dhān* (red & white), *Kabarhak Dhān, Kushyalhee Lengtā Dhān* (ranga-dhup; red and white), *Memeshā Dhān, Mempui Dhān, Merry Dhān, Mheley Dhān, Nābado Dhān Nhānnyabiji Dhān Pātti Dhān, Pāttigi Dhān, Rāngei Dhān, Rengui Dhān* (red, white and *Chidirā*), *Sereh Dhān, Sheleng Dhān, Tārgho Dhān, Torgi Dhān.*

2. Binni dhān (*Birnee/Sticky paddy*): Bāndaranak Binni, *Chidiryā Binni, Dhup Binni, Huringa lo Binni, Kālā Binni, Kamrang, Koba Binni, Komreng Binni, Lochtyā Binni, Lokkhi Binni, Longkā Porā Binni, Rāngā Binni, Sugora lo Binni, Tibiryā Binni*, etc.

3. Mokkyā (maize): *Binny, Jeit, Khummoi, Kolātthur, Sātthuchyā, Sudhonnuli.*

4. Jedenhā (barley): *Bormhā, Kuchyal, Mogoli, Mokkya.*

5. Rchng (air potato): *(1) Bodā, (2) Pru.*

6. Ālu (yam): *Bāchtārā, Bhudhee, Bilyādi, Binny, Dhup, Heidho theng, Juro, Koyang, Mon, Muh, Pān, Pilyā* (red and white), *Rāngā, Rhāmādu, Simei, Sughuri, Tāt.*

7. Ghochchyā (sesame): *Jeit* (common) *and Nāgā.*

8. Gulo (fruits): *Ām, Amaludi/Kādā mholā, Āmrā, Ānāch, Aphal, Bāgi, Bel, Bhārāttho Gulo, Bohrhā, Borhoi, Buri Gulo, Chāmānhi Gulo, Chāmānhi Kātthwal, Chindirhyā, Dālhom, Dembhal Gulo, Dumuchyā Gulo, Erei Gulo, Ghere ām, Gorheng Nārekul, Goyām, Hottyāl, Jaganhā Gulo, Jām, Jāmer, Jhārbwa, Mokkyā Biji, Kāju Bādām, Kalā (Kāttolhee, Chambā, Rām, Jhārbwa, Kuchyāli, Jāhjhi, Dutsāgar, Supri), Kāli Kujhum Kamalā, Karangā, Kātthol, Kent Gulo, Khāru Gulo, Kheeryā, Ko Gulo, Kogeye, Kondāl, Kusum Gulo Lemu, Liju, Magha Putti, Mhāllyang Gulo, Mhāmrā, Mon Kādā Gulo, Nal ām Nārekul, Pak Gulo, Pānnhyā Mālā, Pilya Gulo, Puāng Biji, Putti Gulo, Ragach Ko, Sākkorha, Sishu, Sorbech Gulo, Tāl, Tedhoi, Tormoch, Toronjā, Udol biji, Ulu.*

9. Kuju (escullants and taro): *Billo, Binny, Bunduk, Chha, Dubo, Ek Dāchya, Gorhei, Herhā, Kāli, Kāt, Korbhā, Kuchchyālhi, Longte, Mān, Muh Rāngā, Nārekul, Phāghā, Sammwa, Shāngalhee, Sil, Sonā, Tidyā Kuju, Ull.*

10. Gulo-guli (fruits taken as vegetable): *(1) Sughurhi, (2) Kudhu, (3) Tiyāa, (4) Kumurho, (5) Bigun, (6) Bāāch, (7) Koidhyā, (8) Jheegāa, (9) Porol, (10) Tettol, (11) Begol, (12) Mharmha or Mhammra, (13) Cindirha, (14) Tormoch, (15) Bāgi, (16) Kheera, (17) Bheroo, (18) Kāngārhā, (19) Pila, (20) Michri Phal, (21) Chengei, (22) Tidya Bigun, (23) Sri Phal, (24) Murich, (25) Shri Phal, (26) Kāngārhā Gulo, (27) Khara Bigun.*

11. Sumi (beans): *Arhal, Ārhi Mhāchyā, Badhal, Bilyādi, Dhāghā, Dubo, Dumor, Heido Kān, Jārkāllyā, Keim, Khāru, Korengā, Lang, Nārākābā, Phellom, Phijurhi.*

12. Shāk ***(vegetable leaves):*** *Āgā (Bedagi, Korodee, Keredo, Bheredo, Chāngphulo, Chah, Phagarhā, Tāl), Āmbhoch, Āmilya* (Jeit, sorbho, sugor, mormochya, ranga, heil, Kala, dhup), *Bāāch, Bāch Kojoi, Bāgālāk, Bogolhik, Baranā, Bātbāttyā, Bhāchsur (Midingyā, Egochchyā, Pārbwa, Bhāhsyā), Bogolhik, Chhighon, Choi, Dheemyā tidyā, Dhingi (Jeit, Bar, Murho), Erei, Gangkuli, Godā Kolā Gāch, Huringo Kān, Ijyā Dār, Jāngāllhyā, Jharbo Bei Shāk, Jhārbo Kogeye, Kāngārhā Gulo Shāk, Kārmoch, Keliyā, Kettrāng, Kirijyā Āgā, Khonā, Koidhyā, Kolātthur, Kekrak, Kudhu, Kuju Dik, Kuju pongā, Kumurho, Lelham Pādā, Mārhech* (kada, bhul, ranga, heil), *Mengani, Meyhe (Kālā, Dhup), Mudurho (Gāch, Ludi), Mulo, Murich, Nārech, Ojhon (Gāch, Ludi), Phelham, Porol, Prāngā, Pujhok* (Khotteya, ranga, dhup, biladi), *Pul, Rānonhee kiloni, Rei, Sechsan, Sejhak, Simei Phool, Sorso, Sugurhi, Sumi, Tadega Jwil Shak. Tārā, Tettol, Tidyā, Tong, Twa, Yoreng.*

13. Karhat ***(tender leaves and shoot taken raw):*** *Ām Karhat, Āmrā Karhat, Bādam Karhat, Bogolhee, Bhuro Āgā, Chhinikheye Shāk, Chibit Karhat, Dhup Bei Shāk, Gutguttyā Karhat, Hāch-kurho Bokchorā Karhat, Holodha Phool, Holodha Dik, Jāmeir Karhat, Jārol Karhat, Jhābwa Bei Shāk, Kalātthur, Kujhi Sighon Shāk, Kurho Chit Shāk, Lemu Karhat, Ochyāng Āgā, Ojhon Shāk, Pallyāng Karhat, Pilhoi Shāk, Rei Shāk, Sil Tedhoi, Tidyā Shāk, Tong Shāk.*

14. Herā (meat): *Ālsiā Pejā (owl), Bāch Khurhollyā (Bamboo Pecker) Bāch Unsur Badhoi, Bālu, Begenha (tade pole), Beng (Frog and Toad) (Bhoba, Korkori, Khachyo), Bhaluk (Bear), Biji Bilei* (jungle cat)–*Mon Bilei, Kurho Chora Bilei, Tumbach Bilei* (civet), *Bodā* (egg)–*Kurho, Hach, Sap, Gui, Dur, Peikh, Magarak, Phiring, Bogā* (heron), *Borhā Sugor* (boar) *Boronhi, Chagada* (squirrel), *Changarā (Sambhar), Chhāgal* (mutton), *Chhalak* (flying fox), *Chil* (kite), *Choroi* (sparrow), *Dhudhukhang* (Crab hunting kite), *Dhung Ka* (Imperial pigeon), *Dok* (Snipe), *Dur* (tortoise), *Mon dur, Letti Dur, Pannhya Dur* (tortoise and turtle)=*Chulhee Dur, Chokh Rāngā Dur, Pārbwa Dur, Mon Dur, Letti Dur, Pānnhyā Dur), Gaba* (goyal), *Gui* (monitor lizard) (Phora and Mattya), *Gulchidurhi, Hāch* (duck), *Hāri-kurhi, Heil Ka* (Green dove), *Heit* (Elephant), *Huring* (Deer), *Jharbo Kurho* (Jungle fowl), *Mur Kurho* (Khalij pheasant), *Chang Kurho, Heitdāgā* (Green Pigeon), *Jhārbo Sugor* (Wild boar), *Jurgho Peikh* (Bulbul), *Ka* (Brown dove), *Kāni Bogā, Ketkettyā* (Horn bill), *Khanjan* (Wag tail), *Khargach* (Rabbit), *Khokkeng* (Gecko), *Khurollyā* (Wood pecker) *Kodor* (Pigeon/dove), *Kuduk* (Porcupine), *Kurho* (Chicken), *Māāhl Murho* (Pangolin), *Māāhrāngā* (King fisher), *Moch* (Buffalo), *Monā, Pādi Hāch* (Teal), *Pejā, Pyārā* (Weaver bird), *Rhangrāng* (Spoon bill), *Satthā Peik, Seitdovā* (Mag pie), *Shāp* (Snake)—*Ājaba* (Phyton), *Kala Jamuro* (Black cobra), *Phool Jamuro* (White cobra), *Phechchwa Jamuro, Betgulo, Kulobaan, Tobhā* (Green cobra), *Matya* (Arhal), *Sigiryā* (Hawk), *Sugor* (Pork), *Tidhi Peik* (Patridge), *Todek* (Parrot), *Daritya Ugurhik* (Finch), *Ut* (Mongoose), *Yā huring* (Himalayan goat).

15. Māch (fishes): *Bāch pādā Māch, Bāghei Māch, Bājā Māch, Boāl Māch, Bogori Māch, Bonnya Māch, Chhee Māch, Dhal Bājā, Māch Māch, Ghāgat Māch, Ghonnyā Māch, Gottāllyā Māch, Gudhung Māch, Gulchha Māch, Hāngor Māch, Huring Kobāllyā Māch, Kādāl Māch, Kāliguni Māch, Kāngārhā (Jeit, Mon, Mhoi, Dutthya, Rāngā), Kāngelā or Thuttleng Māch, Koi Māch, Ija, Ilhich Māch, Kuchchyā Māch, Lākkhwa Māch, Lungur Māch, Māgur Māch, Māāl Māch, Mogā Māch, Moilya Māch, Nābālāng Māch, Nākkrang Māch, Nārhei Māch, Pabala Māch, Padhā Māch, Pholoi Māch, Pinhon Phādā Māch, Pongā Māch, Pudhee Māch, Rāndāliā*

Māch, Ruhch Māch, Ruk Chandyā Māch, Sāmuk, Shāl Māch, Shālhāng Māch, Shānghoch Māch, Shelhoch Māch, Sidol, Māch Sil Bāghei Māch, Sil Lungur Māch, Silon, Suguchyā Bājā Māch, Sugunhee (Lottya, Phachya, Chhurhee, Lakkho, Sangonch, Nuniyā, Ulugo, Ijaguri), Tāghei Māch, Tengā Māch, Thāndhā Māch, Tubi Kādā Māch, Tugur Māch, Tunhing Māch, Ugol Māch, Ulugo Māch. Taghei, Tenga, Tubi Kada, Tugur, Tunhing, Thutthleng, Ugol;

16. Phool (flowers): Sugurhi, Shawn, Sumee, Holodo.

17. Puk (worms and insects): *Āmo Puk, Ānāsogā Puk, Bhogodāng Puk, Bial Puk, Cherei Puk, Chorghee Puk, Chorghā Puk; Gāch Puk, Ghumuro, Kādhee Chera, Kech Kumori, Khoi Puk, Komreng Puk, Korhoi Puk, Kredo Puk, Māgraga Bodā, Midung Puk, Muh Puk, Na Puk, Nirbāno Puk, Nyāng Puk, Pānnhyah Puk, Phirhing (Āmillyā Phirhing) Dha Kābā Phiring, Dhān Phiring, Telkojhā Phiring, Hāch Phiring, Kādhee Phiring, Kechchha Mā Phiring, Pettwā Phiring, Sudho Phiring), Pubhong, Rāndāl, Singpuk, Tekkhyā Puk.*

18. Ull: *(a) Bāch Ull, (b) Gabar Ull, (c) Gāch Ull, (d) Gurgutto Ull, (e) Huring Bāch Ull, (f) Kokkheng Hāaat Pah Ull, (g) Moji Ull, (h) Sammwa Ull, (i) Undurkan Ull* etc.

19. Majalhā (spices): Chakmas grow *Murich* (Chillies), *Bāghor* (Coriander), *Phujhee* (Cilantro), *Sābrang* (Basil), *Ādā* (Ginger), *Holot* (Turmeric), *Dhān Sābrāng (Lemon gras), Kettrāngā* (Galanggal) in their jhum and family kitchen. Also collect Chengei Gulo, a jungle bulb for their spice. Onion, garlic salt and other spices are collected from the market. They also use fresh meat, dry meat, fish, dry fish, shrimp, dry shrimp, crab, etc., to enhance flavour in their preparation.

20. Sugunhee (Dry sea food): Lottya, Phachya, Chhurhee, Lakkho, Sangonch, Nuneya, Ulugo, Ijaguri, Ghannya.

Food Preparation: Preparation of food by the Chakma is very simple and as under and they use following materials in their cooking:

Ruchchyal/Majalha (Spices): *Ādā* (Ginger), *Ādā Phool* (Ginger flower), *Bāghor* (Coriander leaves—*Gach, Biladi*), *Herā* (Meat), *Holot* (Turmeric), *Ijyā* (Shrimp), *Ijyā Guri* (Dry shrimp), *Kāngārhā* (Crabs), *Lhum Phool, Māch* (Fish), *Murich* (Chillies—*Chigon, Bor, Sudhogulo, Kurho Āngul, Bāngāl, Bilyādi, Bomboi*), *Nun* (Salt), *Phālā Chengei, Phoojee* (Celery), *Rohn* (Garlic), *Shābārhāng* (Basil), *Sidol* (fish or shrim paste), *Sughunhi* (Dry Sea fish), *Sughuno Māch* (Dry fish), *Tel* (Oil), *Pianch* (Onion) and now a days—*Dāl Chinhi* (cinnamon), *Elāji* (cardamom), *Gul murich* (black peeper). *Jeera* (cumin seed), *Kābhur* (camphor), *Kāllyā Jeeryā* (Onion seeds), *Lang* (Clove), *Methi* (Fenugreek), *Rāngā Murich* (red chilly powder), *Tech pādā* (bay leaf), etc.

1. ***Shekkyâ:*** It is grilling with a stick. It is prepared by putting the preparation on heat, i.e., above burning charcoal or beside a fire. Meat, fish, water snail, etc., are first marinated with turmeric powder, salt and chilly powder and grilled with a stick called *Sik Kādhee*.

2. ***Puchchyâ:*** Literally it means to burn. It is the simple roasting in the burning charcoal. Usually yam, esculents, insects, prawn, etc. A Puchchya may also be sometime a vegetable, fish, meat, mushroom or insects burnt by covering with a KTla Pada (plantain leaf).

3. ***Rânnhyâ:*** Rannhya is simple cooking. It may be with or without oil. Actually, the Chakmas seldom use oil for cooking vegetables and curries. They use it sometimes for cooking meat and fish. They either use fish paste called SIDOL or some dry fish or meat. Sometimes, they use fresh crabs, fish, frawn, meat, edible insects for cooking a vegetable. If a vegetable is cooked with oil, first the curry to be is cut into pieces and cleaned. There salt, turmeric, chillies, etc., are added. The oil is then heated on a pot or pan and when it is hot, a piece of onion is poured.

When the onion is fried, the curry to be is poured and stirred and kept with a lid. It is stirred time to time until the curry is burning. When it is dry and burning, water is added above the level of the curry. When it is ripe, salt is tested and spice leaf like Bāghor (coriander), *Sābārhāng* (curry basil leave), *Rohn* (garlic), Phujhee (celery), etc., are added and taken out from the oven and it is ready to serve.

In case of cooking without oil and if it is vegetable; first a lump of the shrimp paste/fish paste called *Sidol* is to be taken and crushed in water and filtered. The water is put in a cooking pot. Salt, chilly past or powder, or fresh chiturmeric is to be added in it and made to boil. When it is boiling, the vegetable is to be added and cooked till it is ripe. When it is ripe, salt is to be tested and added to tastllies pounded in mortar and pistle and at last spice leaves like *Bāghor, Phujhee, Sābārhāng*, garlic is to be added. Now it is ready to serve.

If it is without oil and with dry fish or dry prawn (*Ijyā Guri*), first the fish or prawn should be cleaned and made to boil. Turmeric, salt, chilly, onion, sometimes ginger be added and boiled. When the water is hot, the vegetable should be added and cooked till it is ripe. When it is ripe, salt be tasted and taken out from the oven after adding spice leaves.

For cooking any vegetable with mixture of dry fish or dry meat, it is like cooking with oil or without oil. But, the dry meat or fish is to be made into pieces, cleaned and cooked along with the vegetable.

If fresh meat or fish without oil, first the meat or fish is to be made pieces, cleaned. Turmeric, chilly, salt, onion, etc., spices are added and put on the oven. When the water is dry, water is poured to requirements and cooked. When it is ripe, salt be added to taste and spice leaves like celery, coriander, basil, etc., are added and the pot is taken out from the oven.

Tip: In cooking hard meat like Armadillo, old chicken etc betel nut may be added to soften it. In cooking stinky meat like a goat mating seasoned wild boar, first, only the meat be heated in the pan and the water which comes out from the meat, be discarded to make it non-stinky. Then only it should be cooked with ingredients.

4. ***Khalā*****:** It is dry fry, may be withor without oil. If without oil, the vegetable, meat or fish is first cleaned and put on the pan. Salt, chilly, turmeric, onion, spice powder are added and heated. When its water is dry, a little water is added to cook till it is ripe. But no soup should remain. If it is with oil, the oil is first heated and the materials to be cooked is mixed with salt, chilly, turmeric, onion, garlic, spice powder, etc., and put on the oil. When it is dry after cooking in the oil, a little water up to the level of the material is added and cooked till it is dry. At last spice leaves like coriander, celery, parsely, basil, etc., is added.

5. ***Bhājā*****:** It is simple frying in oil, deep or shallow. Turmeric, spice powder and salt is added before frying.

6. ***Kebāng***: In this process, the things to be cooked is mixed with salt, chilly, onion slice, turmeric, garlic, spice leaves, etc. It is then packeted in plantain leaves and put on burning charcoal and hot ash. Usually small fish, prawn, egg, oister, water snail, mushroom, dry fish, some vegetable, spice leaves, etc., are in this process. Sometimes, rice flour is also added with the mixture.

7. ***Gorān*****:** It is the process of cooking in bamboo cylinder. In this process, the things to be cooked are cut into pieces and cleaned. Spices like salt, chilly, turmeric, ginger, onion, garlic, spice, spice leaves are added and mixed. It is then put in a bamboo tube and covered loosely with leaves

and put on the fire. No water is added in this process. In this process, one should be very careful so that the tube does not burn. Cooking in this process is speedy and it is over after few minutes of starting boiling. Meat, fish, toad poles, vegetable like bamboo shoots, mushroom, etc., are cooked in this process.

***8. Gudeyā*:** Literally mean pounding by hitting with a stick. The process same as Goran. But the material is pounded with a stick, usually a small bamboo. Usually, meat, fish, insects like grasshopper, beetles, cricket, snails, etc., with more chillies to make chilly paste and vegetables like brinjal, escullant/taro leaves, bamboo shoot, white gourd, vegetable leaves, etc., are cooked in this process.

9. Ujunho: It is the simple boiling. May be with or without salt. But sometime turmeric, onion, sour vegetable, and spice leaves are added in case of meat and fish. If it is meat, the meat is first mixed with turmeric, salt, onion and dry fried. When it is dry, hot water is added. When it is ripe, salt tested and sour vegetable, raw mango, *Ulu* (elephant apple), etc., are added. At last, spice leaves like coriander or parseley or basil leaf is added. In case of boiling fish, first the water is made to boil where onion and salt is added. When it is boiling, the fish is added and cooked till it is ripe. Sour vegetable leaves like *Ámillyā* (osselle) or other sour things like raw mango, raw tamerind, *Ulu* (elephant apple) and spice leaves are added at the end.

10. Bāttyā: It is crushing in a *Kuchchyā* (mortar and pestle). In this process Crabs, prawn, etc., are cooked. First water is made to boil where salt, turmeric, chillies, onion, etc., are added. When it is boiling, the pounded things are added and cooked. When it is cooked, rice flour gravy is added along with grounded garlic or spice leaves.

11. Bhattā: In this process the things to be made Bhattā is first boiled or roasted. After cleaning it or making pieces, it is mixed with salt, onion, spice leave and less sliced green chillies.

***12. Murich Bāttyā*:** Chilly paste is one of the integral items of the Chakma food habit. Chakmas usually do not take food without. *Murich Bāttyā*. In making a *Murich Bāttyā*, the chillies are pounded. It may be raw or after roasting or boiling. In the paste salt, roasted fish paste/shrimp paste, or roasted dry fish, roasted dry shrimps, garlic or spice leave like coriander, celery, etc., are added. It is taken with boiled vegetable, curries, etc., as a taste enhancer or sauce. One may also make a *Murich Bāttyā* in a bamboo tube in the process of *Gudeyā* with green chillies, meat like chicken, pork, frog, fish, insects like grasshoper, crickets, etc. In that case, it will be known as *Murich Gudeyā*.

13. Sitdho: It is simple boiling in water without adding anything. Usually vegetable leaves, vegetable like brinjal, bitter gourd, and other green vegetable. It is taken with *Murich Bāttyā* or *Murich Gudeyā*.

***14. Gābhi Dyā*:** It is the mixing up of rice flour gravy before cooking is complete. Usually, brinjal, eggplant, bitter gourd, creeper of gourds, spinach, dry meat, dry fis, etc., in the process of *Rānnhyā*.

15. Korboh: It is the process of preparation where the boiled vegetable, raw edible vegetable, raw fruits, roasted dry meat or fish, boiled meat, etc., are blended with *Murich Bāttyā, salt, onion, garlic, spice leaves*. In this process fruit like cucumber, green mango, plum, pineapple, elephant apple, etc., fruits, dry meat, dry fish, boiled meat, boiled stomach of animals and some boiled vegetables are prepared.

16. Pugunot: Literally meaning in the steaming pot. It is the process of cooking by steaming. Usually steaky rice, cakes, pumpkin, yam, etc., are cooked in this process.

17. Puguloghat: It is also steaming on the top of rice pot. In this brocess, after the rice are boiled, a cover of plantain leave is put on the pot. That cover is known as *Pugulhok pādā*. Above that *Pādā* something like vegetable leave, chilly, etc., are put and covered with a lid and that materials cooks with the steam of the rice as it is kept on burning charcoal or beside the burning firewood oven.

18. Ghāttyā: It is the process of cooking where the things cooked is stirred so that nothing remains solid. *Pāyāch, Mārei Pidhyā, dāl*, pumpkin, etc., are cooked in *Ghāttyā* process.

The Chakma earlier used to take their food on plantain leaves which are spread on a *Mejāng* or on a mat or on the floor. Later ,the wealthy people started using bronze or brass plates and they used to take their meal keeping the plates on *Bhujhong Ber*. Now enamel plates and metal utensils are used by all. Plantain leaves are still used in the villages and at feast. Earlier they cooked their food in earthen pot and bamboo cylinder. Now a day all use metal crockery.

11

Games and Sports of the Chakmas

A game is called 'Khārā' in Chakma. The Chakma play the following traditional games: *(1) Ijibiji, (2)* Silence game like *(a) Uitui Pātthyochtui, (b) Unduchchyaredāgilung, (3) Bāk Khārā, (4) Bhulong Khara, (5) Dhingi Khārā, (6) Potti Khārā, (7) Kātthol Khārā, (8) Keim Khārā, (9) Peikh Khāāa (10) Gudu Khārā, (11) Boli Khārā, (12) Balhuch Khāāa, (13) Pohr Khāāa, (14) Māch Khāāa, (15) Āndhik Khārā, (16) Bāch Thela-theli, (17) Gheelā Khārā (a) Chhatti Khārā, (b) Nhukkruk Khārā, (c) Mār Māchchyā, (d) Biyong Khārā, (e) HātKhārā, (18) Nādeng Khārā, (19) Bijolhee Khārā, (20) Sāmuk Khārā, (21) Bodā-Bodi (22) Boli Khārā, (23) Tumbru Khārā, (24) Khongdā Khārā (25) Balhuch Tulho-tulhi, (26) Bādol Māāa Māri (27) Dumuro-dumuri, (27) Bāch Kharamdumur, (28) Ajal Phāl (29) Lāmbā Phl,* etc.

1. The first game with which a Chakma child is introduced is that a *Ka* (brown dove) is crying: *Jhiyhuk Khukkhuk'* in which an adult falls on his back and folds his knees. He puts a baby on his shin and asks the baby to hold tightly holding the baby's arms. He then starts to move the baby saying "'Hooooon'—do you hear the sound of a cyclone? Make preparation to save yourselves. put the tension beams with mulberry trees, put the cross beams of taro stalk, the old house is swinging but not falling, bark of trees are exchanging, yam underneath are getting broken. If the house falls at the right side, we may save the rice, if it fall on the left, we may save paddy, if it falls on the leg side we may get cotton, if it falls at the head side, we may save sesame, etc. He will then put the baby at any side in any direction. Afterward, the child will again ask to repeat the game.

2. The second game the children play is *'Ijibiji Khārā'*. In which the children sit in a round and put forward one hand each. One of them will start counting the hand singing the rhyme *"Ijibiji kārmbiji gudeikhehakāarmpādā, utttouttobhāyarheikannha sadhu dhararhei, dharhadharha Bizurām Bārgietthan Monurām, elgā, delgārājāmogekwaiyhede Churohātthākābinejā."* - at the end the finger on which the count ends has to remove his/her hand and the last person is the winner.

3. There is also a game to silence the murmuring children. One of them will sing a rhyme – *'Unduchchyārhedāgilung Kolāāchhorā Pāgelhung, je hājhe, made te..... khāi'* (I called

the mouse, ripen the banana. Those who talks is the eater of...(disgusting and bizzare things). Then the children will remain silentless. he is blamed of eater of bizarre thing.

4. A game also goes on when many children are assembled. One of the child will say 'who eats grassy stool of a dog (a bizarre thing) one of them will say, whoever may be. Another will say – who said it? Some one will say a name and he will enquire from the boy. Is it a fact? Then that boy will say who told to you and that boy will name another boy who will enquire from that boy and that boy will enquire another boy. And this blaming goes on. But the boy who cannot pass on the blame to others immediately is said to have taken the most disgusting thing.

5. The children mostly play–*Ijibiji Khārā, Mālā Khārā* (game with coconut shell), *Nwa Bo Khārā* (bride and groom game), *Kāttlwal Khārā* (a game with supposed jackfruit), *Pollā-Polli Khārā* (hide and seek), *Bhulhong Khārā* (game with piece of floating reed), *Bāk Khārā* (tiger and human game), *Māch Khārā* (game of fish at river), *Murich Khārā* (game of chillies at river), *Āndhik Khārā* (game with ring), etc. Boys and young people play at *Gheelyāa Khārā, Gudu Khārā, Nādeng Khārā, Potti Khārā, Pohr Khārā, Bodāa-bodi, Āndhik Khārā, Bāch Thelhā-theli, Bāluch Khārā,* etc.

6. The grown up play the games of *Boli Khārā, Bodā-bodi, Pohr Khārā, Potti Khārā, Gheelyā Khārā, Nadeng Khārā,* etc.

Āndhik Khārā: This game is like modern day Rugby. In this game, two ponds are dug out at a distance. In the first pond, a ring is buried. Two parties of equal number of players sit around the pond and put their hands together at the count of three to search for the ring and try to transfer the ring to other pond. If any one finds the ring, he has to declare it aloud and others will try to snatch it from him. The one with the ring will always try to go to the other pond or pass it to his team mate to carry to the other pond. The team which is successful to carry the ring to the other pond is the winner.

7. ***Māch Khārā:*** It is a fish game played by equal numbers of member by making two teams and played in a river, stream or a pond at a chest deep water. One team try to go up and down and the other team try to touch them. One Team remains on guard at a certain distance called '*Ghirhiyha dal'* and the other team who try to go down or up is called '*Lammya/Ujeya Dal'*. The ***'Lamiya/Ujeya dal'*** will try to go down or up untouched and the *Ghirhiyha Dal* will try to touch the *Lamiya/Ujeya Dal*. If any one of the *Lamiya/Ujeya dal* is successful doing up and down up of the barricade un touched, his team is winner. If any one of them is caught or touched while doing up and down his team is loser and their team will be on guard in the next game.

8. ***Bodā-Bodi:*** It is the typical wrestling. If a player is able to make touch the back on the ground of the other player, he is the winner.

9. ***Gudu Khārā:*** It is the typical *Kabaddi* game of the Chakma. In this game, two parties play the game consisting of two to twelve persons. A rectangular boundary is made and a demarcation line is drawn at the middle.

10. ***Pohr Khārā:*** It is the game played on a rectangle court. It may vary in size from children to adult. In the rectangle a central line is drawn and the others are boundary lines. The front line is called *Lamoni Dāk*, and the back line is *Ujoni Dāk*. The length may vary with the number of players. Each player is to guard about 20 by 10 feet area and the other players are to go down and up of the rectangle area. The players on guard are to touch the going down and upcoming players while crossing their own guard line. The guard of the first line is called *Molhidār* or leader.

He has the power to touch the opposite players from every line. If any person of a up-down team can cross the rectangle untouched, the team wins. If any one of them is touched while crossing or by the *Molhidār*, the team losses. And the losing team remains on guard in the next game.

11. ***Potti Khārā:*** This game is played between two rival teams. In this game, two circles are made at a distance of about 100 yards. In which half of the team remains in one circle and the other half at the other circle. In the first circle, their leader called *Rājā* also remains. The opposite party remain spread in the field. From the first circle his soldier goes out saying '*Pottipottipotti;* in a breath and try to touch the other party and return in the circle within the breath. If he is successful in touching any person from the other party, the other party will be eliminated. If, after touching the other party, he is unsuccessful to come back within the breath, he will be eliminated. If at last, the *Rājā* is successful to cross to other circle, his team is winner.

12. ***Nādeng Khārā:*** It is the game played with wooden tops. It may be simple whirling competition or whirling and hitting competition. A *Nādeng* has two parts—*Gulo* (the ball) and *Chet*, the handle literally the penis. A rope is bound around the *Nādeng* to whirl it. It may be from the *Chet* (handle) to the *Gulo* (ball) or from the *Gulo* (ball) to the *Chet* (handle). The rounding of the rope from the *Chet* to *Gulo* is called *Bharan Pākkyā* (filling round) and from the *Gulo* to *Chet* as Chet *Pākkyā*. First a player whirls his *Nāadeng* and the other player hits it with his *Nādeng*. If the hitter's *Nādeng* whirls more than the the other, he is the winner. If the whirler's *Nādeng* whirls more than the hitter, the whirler is the winner. In that case, the hitter has to whirl his *Nādeng* to be hit by the other. A hitting is called '*Ghei Khānā*'. A game is called '*Pir*'.

13. ***Gheelā Khārā:*** It is the game played with a *Gheelā*, a horse chest nut like fruit. It may be between two persons or more. A *Gheelā Khārā* is of five kinds—*Chhatti Khārā*, *Hāt Khārā*, *Mārā Māchchyā*, *Biyong Khārā* and *Nhukkruk*. In a *Gheelā Khāra* two horizontal lines at a distance of about ten feet are drawn. The first line is called Saālyng or starting line and the other line is called *Gāng* on which the *Gheelās* are kept standing on *Chikkoni* or *Pāttyoni*. One party keep their *Gheelās* standing side by side on a line and the other party hit it with their *Gheelā*.

(a) Chhatti Khārā: In a *Chatti Khārā*, one party release their *Gheelā* from the *Sālliyāng* from eighteen different positions of the body and stop it before reaching the *Gāng*. From there they draw an imaginary line called *Dharhā-dharisarāsari* and hit the opposition *Gheelās* placing his/her *Gheelā* on the ground or on the folder of the knee by drawing a imaginary straight line. If he can hit it, he has to hit it from the place where his *Gheelā* has fallen. If he cannot hit all the *Gheelās*, his other team mate has to do the same thing until, all the gheelās are hit. After all the *Gheelās* are hit, they will proceed to other position till all the positions are complete. If they cannot complete all the position, they are the loser. There are certain positions from which stopping and drawing of line is not allowed like kere (between toe and index toe) and *Pigiri Pellyāng* (from between cross shin). In this case, if the released *Gheelā* is stopped or if it goes beyond the gang, that plyer will be stopped to play from that position. If the players cannot complete hitting from the position, they are the loser and they will keep stand their *Gheelās*. The positions vary from *Gozā* to *Gozā*. Some of the are: (a) Nwa Chatti (released from the Sāllyāng), (b) Para chok (between the ankle), (c) *Pigiripellyāng* (between the shin), (c) *Rāndo* (above the knees), (d) *Pundhakka* (ass), (e) Telody (laft and right) end of thigh, (f) *Nābhi* (navel), (g) *Lheplhebhi*, (h) *Dut* (breast, left and right), (i) *Bagal* (arm pit, left and right), (j) *Kānhā* (shoulder end, left right), (j) *Tadā* (throat), (k) *Mu* (mouth), (l) Chokh, left and right), (m) *Kabāl* (forehead),

(n) *Tāllwā* (crown), (o) *Neiighorā* (back the head), (p) *Pājhā* (back of pelvic), (q) *Kere* (to release from the Sāllyāng from between index and thumb of the feet).

(b) Āhāt Khārā: It is played by two persons with certain number of *Gheelā* by hitting the opponent's *Gheelā* by throwing own *Gheelā* from the *Sāllyāng* and the consecutive hits putting the forward leg at the place where the hitter's *Gheelā fallen*. But the *Gheelā* of the opposite party should fall beyond one 'bigot' (a distance between tips of thumb and middle finger).

(c) Mārā Māchchyā: It is hitting of opposition *Gheelās* from near the *Pāttoni* by putting the hand under a folded leg and consecutively hit them till all stand *Gheelās* are fallen. But the *Gheelā* of the opposite party should fall beyond one hand distance from the '*Pāttoni*'.

(d) Byong Khārā: It is played like *Hāt Khārā* by hitting opposite Party *Gheelā* throwing from hand. But the *Gheelā* of opposite party should fall a least one *biyong* away, i.e., a distance of beyond two extended hands.

14. ***Nhukkruk Khārā:*** It is played like *Chhatti Khārā* by releasing the *Gheelās* from different thirty-six positions of the body. But the hitting should not be with the index finger and should be done from below folded legs. The position varies from *Gozā* to *Gozā* and they are: (1) *Nhukkhruk* (between the joints of the thumbs of feet), (2) *Para chokh* (between the ankle), (3) *Pigiri Pellyāng* (between the shin), (4) *Ādhu* (between the knees), (5) *Rāndo* (between the thighs), (6) *Pundhakka* (ass), (7) *Telodi*, left and right (end of thighs), (8) *Cheda* (groin), (9) *Nābhi* (navel), (10) *Lheplhevi*, (11) *Duth*, left and right, (breast), (12) *Bukkorhā* (chest), (13) *Bagal* (arm pit), (14) *Kānhā*, left right (end of the shoulders), (15) *Todā* (throat), (16) *Mu* (mouth), (17) *Nāgopholā* and right (nostril), (18) *Chokh*, left and right (eye), (19) *Kān*, left and right, (20) *Kobāl* (fore head), (21) *Tāllwa* (crown), (22) *Neiighorā* (medulla), (23) *Bijonnyā*, left and right (shoulder blades), (24) *Bung*. Left right (back muscle), (25) *Bārhā*, left and right (arm), (26) *Kelongi* (elbow), (27) *Hādha Tārhām* (fore arm), (28) *Hādha Gābhi*, left and right (29) *Mhudho*, left right (closed fist), (palm), (30) *Hādho* pit, left and right (back of palm) (31) *Pājhā* (back of pelvi), (32) *Ulu Khul*, left right (buttok), (33) *Khagarhā*, left and right, (34) *Thenga Pādā*, left and right (feet), (35) *Gurguttwa* (to be released from *Sāllyāng* by spitting on the *Gheelā*, hitting with the toes of feet) and (36) *Gāng* (to hit from the *Sāllyāng*).

15. ***Samuk Khārā:*** It is the game played with empty round snail shells. In this game the players sit in round and divide equal number of shells. First, they try to shuffle the shells in their hands front to back of the hands and try to catch as many as possible by shuffling from the back. The one who catch more get the chance to start the game. The first player releases all the shells on the ground. He then try to hit one shell with other by drawing a line between two shells without touching any. If he fails the chance pass to other and if successful, he can retain one and try another pair. The one who can retain more is the winner and he gets the chance to start next game.

16. ***Keim Khārā:*** In this game played with equal sized and equal length of *Keim* (bamboo chips) which are shuffled on one hand front to back and front. One who can retain odd number of the chips can retain one or it passes to other. The one who could retain more equalises his chips with the one who retained less and the excess he retains. The game starts again untill the last chip is collected. The one who collects all the chips is the winner.

17. ***Peik Khārā:*** It is the game played by two persons on a drawn board like Chinese checkers.

18. ***Bāk Khārā:*** It is the game played on a drawn board by two persons like Drough.

19. ***Bhulong Khārā:*** It is a game played by the children. In this game, the children collect the flowers of *Bhulhong* reeds. They line them up at an open field and set fire at one end. They enjoy the fire of the burning of *Bhulong* flowers.

20. ***Rohn-Piyānchkhārā:*** It is played at the river by the children at the chest deep water. One of them releases a floating twig and all try to grab it. The one who grabs the twig gets the right to release it in the next game saying – Garlic or onion, rice or paddy, where to throw it? The others will repeat the last word and indicate the place to throw. On throwing, they will try to grab it. The one who grabs the twig is the winner and he becomes the next thrower.

21. ***Dhinghi Khārā:*** It is a game played at a paddy pounding machine. A *bhulhong* (the inner portion of a kind of reed) is placed at the mortar. A boy remains near the mortar. They release the pestle portion very slowly. They will ask the waiter whether he heard any sound. If it is affirmative, they will ask what he want to touch wood or bamboo? If the answer is wood, the player will have to take shelter at bamboo and he will try to catch them at touching wood. A player cannot remain touching the bamboo for long he must shift his shelter frequently. If he is touched on wood or other places, he is regarded dead. And the toucher wins.

22. ***Kātthwal Khārā:*** It is a game played by children where they become supposed jackfruit. They catch each other's waist and other boys try to tear one from among them.

23. ***Bijolhee Khārā:*** It is the game of boat racing.

24. ***Bālhuch Khārā:*** It is the game of striking each other with a pillow sitting on a bamboo bar. The one who cannot keep his balance is the loser.

25. ***Bāch Thelhā Thelhi*:** It is the game of pushing a bamboo pole by two opponents from each end. The one who goes backward is the loser.

26. ***Duri Tanatani*:** It is the game of tug of war.

27. ***Boli Khara*:** Game of challenged wrestling.

28. ***Tumbru Khara*:** Game of magic.

29. ***Bālhuch Tulho-Tulee*:** It is a game where a person lies on his back and another person cross lie at his head holding his legs at the back. The person who lies on back tries to lift the cross lied person and throw at his legs.

30. ***Khongdākhāā*:** It was a game played with bamboo root like hockey.

31. ***Bādol Mārā Māri:*** Competition at catapult shooting.

32. ***Dumuro-Dumuri*:** Race.

33. ***Bāch Kharam Dumur*:** Race on bamboo pole.

34. ***Ajal Phāl:*** High jump.

35. ***Lāmbā Phāl*:** Long jump.

36. ***Peik Khara:*** It is the game played by two persons on a drawn board like Chinese checkers.

37. ***Rājā Khārā or Buddhi Mān Khārā:*** In this game played by boys—one person is selected to be the king, others are divided into two equal teams. A boy from one team will secretly say a name from the other team. The other team consulting each other will send a boy to the king. If the boy is right, the team retains him. If the name is not right, he will name another boy from

the other team. Then a boy from that team will come and if it is right, he will be retained by the king. The team which boys completely retained by the king is the loser.

38. ***Chāk Khārā:*** In this game, a 'Chāk' (circle is drawn at a wide field. Two teams with equal number of players are required. One team will remain in the circle and the other team will remain outside the circle. The teams will be known as 'Ghar Chāk' (inner circle team) and 'Bāār Chāk'. Now both the team will try to bring in or bring out members of other team beyond the line of the circle. The team who can pull all the members of other party to their side is the winner.

12

Rites and Festivals of the Chakmas

The Chakmas observe traditional festivals and perform many *Pujo* and rites in their day to day life. Some of which are religious, cultural and some are to cure illness. They worship many deities for protection and cure from illness. Among them Tridev, *Kāleiā, Parameswari, Oshyā, Gangā, Bhoot, Dein, Fairies, Planetary deities, Khāgini, Moghini, Jugini, Preta, Matris,* etc., are main. *Kaleia* is identified with Siva, *Parameswari* with *Durga* and *Oshya* with *Ganesha*. They are worshipped at marriage and as family deities every year or whenever in distress for protection, peaceful and prosperous family life. *Gangā*, for protection, at the time of purification, ward off misfortune, ill luck, accident and to release hold in an illness. *Bhoot* in illness, *Deins* and fairies are also in illness. They are also seen to worship *Brhmhā, Vishnu, Sivā, Kāli, Lākshmi* and other deities mostly in illness. Among the other deities the worship are: *Kālā Khedar, Jugini, Siji, Mongshā, Hātyā, Motyā, Khāgini, Moghini, Khegā, Bhaghā, Ajurho, Dyo, Chelā, Ājrel, Nimochyā, Ijingyā, Ijingi, Ulombotyo, Chekkhang, Kālubhang, Lāgochyā, Lāgorhi, Sip Kumori, Phool Kumori, Bar Kumori, Jal Kumori, Undur Kumori, Bhoot Kumori, Mhekkhāng, Sājhani, Nājoni, Phejari, Surjyokelā, Chandrakelā, Dāgini, Kāligā, Diburhi, Sāpuri, Sighidhwach, Indradumba, Lulangsu, Ulanga, Nāridyang, Thān, Bar Shelyā, Nārengvā, Biāttrā, Phool Gangā (Dhal Gangā/Dhaleswari), Rākkhwal, Bar Kumori, Sil Kumori, Mech Kumori, Bat Kumori, Bini Kumori, Swadip, Pwa Devedā, Kāli jandur, Gāttolyā, Chembāk, Mralā, Mrali, Krenghā, Krenghi, Parmāmhoch, Rwah proo Hājhangmhā, Khukkhyong, Sibāngsā*, etc. All these deities are appeased at illness, believing their hold called *Ājhar* as stated in the book of *Tāllik* as to what symptoms appears in a patient for the spirits' hold? The *pujo* or appeasement of the spirits are performed as stated in the various *Pujo Bijaks* for each deity.

***Pujo* or Worship**

The Chakmas appease and worship various deities and spirits on various occassions as a cultural rite, in illness, for warding off misfortune, etc., as per the methods stated in *Pujo Bijok*. It may be with idol called *Mukti* which may be made of *Kher* (straw) or *Koroi Guri* (rice flour) and may be a simple idol or *Pedoli Mukti* (big bellied). The platform may be a *Tin Kunnyā Gangā Ghar* (three cornered *Gānga Ghar*), *Cheir Kunnyā Gangā Ghār* (square shaped *Gangā Ghār*),

on a *Kulo* (shieve), on a *Pāllyāng* (bamboo tape plaited platform), *Dwa Pallā Pāllyāng* (double *Pāllyāng*), under a *Heil Gāch* (ever green tree), etc. Before leaving home for sacrifice of animal, if it is a chicken,it is hovered over the patient, if it is pig or goat some hairs of the goat or pig is hovered over the patient along with other provisions like flowers, money, etc. with prayer. Money is always necessary in the performance of a rite since money is regarded as *Narayana* to witness the rite. The prayer goes like – I such and such *Vaidya* performing the sacrifice of this animal to you, spirit, you should accept his/her offering. He/She has arranged these provisions for getting relief from the prolonged suffering from such and such. You should not take it as his last arrangement made by selling his hairs, or of the sun grasses of his roof. You release your hold from him/her accepting these provisions and the animal, — blood for blood, flesh for flesh, skin for skin, ear for ear, tongue for tongue, liver for liver, At the first the platform need to be cleaned and sanctified with *Gheelyā-Kojoi Pānhi* (water of *Gheelyā* and *Kojoi*). On it two tips of plantain leaves are spread. Above it a lump of soil is placed perforating two tips of thick leaves like jack fruit leaves with *Mālei Keim* or *Mārei Keim*. He will then spread flowers of three, five or seven varieties. Afterward, a pair of lamps is lighted and the spirit is called making peculiar sound of call. It starts as: I am performing this *Pujo* as thought to me by my *Guru*. You such and such spirit come and accept it. With my one call come from one day distance, with second call come from two days distance, with the third call come from the three days distance..... with seventh call come from seventh day distance. Come from down stream by boat, come from up stream by bamboo rafter, bring the lames carrying on the back, bring the blind by leading. Or it may be by striking a bamboo chip called *Kadhee* (used for stirring rice while cooking). That in the human abode a *Kādhee* is used to call a spirit and in the spirit world a drum is used to call some one. I am striking this *Kadhee* to call you. At one stroke you come from one day distance, at second stroke you come from two days distance, at third stroke you come from three days distance ..... at seventh stroke you come from seventh days distance. Lead the blinds, carry the lames, bring the craddle swang babies on the lap. Come in bamboo rafter from the upstream, come by boat from the down stream. If you do not come, you should not blame me that I did not offer you. That such and such has arranged this *Pujo* for being in trouble. He/she is suffering from such and such ailments/such and such *Dajhā*/such and such *Balā/Phee* and you should release your hold and allow him to live a healthy, peaceful and prosperous life. I am offering this chicken/pig/goat/duck to you and you should accept it. Now I will test whether you have accepted the offering or not. Since I cannot communicate with you personally, I need to apply some means to know the acceptance. My *guru* has thought me that the means to communicate with you *devās* is through *Āk Pādā*. If you accept the offerings, these *Āk Pādā* should fall one face down and other face up. If both fall face down, I will presume that you do not approve the offerings and you are still angry with him/her. If both leaves fall face upward, I will presume that you are happy and laughing. If after third try the leaves do not fall in pair, I will change the leaves since the *guru* has taught me that the leaves also observe relation of brother and sister and they cannot fall in pair. If the leaves fall in pair, he will sleeth the throat of the animal and spread the blood on the sacrificial platform. The sacrificed animal is then cleaned and cooked and eaten up by the votery. Sometimes, it is offered to some deities after cooking. In some sacrifice like *Chelā sugor, Dwapallā sugor*, etc., the meat of sacrificial animal is not permitted to be brought to home.

*Pujo*or worship are of two kinds *Pujo* and *Dāli*. A *Pujo* is performed to appease the deities and seek protection by sacrificing animals and a *Dāli* is appeasement of the disease causing

spirits for release from their hold in exchange of sacrifice of animals. Methods of all *Pujos* are not same. Some are performed with idols and some without. The performance depends on the *Bijak* or life history of the deities as to what they like and what they dislike. The life history of the deities and the method of *Pujos* are kept preserved by the *Vaitdyas* in the form of *Pujo Bijak*.

While performing a *Pujo*, the *Ojhā* first chants mantras or bind medicine or talisman for his protection. He then hovers the *Pujo* materials like flowers, money, lamp, sweetmeat and the sacrificial animal like chicken/pigeon/duck or hair of goat/pig etc., over the head(s) of the patient/ family members with the prayer—"as thaught me by the *gurus*, I intending to offer this *pujo* and sacrifice of animal for the the votery such and such. He/She is ready to worship you, the deity and sacrifice the chicken/duck/pigeon/duck/pig/goat, etc., to protect himslef and the family members/to release the hold and the deity should pardon the patient as being a ignorant human being. He/she might have misfortune in store/offended you, the deity by encroaching your land/ caused impurity to the abode, etc. etc., and that you should bless/pardon them/him/her and cool him/her/them down as a cool water of a river or stream. That all the misfortune, ill luck, accident should flow away /hold should be released and send the misfortune beyond seven seas and seven Ilands. I am going to perform the *Pujo* of such and such with prayer that he is offering the animal as per the teaching of the *gurus* to ward off the misfortune/for the release of hold and I, on behalf of the family/patient should be pardoned if anything remained unfulfilled. He will then proceed to sacrfice and puts the offerings before the deity on a *pāallyā/Gangā Ghār*/or a *Poi* of *Āgā Pādā*. If it is purification ceremony to ward off misfortune all family members will accompany him to the river ghat/ if it is a *Dāli* some helper will accompany him under a evergreen tree. But if it is for purification of the family, before leaving the house they will withdraw the *Sāngu*, the climbing ladder so that none including the bad spirit can enter the house.

At the sacrificial place they will first clean it. If it is at river ghat, they will construct a three cornered or square canopy. Above it tips of plantain leaves will be spread. Then *Pallyeng* and idol will be placed. Oil lamp or candle will be lighted. If it is without sacrifice and only sweetmeat and flowers, it will be offered with salute on a *Pāllyāng*. If it is with animal sacrifice, first flowers and sweets will be placed on a *Pāllyāng*. Afterward, a lump of soil will be placed on the tip of leaves and *Mārei Keim* will be posted on two *Āk Pādā*. Rice grain will also be given and a lamp will be lighted. After ward the sacrificial animal or the hairs of the animal will be offered with the prayer that he is offering the animal as per the teaching of his *guru*. He will say that he is offereing life for life, blood for blood, eye for eye, flesh for flesh, liver for liver, etc., that the patient should be pardoned and released from the hold and possession. If anything goes beyond the rule of *Pujo* or anything remains unfulfilled, he should be pardoned for being an ignorant human being. At first, he will try to ascertain whether the offering was acceptable or not by throwing two tips of a bit thick leaves by saying "as Devā and human cannot communicate directly I will test whether the offerings are accepted or not. I will throw two tips of these leaves. If the tips fall one up one down, it is understood as accepted. If falls both down faced, it is understood as not acceptable and the deity is angry. If both fall face up, it is understood that the deity is happy and laughing. If the leaves fall down, it is again thrown with prayer of pardon. If it falls down consecutively, the leaves are changed saying that the leaves were brother and sisters so does not fall in pair. He will then change them and throw a new until it falls in pair. Afterward, the throat of the animal will be slithed and blood will be sprinkled on the mālei keim. In some sacrifices, there is a rule that the deity has to be offered after cooking the meat of sacrificed animal.

The following are the *Pujos*/rites which the Chakmas practice at various occassions:

Budhistic—(a) *Achta Parikkār Dān*, (b) *Bātti/Cherāk Dān*, (c) *Bhāt Dyā*, (d) *Buddha Puja*, (e) *Bwai Chakra*, (f) *Chāminhee*, (g) *Dharma Kāma Pujo*, (h) *Hājār Bātti Dān*, (i) *Kadhin Chibar Dān*, (j) *Phanach Bātti Utswarga*, (k) *Phohrā Dān*, (l) *Phool Dān*, (m) *Putgalik Dān*, (n) *Sangha Dān*, (o) *Siyang Dān*, (p) *Tāngon Dān*, (q) *Thāmāng tong/Anna Meru Dān* (r) Sivali Pujo, etc.

Cultural—(a) *Āk Bārhā*, (b) *Bādhoi Bāā Tulonhā*, (c) *Bāghā Bur, (d) Bizu*, (e) *Bur Pārā*, (f) *Chumulang*, (g) *Dhān Hāt*, (h) *Dharma*, (i) *Gārhee Tānā*, (j) *Ghar Band*, (k) *Giristhi Chumulang*, (l) *Grichthi Bur*, (m) *Gyuyei Siyong*, (n) *Hāl Palonee*, (o) *Hoiā*, (p) *Jur Chumulang*, (q) *Kajai Pānhi*, (r) *Mā Lokkhire Bhāt*, (s) *Mādhā dhwa*, (t) *Māgirhi*, (u) *Meh Chhāgoli Bāā Tulonhā*, (v) *Melā Chumulang*, (w) *Nwa Bhāt*, (x) *Pārā Bur*, (y) *Sat Dhinnyā*, (z) *Sinni*, (aa) *Syong*, (ab) *Thān Mānā, (ac) Gāng-Sālā Pujo, (ad) Lokkhi Pujo, (ae) Sarasatti Pujo*, etc.

Treatment—(1) *Ādrik Khāng*, (2) *Bhāt Jārā*, (3) *Bhoodho Sugor*, (4) *Bhoodo Kurho*, (5) *Bhoot Pujo*, (6) *Bur Pārā*, (7) *Chelā Pujo*, (8) *Chela Sugor*, (9) *Chumulang*, (10) *Deino Pujo*, (11) *Dibuchsyā Sugor*, (12) *Edā Dāgānā*, (13) *Gangā Pujo*, (14) *Gāt Mārā*, (15) *Ghar Band*, (16) *Gristhi Chumulang*, (17) *Hājā Kuluk Mārā*, (18) *Jokkhyo Pujo*, (19) *Jum Mārā*, (20) *Bhui Mārā*, (21) *Jāgā Māra*, (22) *Kāli Chhāghal*, (23) *Kuluk Mārā*, (24) *Mādhā Dhwa/Bur Pārā/ Balā Kādā/ Phee Kādā*, (25) *Moginhi Pujo*, (26) *Mralā Pujo*, (27) *Prettyā devedā pujo*, (28) *Puri Pujo*, (29) *Reido Sugor*, (30) *Sājha Kurho*, (31) *Sibāngsā sugor*, (32) *Sijhi Pujo*, (33) *Tridep Pujo*, (34) *Trinhāth Pujo*, (35) *Nārenghyā Debedā Pujo*, etc. Some of the descriptions of the rites are given below:

The followings are the materials generally used in a *Pujo* or Cultural Rite:

1. ***Ābedhi Sudho:*** A thread which is spunned by a girl who has not attained puberty and it is regarded as secred thread. A thread spun by a monoposed woman is also regarded as *Ābedhi Sudho*.
2. ***Ādārhā***: Provisions of *Pujo* material like rice, curries, sweetmeat, etc. arranged on a plate or platform for offerings is called Ādārhā.
3. ***Āgā Pādā***: The tip portion of plantain leaves which is spread on the platform of a *Pujo*.
4. ***Āk Mat:*** Untested strong wine.
5. ***Āk Pānhi***: Unused water freshly brought from river or stream.
6. ***Āk Tel***: Unused oil purchased from the market.
7. ***Āttugā Midingā Bāch***- Topless *Metingā* bamboo.
8. ***Chārhā*:** Broken piece of earten pots.
9. ***Chharha*:** Earten or metal lid of a pot.
10. ***Chol*:** Rice, usually five measures. It is also remeasured after the *Pujo* is over to test whether the *Pujo* was fruitful. If it is fruitful, the quantity of rice is believed to increase.
11. ***Dāli*:** Sacrifical animal like chicken, pig, goat, duck, pigeon, etc.
12. ***Dwapallā Pāllyāng*:** Two storyed bamboo plaited platform.
13. ***Gangā Ghār***: A canopy made of bamboo, erected on the bank of a river or stream for the purpose of sacrifice of animal. It may be triangual or square in shape.
14. ***Ghāt*:** Water pot.
15. ***Ghee:*** Refined butter/

16. ***Gheelyā Kajai Pānhi***: The water prepared by dipping carnel of *Gheelyā*, a round shaped fruit (horse chest nut like), *Kajai*, a tamerind like jungle fruit found on thorny creeper, raw turmeric, metal like gold and silver which is regarded as sacred and suitable for purifying a place, thing or person.
17. ***Kābor:*** Clothes of different measures depending on the *Pujo* requirement.
18. ***Khoi*:** Popped rice.
19. ***Māchsya sil:*** Slate stone.
20. ***Mārei:*** Piece of bamboo chips decorated with downward bristle at one end and which is posted on the sacrificial platform keeping the bristle up.
21. ***Memā Michri:*** Sweetmeat and materials made of sweet, rock sugar, jiggery, toffes, sweet balls, etc.
22. ***Mukti*:** Idol made of clay or rice flour or of straw.
23. ***Mutro Chumo:*** Small bamboo cylinders made to put medicine in it and bury.
24. ***Pāllyāng*:** A bamboo plaited plateform used to put Pujo materials.
25. ***Phul Pāghor:*** Flowers of different colour, except of thorny and bitter plants.
26. ***Pujo Bijak:*** The life story of the deities and sprits. The procedure of performing *Pujo* and their preferances.
27. ***Sudho:*** Thread.
28. ***Tabā:*** Small water pot, earten or metal.
29. ***Tengā:*** Money.
30. ***Ubho Cherāk:*** Oil lamps whose wick is of spun cotton thread and which stands upright.

Buddhistic *Pujos* and Rites

Budhistic—(a) ***Achta Parikkār Dān***: *Achta Parikkār Dān:* It is the offering of eight essential materials of a monk. This include the *thricivara* (three robs of a monk), *Kati bandani* (waist band), *Sābek* (alm pot), *Kshur* (rajor blade), *such–sudho* (needle and thread) and *Jal Chhagoni* (water strainer). It is offered to monk or monks along with food and drinks and other essential matrials like walking stickumbrella, slipper, shoulder bag, mat, lantern, petromax, rice, ghee, oil, etc.

(b) Bātti/Cherāk Dān: It is the offering and burning of candle or oil lamps before the idol of Buddha or other deities like *Mā Lokkhi, Gangā, Bhoodo,* etc. As a simple appeasement and worship against a vow or for prosperity or to release hold.

***(c) Bhāt Dyā*:** The Chakmas believe in rebirth. They believe that so long as one cannot extinct or quence desires, he/she is bound to take rebirth until attainment of *Nibbānā*. Some get better rebirth and some are born in lower being or abode as per *Karma* or action. Even with good deeds, one may be reborn to relatives if one cannot quence desire and love. For the salvation of the dead relatives and to quence their thirst the Chakmas earlier performed a rite called *Bhāt Dyā* (literally giving rice) meaning offering of rice or *pinda*. A *Bhāt Dyā* was held only for the people of own *gutthi* or lineage of three, five or seven generations. Therefore, the active participation of all the people of a *gutthi* and their relatives are a must. The arrangement should be huge and it is very very expensive. Only the wealthy people could initiate such a performance.

When holding of *Bhāt Dyā* is decided, first the correct list of dead relatives of three, five or seven generations are prepared in a book called, *Dhāmāsik*. Afterward fixing the time and place

is made, invitation is sent to all the people of own *gutthi* (linage) and none should even a baby or old person of the *gutthi* should be left out or remain absent. The place should be wide and plain.

Before the appointed day, all the people of the *guthhi* come to the appointed place and donate their able contributions, necessary for the rite. They also reach in person, one-two days before the occassion and the place fills with people. Some people open shop and a temporary market for sale of vegetable, cattle, fish, dry fish, etc. Apart these, for the dedication and offering to the dead people clothes, banners, utensils, ornaments, etc., are also brought in the market. Those are collected and stored in a *Bhāndāl Ghār* (store house). The convenor has to arrange all the necessary materials including invitation of *Lurees* (traditional monks). At the appointed place, arrangement is made for the stay of the people.

It is noteworthy to mention that, *Bhāt Dyā* can be conducted with only traditional Buddhist monk, the *Lurees*. There is a rule that the *Lurees* may be assisted only by the *Lukthāks* (former lurees), who knows the rules of the rite. In this rite chanting from the traditional religious scripture, the *Āghar Tārā* is a must. Before start of the rite, mock funeral pyres for all the dead relatives are prepared at the appointed place. Above which *Tāngon* (banners) and *Bābadā* (flags) are also posted. On the day before the performance, the *lurees* go to the pyre in the evening and invite the departed souls by chanting from the scripture, *Āgar tārā*. Some people remains there in guard and some people arrange the food by slaughtering buffallow, pig, chicken and also arrange fish, dry fish and other vegetable courses. Actually, all edible things like meat, fish, vegetable, sweetmeat, wine, rice beer and other household materials had to be arranged and kept reserved in the *Bhāndāl Ghar*. Some people cook rice, some people cook meat, fish, vegetable and some people prepare sweetmeat, etc., literally they remain awake whole the night.

On the day of *Bhāt Dhyā*, rice plates has to be arranged on *Mejāngs* (bamboo tapes weaved small table), above which plantain leaves are spread and on which rice, sticky rice and all available items like meat, fish, dry fish, vegetable, cakes, sweetmeat, milk, curd, wine, rice beer, betel rolls, etc., are placed for every dead persons. Such a plate is called *Ādārhā Poi* or *Āk Bārhā Poi* (invitee plate). If the dead people are one thousand, such number of *Ādarhā* has to be prepared. Afterward these are offered at the funeral pyre by the relatives of the dead people. These plates have to be guarded so that no dogs or other animal could eat it. Afterward the *Luris* come to the spot and chant *Āgar Tārās* from the scripture in unison without rest. During this time people burn fire cracker and burst other fireworks. They also beat drums.

In a *Bhāt Dyā*, a total of 16 (sixteen) tārās namely *(1) Sigol Mangal Tārā, (2) Ārinnāmā Tārā, (3) Sāhach Phulu Tārā, (4) Ānichchā Tārā, (5) Sādengiri Tār, (6) Mālem Tārā, (7) Dajha Pārāmhi Tārā, (8) Padam Phulu Tārā, (9) Cherāk Phulu Tārā, (10) Rāghim Phulu Tārā, (11) Putum Phulu Tārā, (12) Sāmi Phulu Tārā, (13) Buddha Phulu Tārā, (14) Jyon Dharon Tārā, (15) Subhā Dijhā Tārā* and *(16) Tri Puttra Tārā* are said to be chanted by the Luris in unision. While chanting the scripture some people get hyptonised and fall on the ground amid noises and cry with mild sound. The volunteers then go to them and aske who he/she is. They read out the names of dead people from the Dhāmāsik and ask whether they were such or such. Unless the right name is read out, they will go on crying. If the right name is read out, he/she would stop crying and will admit in closed eye that it is the right name. Afterward he/she will tell what his/her unfulfilled desire was and how will he/she get normal.

Then he/she will answer in mild voice like (a) In my last life I could not get such and such thing as my son did not procure it for me, (b) That I had a mind to have such and suchornament but my husband did not purchase it, (c) I left such and such property and I want it now, etc., etc. If the son of his/her previous life is found, it may be confirmed from him that due to monetary problem he could not provide the desired thing. Or that he actually had such property which was dear to him/her. Such a material then immediately collected from the Bhāndhāl or the market at any cost and placed at the *Ādārhā Poi*, kept for him/her and the hypnotised person becomes normal and get up. It is also said that if such a desired material is not available, the relatives of the previous life had to seek pardon from the hyptonised. If pardoned, he /she will get normal and if not, he /she will die immediately or will remain half conscious for the rest of life. Some people have very less desire like a particular fruit, a particular cake or biscuit or a particular curry. Some demand for particular crockery, plate, dish, cattle etc. Some small girl even said to say that my husband sold my such and such ornament with the promise to make it again, but he never made it for me. It may also be confirmed from her what was the name of her husband, how may children she had or what was the name of her village. If the husband is alive, it may be confirmed from him that actually he had sold such ornament of his wife but could not make it again due to poverty. In such case she had to be provided such ornament or give the market value to her. It is also said that within the area where the chanting of the Lurees is heard, some bird, cattle like cow, buffallow, pig, chicken, birds, insects, etc., fall hyptonised and die immediately. It is believed that due to their bad actions in the previous life they got such form and achieved salvation from the life of animal, bird, insect, etc., by dying in the *Bhāt Dyā* ground. It is also said that one woman had fallen hyptonised and after enquiry her husband was found to be her son in the previous life who died after child birth. Such a couple was separated afterward as per custom. My mother also narrated me one incident where one of her related great grand father, *Chul Vaitdyo* of *Kobāllyā gutthi* fell unconscious in a *Bhāt Dyā* while he was supervising it. After enquiry it was found that he was a female in the previous life and his present wife was her husband. Her thirst was only for one piece of 'Kat' a rasin taken earlier in lieu of betel nut from the bark of a tree called 'Battā'. After marriage she used to chew betel nut and pan. Her husband used to scold her for chwing it. So she changed it to '*Ponjānghi* seed' instead of betel nut. Then also her husband used to scold her and she started chewing 'Kat'. But her husband still scolded her and she had to give up chewing permanantly and the desire remained alive. He came to normalcy after getting a piece of 'kat' (catechu).

At the afternoon when people start falling more in hyptonised mood and if it becomes uncontrolable due to lack of sufficient volunteers, the *Lukthāks* used to take food from the dishes meant for the dead people to make it stale. By which they stop further falling and the *Lurees* also stops recitation. And thus, the rite comes to conclusion. Afterward the symbolic funerals are burnt into ashes and the place becomes a burning place of dead and such a place is kept abandoned and never used for cultivation.

I have met one Shri Bijoy Singha Chakma at Agartala, Tripura who is said to have witnessed a *Bhat Dya* rite in East Pakistan in 1956. In the rite the boy who fell hypnotised is said have born to different family and demanded his properties which he left with his sons. The properties included one licenced gun, on big bronze dish and one *Bhujhon Ber* (a brass platform on which a plate is placed while taking food). It was confirmed from the sons of his previous life. They agreed to give the dish and the *Bhujhon Ber* but denied to give the gun. The hypnotised boy

would not pardon without getting the gun and remained hyptonised. At last the committee forced the sons to give the the gun and the boy became normal.

At present, it is not possible to arrange a *Bhāt Dyā* since the traditional monk, the *Lurees* are also extinct. Only one *Luree* at Chawilengta, Tripura is said to be living. Further the people are scattered in different places like Bangladesh, India and other foreign countries. In India also they are living in Tripura, Mizoram, Arunachal, Assam and a few in West Bengal. Hence gathering of all people of a *gutthi* (gene) is quite impossible.

(d) ***Buddha Puja:*** It is an occassional puja or vowed puja offered before a Buddha idol consisting of rice, curry, sticky rice, jaggery, sweets, fruits and other materials. Accompanied by offering of flowers, burning of lamps, incensed sticks, oillamps and candles followed by dedication in presence of monks. It is to note that a Buddha Pujo is believed to be incomplete without *Kheer* or *Pāyācham*. It is generally performed on *Buddha Purnima, Āshari Purnima, Āshini Purnima* and at *Kathina Chibara Dānā, Sangha Dānā, Atta Parikkārā Dānā, Bizu,* etc. And at vowing.

(e) Bwai Chakra: *Byui Chakra*: It is a fencing design made of bamboo chips where only one entry and one exit is kept. It represents the life circle of men. It is also a symbol to go out from the present state to other abodes. Above the top of the fending thousand of candles or wicked lamps are installed for burning after dedication to Buddha. A *Byui Chakra* is performed along with other Buddhistic rites like *Sangha Dana, Kathin Chibar Dana, Sat Dinnya, Phānāch Batti,* etc., and usually held during the period from the full moon day of *Pausa* to the full moon day of *Māāk* (*Māghi Purnima*). The design represents *Dwādasa anga* of *Patitya Samutpāda* (i.e., *Abidyā, Sanskārā, Bijnān, Nāmrupa, Sharāyatana, Sparsh, vedanā, Trishnā, Pādana, Bhava, Jāti, Jarā-Maran,* etc.) in the Buddhist scripture where Lord Buddha has explained about birth and rebirth of the living beings and how they attain *Nibbana* which is beyond the attraction of life circle. The design represents the life circle and how one losses the well defined ways and make rebirth repeatedly. We have heard about *Dunno Chakra* and *Abhinanyu Chakra* also in the *Mahabharata*. But those are battle designs and *Byui Chakra* is meant for salvation of the life circle.

For holding a *Byui Chakr a* a big plain field is required. It is first clean sweeped and a fencing of bamboo chips is erected keeping one entry and one exit. Inside the fencing many more puzzling fencings are erected tolead to entry and exit. Above the fences, provision is made to place candles and oiled wicks to burn as a lamp. At the centre of the fences, a temporary Buddhist Temple is constructed where a Buddha Idol is installed. After the dedication of the *Chakra* along with other provision people are allowed to enter it barefooted. They first try to pay homage to the Buddha idol at the centre, and dedicate the chakra and other provisions and while coming out light the lamps placed on the fencing.

Mr. Bankim Krishna Dewan in his book *Chakma Puja Parbbon* stated that, earlier the *Byui Chakra Buddha Melā* was held at the field near rhe Govt. High School, Rangamati, every year at the north east corner. The tribal students of class IX used to organise it. They used to collect donation house to house and used to carry bamboos from the nearby reserved jungle which extended from Rangamati Jail to Reserved Bazar. The forest officials used to permit them to carry required bamboos free of tax. That, the student used to greet every devotee with *Barā Pidhyā* (fried pan cake), *Doi* (curd) and *Khāidye Midhyā* (brown sugar). It was later shifted to *Ananda Vihara* after it was constructed in 1934.

The last time I have witnessed a *Byui Chakra* was at Kamalanagar in 1990 sponsored by Art & culture department and CYCA.

***(f) Chāminhee*:** It is the tradition of becoming a temporary novice called *Moinsyāng or Samanera*. A male must become a temporary novice at least once in the life time to be identified as Buddhist. One may become a temporary novice from the age of seven under a monk. Where he lives a pious life observing the ten Sheelas (precepts) of (a) not to kill any living being, (b) not to steal, (c) Not to tell lie, (d) not to look at others with sex in mind, (d) not to take any intoxicant to the extent of losing reason, (6) abstain from sexual activities, (7) not to take food in the afternoon, (8) to maintain seniority, (9) not to apply or wear any bead, scent, cosmetic, ornaments, etc., and (10) not to accept money, silver, gold and gems more than requirement in travel. A novice should seek alm from house to house for his *guru* and himself and also accompany his guru whenever invited.

***(g) Dharma Kāmo Pujo*:** This rite is known in different name like *Dharma Kāma Pujo, Jādi Pujo, Sivā Pujo* or *Sibali Pujo*. Actually, it is the rite dedicated to *Sibali Mohathero*, the desciple of Lord Buddha. This rite is performed as per Buddhistic norm at the temple, at home, in a solitary place. When Buddhism was degrading and mixed up with tantricism, changes took place with the rite and the *Sibali Puja* was considered *Sivā Puja*. Gradually, killing of animal was also introduced in the rite. But installation of a Buddha idol in this rite is found compulsory. The Buddhistic norms like sanctification of the place of worship, prohibition of consuption of wine and other intoxicant, etc., is vigorously observed within the *Pujo* area.

The *Pujo* is performed for the prosperity of a family or as a fulfilment of a vow on distress and to overcome poverty. One is prohibited to utter the word *Dharma Kām* without reverence. Generally, this rite is performed when the villagers settles in the village after the *jhum* harvest is over. Whole the villagers are invited in a *Dharma Kāma Pujo* and all the villagers also assist the host. Before deciding to hold the *Dharma Kāma Pujo* rite, the host must take preperation before hand, i.e., at the time of harvest of paddy. He should keep common paddy and sticky rice paddy saperately for the purpose with the strict caution of not a single grain should fall out from it. Pig and chicken are also reared and wine and rice beer specially prepared to feed the public at the *Pujo*. He should also keep reserve other food grains like, *Kech piji, Koun, Jedenhā*, etc., for the purpose in advance. In performing the rite, the host must pound the paddy and other food grain with the precaution of not a single grain should be lost. Sanctity is maintained by taking bath and sprinkling the sanctifying water called *Kojoi Pānhi*, on the paddy and the pounders. Seven chicken, one big pig, lots of dry fish, rice, sticky rice, various vegetable, wine, rice beer, sweetmeats, rock sugar, sugar, jiggery, oil, ghee, etc., have to be arranged. If any one had vowed to perform the rite, he may select a pigling for it and rear it for the rite. It grows gradually and in the meantime the host will arrange other materials. When the pig is big enough and ready for the rite, the host will then start making wine and rice beer separately for the purpose. They will also start pounding rice for making flour to make various cakes.

On the night before the appointed day the animals, and chicken are slaughtered for cooking in the early morning. Dry fish, vegetable, sweets, jaggary are also prepared in the early morning. The cooked rice, meat, fish and other items are kept on a platform called *Dān Ghar*. As told earlier the rite is performed at a temple, near the house or in the jungle. But slaughtering of animal, cooking, etc., is not done at the place of worship. Those are done at a distance. Here the animals are not sacrificed in traditional method but simply slaughtered to make meat courses. The place

of worshipis first clean sweeped. On which a platform is constructed with bamboo. It is then fenced with bamboo chips keeping four doors at the four directions. Inside it another circular or rectangular fencing is erected. The portion beween two fencing is divided into four equal portions. At the centre a big stupa is made with rice. Sometimes, the rice are coloured with turmaric to look golden. In the rooms between two fencings anoter rice stupas consisting of sixteen each in number are also placed. All the prepared items like rice, sticky rice, meat, fish, dry fish, vegetable courses, sweetmeat, jaggery, banana, coconut, etc., are also placed and the *Lurees* start chanting from the *Āgar Tara*. It is conducted by the seniormost Luree called *Gatthya Luree*. They read out from the *Malem Tara, Daparami Tara, Sahos Phulu Tara, Bor Kuruk Tārā, Chhjota Kuruk Tara,* etc.

In the *Dharma Kām Pujo*, there is a rule that if a spider do not makes a net above the plateform, the rite is not successful. If it enters from the east and weaves a net inside the plateform and goes out from the west, it is very very good for the host. If any fly sits on the puja items before the entry of the spider, it is regarded as bad for the host. But if after the spider has entered and if, hundreds of flies come, it is not harmful. If the spider do not appear, the *Lurees* and *Lukthāks* have to make round around the plateform chanting from the scriptures. They will do it until the spider appears. Generally, they need not do it for long and the spider appears soon. It is never heard that the spider never appeared in a *Dharma Kāma Pujo*.

After the *Pujo* is over, the *Lurees* and *Lutthāks* come to the *Dān Ghār* and keep some food and other edible items for themselves and give the rest for the host and villagers consumption. Then only wine and rice beers will be consumed by the host and villagers. In the evening hot coloured paper balloons, thousand lamps may also be burnt or dedicated to the Buddha at the temple.

I last heard about *Dharma Kāma Pujo* in 1973 conducted by Bharat Chandra Chakma s/o Kandara Chakma of *Semo gutthi* of the *Khiyāngjoy Gozā* at Tuichawng. There was no *Luree*, but he himself being a former Luree conducted it with other ormer *Lurees* called *Lukthaks*.

(h) Hājār Bātti Dān: It is the burning of thousand or more lamps / *Bātti* after dedicating to Buddha in presence of monks.

(i) Kadhin Chibar Dān: *Kathin Chibar Dan* is the offering of *Chibara* (monk's robe) prepared within one day from cotton rolls. It also accompanied by dedication of monks' essentials, like food, fruits, sweet meats, drinks, chappals, umbrella, shoulder bags, *Achta Parikkārā*, etc., *Kathi Chibar Dānā* is regarded as the highest *Dānā* in Buddhism which is said to be introduced by *Sevikā Sujātā* of Gaya.

(j) Phānāch Bātti Utswarga: It is the releasing of coloured paper made hot ballon to the sky after dedication.

(k) Phorhā Dān means offering of handloomed banners. Which are woven with flower designs. There is a rule that a woman or girl weaving a flower design in a *phorhā* can no longer use such design in her lifetime.

(l) Phool Dān: means offering of flowers.

(m) Putgalik Dānā is a *dānā* or offering made before less than four monks wich includes monks robe, their essentials, food, drinks and money.

(n) Sangha Dān is the offerings dedicated before four or more monks like, food, fruit, drinks, money, monks' robes and essentials.

(o) *Siyang Dān:* It is the offering of rice and curry before *Gonghei* (the Almighty God) and now a days before a Buddha idol and monks everyday or occasionally. **(x) *Syong:*** It is the regular offering of food and drinks before the Buddha idol and monks. It may be regular or at interval when a family can arrange so. It is just rice, sticky rice, or other corn and sweet rice porridge including meat, fish, vegetable courses, fruits, fruit juice, cakes, biscuits, etc., excluding alcoholic drinks.

(p) Tāngon Dān: *Tāngon Dān* means offering of cloth banners up to the length of 36 hands, i.e., 54 feet.

(q) Anna Meru Dān: *Thāmāng tong Anna Meru Dān* : *Thāmāng* in *Maghi* is Rice and *Tong* means a Hill. Hence *Thāmāng Tong* means a Rice Hill. A rice hill is dedicated and offered in the name of Lord Buddha. The rice are coloured with turmaric to make it golden. It indicates that a golden hill is offered.

(r) Sivali Pujo: It is the Puja offered to *Sivali*, the disciple of Lord Buddha. He is believed to *Lābhi Shrestha*. Wherever he went he received food in the forest, water or land. It is performed with Buddha Puja by reciting suttas from Buddhist discourses and *Sivali Parittang* is compulsory. It is believed that who ever performs this puja will gain wealth and prosperity.

Cultural Rites

Cultural: (a) *Bādhoi Bāā Tulonhā:* *Bādhoi* is a small bird which make its nest on ripe paddy plant. On finding such a nest, as per tradition it has to be brought to jhum hut ceremoniously. As per tradition, a *Bādhoi* is treated as the chicken of *Mā Lokkhi*, the goddess of wealth. So, finding a *Bādhoi* nest is regarded the presence of *Mā Lokkhi*, in the jhum. Hence, the nest is brought ceremoniously to welcome *Mā Lokkhi*. *A Bādhoi* nest is brought to the jhum hut after worshipping *Mā Lokkhi* at the root of the paddy plant with sacrifice of a pig or at least a hen with prayer of good yield from the jhum.

(b) Bāghā Bur: It is the rite performed after attack or killing by a tiger of a person from own *gutthi* (gene). The whole *gutthi* (gene) people have to perform this rite so that no tiger attacks anybody from the gene in future. It is performed by a *Vaitdya* by reciting mantra and discourses like *Kuruk Tārā* from the *Ágar Tārā*.

(c) Bizu: Bizu is the main festival of the Chakmas which is celebrated with great pomp, charms and gaiety. It is celebrated at the end and beginning of a year to bid farewell of old year and to welcome the New Year with new hope and aspiration. It is the greatest of all festivals celebrated by the Chakmas and it falls on the last two days of *Chot* (*Chaitra*/13th And 14th April) and first day of *Boijhak* (*Vaishaka*/15th April).

The word *'Bizu* 'might have come from the Sanskrit word *'Bishuva'* (meaning the day on which the sun enters the *Aries* zodiac) since the Chakmas pronounce the words with middle and last 'sa', 'sha' as 'za', 'jha' (e.g., *Voijhak*>Vaishakha), Pojhak>poshak, Pojhu>posu), etc. It is an agriculture based festival of the Chakmas. Around this time people remains at home with stock of crops they harvested and no new work has also started. The climate is also moderate and favourable for celebration. It is the pre-summer time and the monsoon rain has not started. At the beginning of rain sowing of crops starts in a *Jhum* culture. Rain starts pouring from the month of *Vaishakha*. *Bizu* is comparable with *'Vasant Utsav'*, *'Vasant Panchami'*, *'Vaishakhi'*, *Pongal*, etc., for its gaiety and pomp. Around this time, at the end of Spring, festivals are celebrated around the world under different names. Let us take some names like *Bihu, Bishu, Boishuk,*

Sangrai, which are celebrated around us. *Assamese Bihu* is world famous for its colourfulness and *Bihu Dance*.

Bizu is a cultural festival and non-religious in nature. However, now a days, some Buddhist religious rites are also stuffed in. It is said that, earlier *Bizu* was celebrated for fifteen days. But with the passage of time it has shrinked to three-four days in the form of *Phool Bizu, Mul Bizu* and *Gochjyā-Pochchyā Bizu*. However, preparation for the festival begins ten to fifteen days earlier. People start collection of dresses, weaving of clothes by the women, collection of honey and *Gheelyā* from the jungle, hunting and preservation of dry meat, fishing and preservation of dry fish for the *Bizu*. The youths will also make *Nādeng* (wooden tops) to play at during the *Bizu*. *Mat* (rice wine), *Dhoyā Pujhee* (edible fermented rice made of sticky rice), *Jagarhā* (rice beer of sticky rice), *Kānji* (rice beer of common rice) are also prepared in advance for the *Bizu*.

***Phool Bizu*:** On the day of *Phool Bizu*, in the rural area, people get up early. The youths (male and female) with rice packet go out for the jungle, Rānnyā (abandoned jhum) and river bank for collection of vegetable and flowers especially the *Nāksha Phool*. This *Nāksha Phool* is the most revered flower by the Chakmas and it is also related with the legendary hero *Rādhā Mahn* and his beloved *Dhanpudi* (whose ballads are sung by the *Geingkhulees* till date). From the jungle, *Rānnyā* and river banks they will collect palm shoots and cane shoots like *Korodi Āgā, Tāl Āgā, Bedāgi Āgā, Kereido Āgā, Chah Āgā, Chāng phool Āgā*, vegetables like *Lelham Pādā, Jāngāllhyā Shāk, Begol Biji, Bigun, Kumurho, Pujhoga kurhi, Koyāng Ālu, Murich, Ojhon Shāk*, from the *Rānnyā, Kalātthur, Tārā, Dhimā Tidyā, Gāngkuli Shāk, Todega Jwil Shāk, Ijyā Dār Shāk, Kārmoch Shāk, Bātbātyā Shāk* from the river bank and of course *Gheelā* and *Naksā Phool* from the jungle. At home, the women folk will wash all the clothes, clean the house and the utensils and also purify the house with *Gheelyā-Kojoi Pāni* (water of kernel of *Gheelā*, a round shaped jungle fruit from a creeper and *Kojoi*, a tamarind like fruit of a thorny creeper, raw turmeric and rice are dipped is regarded as sacred and purifying agent by the Chakmas). Cattles and poultry are kept free on the *Bizu* days.

On return from the jungle with *Kāllwhang* full (basketful) of vegetable and flowers, they will first go to the river for bath. After they have taken bath, they will offer *Cherāk* (oil lamps /candle) and flowers to *Gangā Mā* (river goddess) with prayer for fulfilment of their wishes and welfare of self, family members and relatives. At home also *Cherāk* and flowers will be offered to *Gonghei* (God) and *Mā Lokkhi Mā* (goddess of wealth) for fulfilment of wish, welfare and abundance of food grain. The house will also be illuminated. At the entry of the house also cherāk will be lighted and kept one pot of water and a baton or pole with the wish that the good spirit should enter the house by washing the feet, the bad spirit should be driven away beating with the baton/ pole. Afterward, flowers and *Cherāk* will be offered at the Buddhist temple with the prayer for fulfilment of wish and welfare of self, family members and friends. After dinner, some will go to *Pidhyā Dubo* (to pound rice flour) and some will keep ready the vegetables to cook in the early morning.

***Mul Bizu*:** On the *Mul Bizu* day, the women will get up early in the morning. They will bake cakes and prepare sweet meats and other items. They will also cook rice, sticky rice, vegetables especially *Pājān* (mixed vegetable) and *Tidyā* (bitter items). It is believed that whoever takes *Pājan* and *Tiyā* from at least seven houses in a *Bizu* day gets relief even from chronic diseases. All the other family members also wake up early on the *Bizu* day and go to the river for bath. The children are especially lured with supposed *Bizu Gulo* (fruit or ball of *Bizu*) which are supposedly

following down the river and if they go late, they will not get it. The children are also encouraged to dip and search for *Bizu Gulo*. After the bathing is over, all put on new dress and offer *Cherāk* at the river. At home also one of the family members will offer *Cherāk* to the *Gonghei*. In the mean time all the items like cakes, sweetmeats, vegetable are ready. Portion of these are kept separately for *Syong* (offering to God/Buddha) and offered at home and sent to the Buddhist temple. *Ma Lokkhi* is also offered the items along with one boiled egg. After return from the river, the children go out with grains like rice, paddy to be offered to free roaming chicken and ducks. Afterward, the family members take the home made items specially *Pājon, Tidyā* and other items and go out by rotation to taste in neighbours houses. On the day of *Bizu*, no invitation is necessary! And everybody are welcomed. It is customary that if any guest enters a house, the host must offer the available items sometime even not keeping for self consumption. The children take cakes like *Pājan, Tidyā, Bini Pidhyā, Sānnyā Pidhyā, Khagh Pidhyā Kalā Pidhyā, Khoi, Modhu, Pāyoch, Mrei Pidhyā*, etc. Apart from the foregoing items, some grown up take *Mat, Jagarhā, Kānji*, etc. Tasting of *Pājān* and *Tidyā* is almost compulsory. The teenagers start tasting of alcoholic items during *Bizu* day. No one is forbidden to take any items on the *Bizu* day. The whole day goes with eating, drinking and merry making.

On the *Bizu* day, some youths give bath to the old people, who could not go to river and bow before them for blessings. Some boys, girls and children play traditional games like *Badā Bodi* (wrestling), *Gudu Khārā* (Ha doo doo/Kabaddi), *Gheelyā Khārā* (game with wheel like seed), *Nādeg Khārā* (game with wooden tops), *Potti Khārā, Pohr Khārā* and other games in groups. At night, they make torches called *Bombā* in a bamboo cylinder where stale rice is poured with raisin of *Garsang* tree. With the light of *Bombā* some play *Gheelyā Khārā*, some play traditional musical instruments like *Khenggrang* (harp made of bamboo chip), *Dhudhuk, Bājhee* (flute). Some organise competition on traditional songs and dances. Some listen to *Geingkhuli* (ballad sung by traditional singers). These merry making goes on sometime till the next morning.

The Buddhisticrites, which are observed now a days on the *Bizu* are performance of *Uposath* (eight precepts) at the temple by the old folks and offering of *Buddha Puja, Atta Parikkārā Dānā, Sangha Dānā* with lighting of thousand lamps and release of *Phānāch* (hot balloon made of coloured papers), etc. Every household also offer *Syong* (offering from all prepared items except the alcoholic items) with burning of candles and incensed sticks. Offering of money and other useful items to the monks are also made on the day as *Dānā*.

Gochchya-Pochchya: It is the New Year day. All the households perform the rite called *Girichthi Chumulong* or try to invite the monks at their home to listen to Buddhist discourses called *Mangal Suttra* or *Pharekh (Parittas)*. The *Giristhi Chumulang* is nothing but worship of the family deities called *Kāleiā, Parameswari, Ochsyā* and *Saudāgochyā (Michinghyā)*. Some people identify these deities as *Hara* (Siva), *Pārvati* (Durga) and *Ganeshā*. They are offered animal sacrifice. Cock for *Kāleiā*, hen for *Parameswari* and egg for *Ochsyā*. They are worshipped for the welfare of the family and it is conducted by an *Ojhā* (exorcist). Before worshipping the *Chumulang* deities, *Gangā* must be worshipped at the river *ghāt* with the sacrifice of chicken or goat for the purification of whole the family members called *Mādhā Dhwa*. It is customary that one must prepare good items especially non-vegetarian items on the *Gochchyā-Pochchyā* day. It is with the belief that one who takes good food on the first day of the year will get good food whole the year. This *Chumulang* and listening to Buddhist discourses goes on for days till every family get their chance for the monk and *Ojhā*. It is also customary that all the household will change their salt from the container and pour *Pochsyā Salt* (Mantra chanted) a new. This *mantra*

chanted salt is with the belief of protection from chronic skin diseases like leprosy and other ailments. It is also customary to invite relatives and old people in the lunch on *Gochchyā-Pochchyā* day. The young folk bathe the old folks on this day and seek their blessings.

(d) Bur Pārā/Mādhā Dhwa: It is the rite performed to ward off ill fate, ill luck *Dajhā*, etc., on certain happenings. As the head need to be wetted in this rite, it is some times called *Mādhādhwa* (head wetting). It is the rite of purification and exchange of life for life by sacrificing animals. A *Bur Pārā* is performed by worshipping *Gangā, Bhoodā, Biātrā*, etc., deities' *Gangā* likes chicken or goat, *Bhoodhā* likes cock or pig and *Biātrā* likes intestines of a just shelled out chicken which is to be offered by opening from the back. *Biatra* and *Bhoodā* are said to be sons of *Gangā*. *Bhoodā* is the hunter, who hunts for *Gangā*, *Biātrā* is the planetary deity and the master of *Dajhā* or misfortune. If *Biātrā* is displeased on anybody, he/she must die.

Bur Pārā is performed at the river ghat by appeasing the river goddess *Ganga*. It may be with lamps and flowers or with animal sacrifice like a pair of chicken or a goat. It varies from *Ojhā* to *Ojhā* and as per the method they have learnt from their *guru*. (It is said that there were nine lakh of sages who learnt the mantras and pujas in different ways). Earlier unless this *Bur Pārā* rite is performed, the newly wed should not enter others houses. Otherwise, they may be fined for causing impurity. For that they have to bear all the expenditure for performing a *Bur Pārā* like chicken, etc., as that family have perform it to gain back purity due to the followings:

Phee: The Chakma observe some taboo on seeing, happening and habitation. They are as under:

Seeing a dead animal like *Gui* (monitor lizard), snake, tortoise, and a roaming turtle on the ground is said to acquire *Phee* (misfortune) by the observer. Unless that phee has been washed away with the rite of *Madha Dhwa* (literally washing of head)/*Balā Kādā* (literally cutting off *Bālā* (misfortune) one will meet with misfortune, ill luck, accident, illness, death in the family.

Bur Pārā/Mādhā Dhwa/Bālā Kādā rite is recommended in case of:

(a) *Māng Phee:* It is the entry of a king in a common man's house. In such a case, it is believed that the common man cannot bear the weight of the king since the king is god sent one. So, to bear his weight the common man should be promoted to *Kheejhā* or the expenditure of *Bola Kada* rite (to cut the *Bola* (misfortune) should be borne by the king.

(b) *Nāga Phee:* It is the entry of a poisonous snake in a dwelling house.

(c) *Ul Phee:* It is the entry of blake motes in a dwelling house.

(d) *Lo Phee:* It is finding of blood from unknown source in a house.

(e) *Gui Phee:* It is finding of a dead monitor lizard.

(f) *Dur Phee:* It is finding of a dead tortoise. It is also finding of a water turtle roaming on the ground during day time.

(g) *Chil Phee:* It is sitting of a kite on a dwelling house.

(h) *Sigira Phee:* It is sitting of a hawk on a dwelling house.

(i) *Byah Phee:* It is after marriage Phee.

(j) *Biani Phee:* It is after child birth Phee.

(k) *Marā Phee:* On occurring death in a family.

(l) *Bak Phee:* On being attacked by a tiger.

(m) *Kugur Phee:* On climbing by a dog on roof top.

(n) On laying of tender full moon day, egg, small eg., pair egg by hen.

(o) On death of parent on New moon day.

(p) *Undur Phee:* On biting of clothes by rants/mouse. .

(q) *Barmhā Phee:* For house burning.

(r) On finding unusual things like flowering by a plantain tree from the side, etc.

Dajhā: Dajhās are said to be misfortunes due to planetary disorder and other causes. The *Dajhās* are the planetar affects known as *Rāhu Dajhā, Kedu Dajhā, Nabagraha Dajhā, Mātri Dajhā* and *Pitri Dajhā*. Due to *Graha Dajhā* (planetory affects).

To get rid of such *Phee* and *Balā* (misfortune) and *Dajhā* the Chakmas perform the rite called *Balā Kādā* (cutting the misfortune) or *Mādhā Dhwa* (literally washing the head), *Bur Pārā* (offering in exchange). Some even perform *Chumulang* along with *Bur Para*.

Bur Pārā Krenjā: For performing *Bur Pārā Mādhā Dhwa/Balā Kādā*, the following rules are observed:

On performance of *Bur Pārā* in the month of *Vaijhākā*, observing the year and the time, one get relief from *Suni Dajhā, Rāhu Dajhā, Kedu Dajhā, Guru Dajhā, Mātri Dajhā, Pitri Dajhā Chandra Dajhā*, etc.

If performed in the month of *Jet*, on the fourth or fifth day after new moon, one remains happy.

In the month of *Ājhār* if performed on the third or sixth or seventh day after new moon, he remains happy and the *Dein* or the *Bhoot* cannot touch him.

In the month of *Shāghon*, if performed on the first or second day after full moon, happiness is restored.

In the month of *Bhādho*, if it is performed on the fifth or seventh after full moon, remains happy.

If performed on the seventh day after new moon in the month of *Ājhin*, remains happy.

On the third, fifth or ninth day after new moon, if performed in the month of *Kādi*, all misfortune goes away.

On the second or ninth day after new moon, if performed in the month of *Āghun*, remains happy and misfortune goes away.

If performed on the fourth or seventh day after new moon, longigiblity is gained.

If it is performed on the second, fourth or full moon day in the month of *Māāk, Mātri Dajhā, Pitri Dajhā* and all other *Dajhās* go away.

In the month of *Phāgun* if performed on the third or fourth day after new moon, all *Dajhā* goes away.

In the month of *Chot*, if performed on the first day after new moon, all misfortune goes away.

On Sunday - *Kor phool* leaves, seven nos.

On Monday - *Jhāndāl* leaves, seven nos.

On Tuesday - *Jaganhā* leave, seven nos.
On wednesday - *Kāli Banghal*leaves, seven nos.
On Thursday - *Sree phal* leaves, seven nos.
On Friday - *Patda* leaves, seven nos.
On Saturday - *Padanā* leaves, seven nos.

In case of *Phee/Balā/Dajhā*, the family will perform the rite *Mādhā Dhwa/Balā Kādā/Bur Pārā* by engaging an *Ojhā* (priest/exorcist). In this rite the hairs of the head is wetted hence *Mādhādhwa* (washing of head), the misfortune is inactivated by performing the rite, hence, *Balā Kādā* (cutting of misfortune) and the misfortune is rid off by exchanging life for life/ by offering something hence *Bur Pārā* (exchange). For performing *Balā Kādā* rite, the head of the family or any member of the family will go to an *Ojhā* with flower or a cup of wine and invite him to perform *Balā Kādā* for his family on a appointed day. The *Ojhā* will take the wine and sleep keeping the empty cup under his pillow. Before sleep he will light lamp in the name of God and pray to foretell the future of the family in dream. On the appointed day he will go to the family and there the family members hand over him the provisions of the rite, i.e., the flowers, oil lamps, *Ābedhi Sudho* (thread spun by a girl who has not attained puberty), *Gheelyā–Kojoi Pānhi* (water of *Gheelyā-Kojoi*, rice, turmeric, gold, silver, etc., which is treated as sacred water) and chicken. Now he will assemble all the family members and hovering the chicken above them chant prayers – "Oh, the devas! I am going to perform the *Mādhā Dhwo /Bur Pārā / Balā Kādārite* of such and such and his whole family to day, as per the procedure taught by my gutularities. If there is any irregularities in the performance of the rite, please pardon me since I am a foolish and ignorant human being. You kindly accept the offerings. They might have offended you for being ignorant by doing certain prohibited things/and you wanted to take action against them. I, such and such *Ojhā* do hereby seek your pardon on their behalf with the available flowers, lamps, and chicken/ goat. They are offering these not for having excess or by selling the grass of their roof for not having anything, but with respect. I am offering you life for life, blood for blood, flesh for flesh, skin for skin, liver for liver, head for head, stomach for stomach, wings for hands, legs for legs (etc., etc.) you kindly bless them and spare them and accept this offerings. Some even perform *Chumulang* in addition to *Mādhā Dhwo*. Some *Ojhā* performs it with *Pujo* called *Phoole Pāghore* (literally with flower and petals and means with flowers, lamps, etc.) and some *Ojhā* do it with sacrifice of animals at the river ghat. Where all members of the family is lead to the river and their hairs are wetted with mantra chanted water.

Bur para rite is performed for the purification and also to wash away the ominous thing like on acquiring *Phee* on seeing something or happening, prequent illness in the family, absence of peace in the family, death of family member, poorness, biting of clothes by mouse, and also to drive away misfortune, ill luck etc. It is done for the whole members of the family. And if any member is absent from home, it is not performed. It is generally performed on Tuesday or Saturday. In Bur Pārā, the deities *Biātrā, Bhoot* and *Gangā*are worshipped with sacrifice of animals. Gangā is offered one pair of chicken (one cock and one hen). Sometimes, a goat is also sacrificed additionally, a cock chick to *Biātrā* and a cock to the *Bhoot*, i.e., three chicken and one goat is required and the following medicines.

Medicines: *Gheelya, Kojoi, Ijhing, Holot, Sona, Ruba, Chol,* coin and the medicine fixed for the day, i.e.:

At first a tree should be woke up (invoked life) on the previous evening of the performance chanting with folded hand –'*Ung kuthi gāch, jāk rhei gāch jāk.* On the next morning a branch of it shout be taken with bushes (leaves) and posted on the bank of river the the performance is to be held.

On the next day the medicines is to be invoked by chanting the following mantras:

1. *Pittimhi utpanna holo Gheelā kojoi Jarma nilho. Gheelā kojoi koi dip? Gheelā kojoi pol padalot, ludi udilho agajhot. Ei gheelā kojoi porhai abhuch manei sutdho gar Ujoni chhora gang lamoni dhar, abhuch manei reh sutdho gar – Gheelā kojoi porha.*

2. Ung sadali porbode gheelā kojoi-or jarma, Rame bule Lakkhan Bhair, anoghoi gheelā kojoi parbat bere berai. Kon parbade gheelā kojoi, kon porbode jeim? Na-haley gheelā kojoi ki lohiya eim?

Pobon beda Honumaney Longga puri gollhyo chhei. Annyoghoi gheelā kojoi Honuman bir. Goira Gonga hoi gelho thir – Gheelā kojoi porha.

Ijhing ijhing udilho Ijhing dubo banhi. Ei Ijhinghor jarma Bormhapuri. Deboghoney ragilho Berhi.

Ijhing Ijhing udhilho Ijhing dubo banhi, Tin kun pittimhir phadilo madi. Ei Ijhingor jarma Bormhapuri. Deboghoney raghilo berhi, Indroi anhilho Ijhing swargapuri. Ta hotte Raboney anilho Longgapuri. Longgar Ijhing Rabonpuri, Honumaney anilho lengure berhi. Rame lagelo Ijhing Sidai dilho jal, Sat kamachchya lwalho, gheelā kojoiye, Ijhinge, Holode, Sat padaloi, Sona Rubaloi, Gonga Ma panhiloi abhuch manei sutdho gar. Sutdho gorhi padhand ghār, Mor nang Ship Sanggar.

Bormhai anilho Ijhing, Himaley anilho holot, Kube anilho Sona Ruba, Borune anilho Gheelā, Indroi anilho kojoi. Sat kamachchya lwalhoi Gongiye dilho jal. Phee, Bola kada jok, Phara Dojha kada jok – Ma Gongi sutdho gar.

Uri dejhar Sona-Ruba, Puri dejhar mur, Sona-Ruba dui Bhai, Gheela Kojoi bur. Hemantari udhi bole Bajhantari Jage. Goira Gonga dollyo tul, Abhuch manei pallyo bur.

All these medicines are to be put in a bamboo cylinder and chanted with the following mantras:

Padumutessa pubbayang, Akgni disenang, Gurupur disenang, rakkheni disenang Jugini swaha.

Pitthimhi dilho jaga, brikkhoi dilho chhaya. Ki kade? Phee kade, Bola kade, ki phee? chil phee, sigira phee, ui phee, gui phee, debo phee, manei phee, lo phee, hejhak phee, kejhak phee, chang phee, mang phee, seloch phee, bamhoch phee, bach pada phee, byah phee, bela phee, Undur phee, kugur phee, Phee Bola kada jok, Phara dojha kada jok, man dojha kada jok, Suni dojha kada jok, Rahu dojha kada jok – Longa par.

Ung theilhak theilhak, Maha theilhak theilhak, Phee theilhak theilhak, Ung Hung kar. Phee Bola kada jok, Phara Dojha kada jok Ung swaga phwa.

Now, if all provisions are ready, the *Ojhā* will hover the chicken and hairs from the goat above the family members with the prayer that he is sacrificing the animals on behalf of the members of such and such family. That being ignorant human being ignorant, they donot know the activities of the devas and spirits. They might have unknowingly offended the devas. Hence they might have acquired *Phe, Balā, Phārā* and *Dajhā*. The devas and spirits should release their

holds, if any in exchange of sacrifice of animals and flowers, lamps, popped rice, sweetmeat. That he is offering blood for blood, life for life, skin for skin, hair for hair/feather, head for head, meat for meat, hand for hand/wings, legs for legs, liver for liver, gizzard/stomach for stomach, intestine for intestine. That the devas/spirits should spare the lives of the members of such and such family. That all their misfortune, ill luck, illness, poverty should be inactivated and bless them for a prosperous peaceful life. All the angers on them should be cooled down like the water of *Gangā*. All their ill luck, misfortune, accident, *Phee, Balā, Phārā, Dajhā* should be flown away beyond seven *lankās* (islands) and seven seas. After the hovering is over he will ask all to go to the river at the worshipping place. At last he will sweep the house, first at the middle main post with a sweeping broom. The broom is to be chanted with the following mantra before sweeping :

Ung sat Suni ek Mongol Bar, Phee Bola Kada jok, Phara Dojha kada jok, maran dojha kada jok – Longga par. Ung swaga phwa.

He will go out at the last from the house after sweeping it and also put down the *Sāngu* (the climbing ladder of the house) so that no one enters the house in their absence.

Now at the river ghāt a *Gangā ghār* (sacrificial platform) will be constructed. There the animals will be sacrificed. First *Biatrā* will be offered by cutting the chicken from the back. *Biatrā* is said to love intestines of chicken, Then *Bhooda* under the branch which have been posted in the morning, at last to Gangā. At the river ghāt he will construct a three cornered platform called *Gangā Ghār*. Above it he will spread plantain leaves where he will place a lump of soil above which he will put one *Mālei/Mārei* (decorated bamboo chip with downward bristle). Now he will put prayer as earlier and also test whether the sacrifice was accepted or not by throwing two tips of thick leaves. If the leaves fall one up and one down, it is believed to have accepted. If both falls face up, it is believed the deity is laughing. If both fall face down, it is believed the deity is angry. In that case he will pray more for acceptance and at last sacrifice the animal by slithing the throat and staining the *Mālei Keim* with the blood and the sacrifice is over.

Now prayer should be made before filling the medicine filled bamboo tube with water of the river/stream chanting this mantra:

'*Ung juro chhora, juro panhi, de rhei Gonga Ma de rhei panhi; Abhuch manei sutdho gorhi padhang ghar. Mor nang Debir put Ship Sangghar*'.

Now fill water chanting this mantra:

'*Ung sil bhanghi patthor garhang, Patthor bhangi dorjya garhang, Dorjya panhi kojei tulhong. Sujhuk nalhe bhorey panhi, de rhe Gonga Ma de rhei panhi, Abhuch manei sutdho gorhi padhang ghar. Mor nang Ship Shangghar.*

When the water is filled, the *Ojhā* will ask the members of the house to come one by one in front of him. He will keep one feet on the ground and other feet in the water and the medicinal bamboo tube in the left hand and wet the hairs of left side for male and right hairs for the female with the right hand, three times pouring water on the finger and chanting the following mantra:

Reyonhi Mā sudho kādey, nāl sudho phire, Mui Balā kādi dyonghor Suni Mangal bāre. Jok Balā Jok. Phee Balā Kādā jok, Phārā Dajhā Kādā jok, Maran dajhā kādā Jok, Suni dajh kādā jok, Rāhu dajhā kādā jok – Langgā pār.

De re Gonga de re panhi	Give Gonga give water.
Abhuch manei sutdho garhang	let me purify the ignorant human beings.

Sutdho gorhi padhang ghar	send them home purified.
Mor nang debir put Sipsanggar	I am Devi's son Siv Shankar..
Juro chhora juro panhi	Cold streamlet, cold water.
Suron garhan Urhong Muni	I take the name of sage Urhong.
Sujhong nalhe bharang panh	I fill the water from the right flow.
De re Gonga de re panhi	Give Gonga, give water.
Abuch manei sutdho garhang	Let me purify the ignorant human beings.
Sutdho gorhi padhang ghar	I send them home purified.
Mor nang devir put Sip sanggar	My name is Siv Shankar son of Devi.
Sil bhangi patthor garhang	Breaking rocks I make boulders.
Patthor bhangi dorjya garhang	Breaking boulder make the sea.
Dorjya panhi khujhe tulhon	I bring the sea water on palm
Sujhong nalhe tulhong panhi	I fill the water from right flow.
Abhuch manei sutdho garhang	I purify the ignorant human beings.
Sutdho gorhi padhang ghar	I send them home purified.
Mar nāng Debir put Sip Sangghar.	I am Devi's son Siv Shankar.

It is a rule that one should not look back while coming from the worshipping till entry in the house.

After the *Bur Para* is over, some familes also perform the *Chumulang* rite as in a marriage. But such *Chumulang* is called *Grichthi Chumulang*. Some families even bind/bury protective writings called *Āng* (magical writing with some peculiar figures) to protect the house from any attack by spirits, *Bāān, Tonā, Chāllān,* etc. Wher medicines like Horse Dung, Iron, Skin *of Mulugo Bāndor,* etc., are also added.

He will then call the family members elder to younger or younger to elder to come to him one by one and put one foot under water and another above water on the ground and wet their side hairs with the mantra chanted water with the prayer of "Oh mother Gangā! please take away all his//her misfortune, ill luck, diseases, *phee* and *Bhalā* along with these drops of water beyong seven seas and thirteen rivers and purify them. He will wet the right hairs of male and left hairs of female and at last ask them to go home and never look back. It is believed that means invitation of the misfortune again. On reaching the house the *Ojhā* enters it first and after chanting some mantra he will ask all to enter it. It is also a rule that no family member should sleep out side the house on the day of *Bur Pārā* and no guest should also be allowed in the house on that night.

(g) Chumulang: The *Chumulang* rite is performed at the time of marriage, to overcome from suffering and as a yearly rite for the welfare and prosperity of a family. It is the worship of family deities called *Kāleiā, Parameswari* and *Ochsya.* Some times *Michchingyā* (*saudagachya*) is also worshipped. These deities are identified with Hindu gods *Sivā, Parvati, Ganeshā* and *Michchingya* (Soudāgachsyā), the mythological human husband of *Laxmi,* the goddess of wealth. (As per Chakma mythology, *Laxmi Pālhā,* when the *Gozen* created human being. He first asked them to talk and the answer was 'rice'! (*'Oh Mānei Māt', - 'Oh Gozen Bhat'!*) (Oh human talk"!– Oh God

rice!). It is performed for the welfare of conjugal life and the family. It is performed for two purposes one for marriage and the other for the family called *Gristi Chumulag*, which is performed every year at the beginning of New Year. The *Gristi Chumulang* may be performed any time for damage of crops, loss of property, and frequent illness in the family or after the death of a family member. The method of performance is same and few words are different at the time of chanting prayers. The *Chumulang* is believed to be the first worship of the mankind after the creation of the universe. *Chumulang* is solemnised by an *Ojha* (*Exorcist*/Priest). Who may also be a *Vaitdyo* (physician).

(h) Dhān Hāt: It is the ritual performed to initiat harvest of paddy. A chicken is sacrificed under a ripe paddy plant to *Mā Lokkhi*. If chicken is not available, a crab is offered. Some even offer a pig. First some feathers of the chicken/hairs of the pig is placed over two plantain leaves making a plateform and spreading two *Āgā Pādā*. Above which one *mārei keim* or *mālei keim* (a bamboo chip which one end is decorated making downward bristle) is posted on it under a ripe paddy plant. Then *Āk pādā* (two tips of leaves, say jackfruit leaves) is also thrown to examine whether the offering is accepted with prayer. If the leaves fall one up and one down, it is understood that the offering is accepted. Then the throat of the chicken is slithed and blood sprinkled on it and the offering is over. In case of crab, it is broken and placed on the leaves. Afterward, the whole paddy plant with roots is carried to the *jhum hut* or home covering the basket. But before entering the hut or home, the party must enquire whether the hut is made firm and new hard post are placed so that it does not break up with the weight of *Mā Lokkhi* and foodgrain. If the answer is affirmative, they enter the house and place the basket at the inner room of the house under the main post. On that day offering of *syong* to *Gonghei* and *Bhāt* to *Mā Lokkhi* is a must.

(l) *Gārhee Tānā:* Gārhi Tānā is the rite which is performed with a wealthy dead person. In this rite a chariot *(Gārhi)* is constructed with *Gheelyā* (wooden wheel) and decorated with coloured paper etc. Ropes are fastened one opposite other side. Two parties pull the chariot resembling heaven and hell. The chariot is the replica of legendary Chakma king Sādengiri who is believed to have ascended the heaven alive riding on a chariot.

(k) *Gang-Sālā Pujo*: It is the *Pujo* performed for purification and ward off misfortune. In a *Gāng Sālā Pujo*, *Gairā*, *Gangā* and *Biatra* are appeased. At first a house is constructed at the river ghāt. Four plantain plants are planted at the four corners of the house. Two each extra wedged posts are given at the four corner of the house and seven strands of secred thread *(Åbedhi Sudho)* are rounded around the house and which end is entered in a bamboo cylinder. In the cylinder betel nut is poured. Afterward the thread is brought up to home. At the river a chicken is sacrificed. At the house courtyard one pig and three chicken are sacrificed to *Gangā*, *Goirā* and *Biātrā*.

(l) *Ghār Band:* It is the rite performed for protectio by a householder to protect his home and family, members. In this rite a *vaitdya* sacrifices chicken to the protective deities with prayer for protection from evil eye, evil deities, *jādu, tonā* and *chāllān*. They also bind protective *Ång* (magical writings) at the middle and four cornes of the house. Also bury medicine like thunder stone, skin of *Mulugā Bāndar*, horse dung, etc., at the middle of the house and four corners of the boundary of the house.

(m) *Gristhi Chumulang:* It is the rite performed every year by a family for the protection of every members. In this rite *Kāleiā*, *Parameswari*, Ossya, etc., are worshipped with sacrifice of chicken, pig, etc.

(n) *Gristhi Bur:* A *Gristhi Bur* is the rite of purification and protection for the whole family with exchange of animal, i.e., Sacrifice of animal.

(o) *Guyhei Siyong:* It is the simple offering of rice, curry, etc., in the name of *Gonghei/Gyuei*, the Almighty before taking lunch. It may be done everyday or occasionally. The first fruit of every harvest is also offered to *Gongei* before taking by the family members. It may also be a first fruit, any good food, any sweetmeat. The offering is made before noon and not in the evening. Earlier it was offered at the *singobāberchāgā (*on the wall fencing of the drawing room) by making a *mājā (canopy).* There was no idol but in the later period at least a photo of the Buddha is kept. It is also said that earlier people used to offer wine to the *Gonghei or Gyuyei*. After about twenty minutes, it is taken out and thrown at the front courtyard.

(p) *Hāl Pāloni:* It is the celebration for *Jhum* cultivation. It falls on 7th of *Ājhār* and 22nd of June. It is also called *Ambubashi*. On this day, fruits and vegetable like *tidyāgulo, kāngārhā gulo, kudhu gulo, suguri gulo, koidhyā, jhigā, bigun, mhāmmrā, chindirhā, porol, Kudhu shāk, sugurhi shāk, meyhā shāk, prāngā shāk,* etc., are collected from the *Jhum* and prepared. Some even kill chicken. On this day, no green grass or plan should be cut. On this day offering is made to *Gonghei, Mā Lokkhi, Debā* (sky), *Tāgal-Chārhi Khurhol* (axe) and all other cultivating instruments, *Dhingi*—the paddy pounding machine, *mādi* (earth) with rice, meat, fish, vegetable, eggs, etc., with prayer for good harvest in the *jhum*.

(q) *Hoiā*: In the *Hoiā* rite (1) Parameswari–goat, (2) Gangā–goat, (3) Biātrā–a small cock, (4) Kālubhong (Kaleiā)–cock, (5) Lāgochsyā–cock, (6) Lāgorhi–hen, (7) Mogonhi–white chicken, (8) Sip Kumori– white cock, (9) Phool Kumori–hen, (10) Dhal Kumori–white hen, etc., are worshipped. A straight long bamboo pole is posted on a bamboo cylinder keeping an egg in the cylinder. Banners of breast cloth are fastened on the pole. It is then moved left to right and right to left. If the egg does not break, it is understood that the offering was successful. The rite is observed for prosperity and peaceful family-life or against fulfilment of a vow.

(r) *Jur Chumulāng*: *Jur Chumulāng* is the rite which is performed as doubly after a vow to recover from illness or to overcome any danger.

(s) *Mā Lokkhire Bhāt:* *Mā Lokkhi* is worshipped by every household after the *Gonghei* for wealth and prosperity. She is worshipped differently on different occassion. In the earlier days the house wife used to worship *Mā Lokkhi* on every Thursday with rice, curries and a boiled egg. She is worshipped with pork, crabes and grasshoppers offering shrimps and sour item is not permitted. If the egg of *Bādhoi* (a small bird who makes nest on ripe paddy plants) is found, it is considered the best provision for *Ma Lokkhi*. *Ma Lokkhi* is wordshipped in a rice basked called *Chol Lei*. After arranging rice, cakes, curry on the tip portion called *Āgā Pādā*, it is placed in the *Chol Lei* with a glass of water and a cup of *Jagarhā/Kānjee* (rice beer) and an oil lamp or candle is lighted. The votery then vows before it and seek blessings. After about twenty minuites, it is taken out and the offered materials are taken by the members of the family. It is generally taken by the female and if the male want to take it – they are forbidden saying they will go lazy.

(t) *Māgirhi*: *Magirhi* is a ritual performed for the prosperity of a family and better yield of paddy in the *jhum*. It is said that in the old days, the rite was performed on a ripe paddy field. First a ripe paddy field has to be cleared by uprooting the stamps of trees and bamboos. Bamboo mats called *Toloi* were spread above the paddy corn. Sacrifice of chicken and pig was dedicated to *Mā Lokkhi* and a grand feast inviting the relatives and villagers goes on. In the evening singing, dancing and staging of drama goes on. On the next morning, after removing the bamboo

mats, if the paddy plants stand up without damage, it is understood that the family will prosper. In this rite also *Gonghei Syong*, *Mā Lokkhi Bhāt* and *Cherāk Jālānā* is a must.

(u) ***Nwa Bhāt:*** It is the day on which rice from new harvest is taken. On the day, at least killing of chicken is a must for taking with the new rice. Some even kill a pig and invites neighbours. Offering of *Syong* to *Gonghei* and *Bhat* to *Ma Lokkhi* is compulsory on the day. Some even send food to the monks of the temple and in the evening burn candles or oil lamps at the *Gonghei Maja* to the *Gonghei* and for *Ma Lokkhi Ma* at the *Chol Lei*.

(v) ***Pārā Bur:*** It is the purification rite performed by a whole villagers.

(w) ***Sinni:*** It is the worship of Satya Pir or Satya Narayan after a vow or yearly.

(y) ***Thān Mānā:*** It is the worship and appeasement of the deities and spirits of a *Than* or place where 36 (thirty-six) spirits are said to be worshipped. It is done at the beginning of the year, i.e., in the month of Boijhāk (Vaishakha). All deities of a place like (1) *Gangā* (water goddess)–goat, (2) *Biātrā*–a chick, just shelled out cock chick, (3) *Bar Shellyā*–a cock, (4) *Bajhampudi*–a hen or duck, (5) *Thān*–a pig, (6) *Rakkhwal*–a cock, (7) *Parameswari* (Duga)–a hen, (8) *Hāttya*–a cock, (9) *Mottya*–a cock (in the jungle), (10) *Bhoot*–a pig (under evergreen tree), (11) *Lokkhi*–(Goddess of wealth)–a hen/pig, (12) *Melani*–a hen, (13) *Hajhongma* (the deity of wild animals)–*a hen*, (14) *Phool Kumori–a hen*, (15) *Bar Kumori–a hen*, (16) *Sil Kumori–a hen*, (17) *Mech Kumori–a hen*, (18) *Bat Kumori–a hen*, (19) *Bini Kumori–a hen*, (20) *Jal Kumori–a hen*, (21) Barho Than (the outc deity of a place), (22) *Chekkhang*–an egg, (23) *Khega* (the deity who causes quael)–a cock, (24) *Bhoga* (the deity who causes quael)–a cock, (25) Chandi (the deity of weapon, fighting and accident), (26) *Khetri* (the deity of bavery)–a hen, (27) *Kāleiā*–a cock/ pig, (28) *Ajurho* (the deity of wine and distillation), (29) *Kālā Jandul* (in the house), (30) *Nimachchyā* (*Ājrel*)–pig, (31) *Kālā Khedhar* (a witch and owner of haunted places)–a cock/goat, (32) *Narengva* (Bar Shellyā)–a cock, (33) *Tanmgmhang*, (34) *Moginhi*–white hen, (35) *Khagini*– a hen and (36) *Jugini*–a hen.

(z) ***Saraswatti Pujo:*** *Saraswatti Pujo:* It is the worship of the goddess of learning.

On Illness and at Distress:

1. *Gangā Mā*: She is the water goddess. She likes chicken, rice, lamp, flowers, goat, etc. If she is displeased, she can cause water born diseases, fever, cold, cough, lump, tumour, etc. Her sons are *Bhoot, Biatra, Ājrel, Nimuchchyā.*
2. *Bhoot*: He is said to be the son of *Gangā Mā* and a hunter. Before offering anything to *Bhoot*, *Gangā* should be worshipped first. *Bhooda* can cause fever, lump, tumour, etc. *Bhoots* are said to be 1200 in number. Some names of the *Bhoots* are : *Chelā, Chekkhang, Mhekkhang, Rengyā Bhoot, Āokya Bhoot, Padhar Bhoot, Jamgali Bhoot, Megulhee Bhoot, Khyang Bhoot, Barshellya, Chelā, Dibuchsyā Bhoot, Tinbuchsyā Bhoot, Ājrel, Nimuchchyā Lāgochsyā, Chwai Bhoot, Pāga Bhoot, Nāsi Bhoot, Rang Bhoot, Bāndar Bhoot, Magani Bhoot, Kānnyā Bhoot, Hāchsyā Bhoot, Nāchchyā Bhoot, Chandra Bhoot, Siji Bhoot, Mwan Bhoot, Kon Bhoot, Āpta Bhoot, Bāyu Bhoot, Pancha Bhoot, Motyā Bhoot, Chhāgoli Bhoot, Nimuchchya Bhoot, Ājrel Bhoot, Niguchchya Bhoot, Morā Bhoot, Mak Bhoot, Nijo Bhoot, Rājā Bhoot, Dein Bhoot, Roangyā Bhoot,* etc.
3. *Biāttrā & Rwāhproo*: Identified with *Rahu* and *Ketu* and son of *Gangā*. They are also said to be the planetary deities. *Biāttrā* likes intestines of small chicken which has just

come out from an egg and which has not touched the earth. It should be offered opening from the back. They can cause still born babies, deformities, accident, loss, damage, etc.

4. *Dhal Gangā or Dhaleswari*: She likes white hen. If not available, other chicken should be made white by painting with white flour. She can cause typhoid fever. She is sometimes identified with *Saraswatti* the goddess of learning.
5. *Dein:* They are the witches. They can cause circulatory diseases like rheumatism, paralysis, gout, lumps, tumours, skin diseases, etc. They like chicken, pigs. They are said to be 13,000 in number and are *Kājal Pudi, Sibangpudi, Phejari, Gandhakelā, Surjyakelā, Chandrakelā, Khukkyang, Sājani, Nājoni, Hājongmā, Lulangsu, Kāligā, Dipuri, Sighidhwach, Kālā Khedar, Indragupta, Ulidenya, Seji, Mongsā, Ulanga, Nāridyang, Ālhang, Chembak, Dipuri, Sāpuri, Sāhāpuri, Sibangsa, Kushkhang, Alhang, Chembak*, etc. They are said to cause blood circulatory diseases like rheumatism, gout, paralysis, blood flow, blood cloting, etc. The seven sisters cause skin diseases like leprosy, white patches, boils, abseses, tumour, lumps, etc.
6. *Puri*: The fairies. *Sapuri, Alim, Bhoot, Dyo, Kal, Sunjukya, Kenhei*, etc. They cause mental disease. The male fairy causes cyclone. They like flowers, sweetmeat, cakes, pigeon, goat, etc. They can cause mental diseases.
7. *Pret:* They like egg and intestines of animals. They can cause boils and also appear in frightful manner. They are said to be 1300 in numbers and are *Chilāng, Cherheng, Chirhing*, etc. They are said to make horrid sound, fearful appearance, and cause boils, carbuncles, etc.
8. *Siji Mongsha*: They cause uneasiness in children and child colic pain sleeplessness, etc.
9. *Edā*: Spirit of bravery. In absence of *Eda* a person will tremble in fear. It can be called back with a *Pujo* called '*Edā Dāgi Denā*' (to call back *Edā*, the spirit of bravery) with a full cooked chicken, cakes, sweetmeat, coconut, biscuit, sugar cane, money, etc.
10. *Ājurho:* He is the spirit of wine and distillation. If he is displeased, one will not get enough wine in distillation. He is offered chicken.
11. *Thān:* The quardians of a place and offered pig. They are thirty-six in number.
12. *Hājangmhā*: Deity of wild life. If she is displeased, hunters cannot hit any wild animal. She can also let loose ferocious animal like tiger to kill human being and send wild animals like boars to destroy crops.
13. *Jokkhyo*: They are the treasure guards. They are said to nine crores and nine lakhs and are the soldiers of Devi. They are the guards of treasure and lure the human with it. It can hold a greedy person luring with treasure and make him mad. Offered duck, black goat, etc.
14. *Bajhampudi:* It is Vasumati, the earth. She is worshipped for good harvest with chicken or pig.
15. *Chandi*: She is the master of weapons and accident. She is sometimes called Kali or Ketuga. She is offered goat.
16. *Ochsya*: He is *Biātrā* at Chumulang and offered egg.

17. *Michchingya*: He is the human husband of *Mā Lokkhi*. If he is entertained, *Mā Lokkhi* is bound to bless such a family and is believed never to fall under the clutch of poverty. Offered a cock.
18. *Biātra*: Planetory deity causes *Dajhā* and immature death, likes hen and intestine of small chicken.
19. *Chelā*: The big ghost, likes pig.
20. *Ājrel/Nimochya*: Disease causing spirit, a dein, likes Pig.
21. *Nārengya/Bar Shellya*: Disease causing spirit, likes Cock.
22. *Kālā Khedar*: Master of haunted place, likes Goat, Cock.
23. Seven sisters (fairies): Cause of mental illness. They like flower, popped rice, sweetmeats, pigeon, etc.
24. *Mochdyā:* Master of tiger and other ferocious animals, likes Cock.
25. *Kālubang*: Cock and hen.
26. *Moginhi*: White hen.
27. *Sip Kumori*: White cock.
28. *Phool Kumori*: Hen.
29. *Bar Kumori*: Hen.
30. *Jal Kumori*: Hen.
31. *Undur Kumori*: Hen.
32. *Bhoot Kumori*: Hen.
33. *Hāttyā –Motdyā*: One cock and one pig.
34. *Chekkhang*: Son of Bhoot. Hen.
35. *Mhekkhang*: Grandson of Bhoot. Likes egg.
36. *Chilang*: Preta. Egg.
37. *Chirhing*: Son of Preta. Egg.
38. *Alhong:* Grandson of preta. Egg.
39. *Mātri*: They are said to be 1200 in numbers and are *Hāttyā, Mottyā, Ijingyā, Ijingi*, etc.
40. Planetary deities: *Biātrā, Rwāproo, Mrolā, Mroli, Krenghā, Krenghi, Pormāmoch* are Planetory deities related with child birth and child disease.

Khāgini, Moghini, and *Jugini* are the daughters of *Mokkhyā Rājā* (Daksha?) *Khegā, Bhogā,* and *Ulombotyo* are *Khāginis. Khuskhang, Ālong, Chempāk,* and *Sibāngsā*, are the *Deins. Chelā* and *Chekkhang*, are the *bhoots. Hāchdyā, Mochdyā, Ijingyā,* and *Ijingi* are the *Mātris. Bhoot, Chelā, Byātrā, Ājrel, Nimochyā, Dhal Gangā* are the children of Gangā. The number of the spirits are said to be 1200 *Mātris,* 1300 *Deins*, 2000 *Khāginis,* 12000 *Bhoots*, 13000 *Prets*, etc. It is said that *Dākshā* or *Mokkhyā Rājā* had one hundred daughters and two sons. Out of them, mother of *Ravana*, wife of *Kāsyapa, Kājal Pudi* and *Sibang Pudi* are main. Some were married by the devas, seven sisters namely *Sājoni, Nājoni, Phejori, Surjyo Kelā, Chandra Kelā, Siki Pudi* and *Kānjan Pudi* went with the witches, five sisters namely, *Iyāndi, Chandi, Sep Pudi*, etc., settled in *Hājhā, Pihr Khānā, Kuluk, Deldeli*, etc., *Khāgini* and *Moginhi* became eater of puja offered

by human. Seven sisters *Phool Kumori, Bar Kumori, Sil Kumori, Mech Kumori, Bat Kumori, Bini Kumori,* and *Jal Kumori* went with the fairies.

These deities and spirits are said to possess different powers. They cause different illness to human beings and on being offended by encroaching their place of habitations or falling in the way of their hunting. Therefore, the names of illness are named as *Ājhar* (affect), *Gulhee* (pallet/bullet), etc. The place of habitation of spirits are known as *Mogham* and thirty-six are main so the main *Moghams* are collectively known as '*Chhatrich Moghā*': They are as under :

1. *Bādol Khāt* (Bats cave)–the eye.
2. *Tārā pochchyā gāt* (a hole, the anus)–ear hole. Den of bats.
3. *Biji Khāt* (the ear).
4. *Byāttrā Bhidyā*–the knee.
5. *Cherāk Ghār.*
6. *Chhinā kijing*–the neck.
7. *Debedā Gourh.*
8. *Dyo Dhulon*–the elbow. A tree whose both ends are rooted and a stream flown between or whose middle is up. The swing of *Diyo*, the male fairy.
9. *Tārā Pochchyā Gāt*–a pit, the navel.
10. *Gera Aruk*–the figure of a millipede, the backbone.
11. *Gongā-Damdamā-Mājā*–triangular stream source.
12. *Hājā*–Pihr Khānā, the salt forming stream or place. Female organ.
13. *Heil Gāch*–a big evergreen trees, it is believed to be the abode of ghost.
14. *Jāmā Bāch*–paired bamboo.
15. *Kājhee*–the rope (four limbs).
16. *Kāmār Dogān*–the cockynics.
17. *Kara Mādi.*
18. *Khār Chhāgoni* (ash strainer).
19. *Kodoro Tong*–the holes of pigeons.
20. *Ubho Dogān* (navel)–Den of porcupine.
21. *Kuung Gāch*–Legs. Where two lines of trees, three each are found.
22. *Māgeim.*
23. *Manap Āruk* (the body)/Munichsyora/NimuchchyaĀruk– skeletal figure made by six tillas.
24. *Tudhing Khalā–the ankle.*
25. *Nāga Khāt*–a place where water flows from two sources of a cave, i.e., the nose).
26. *Nah Tānā*–the chest.
27. *Neil Chumo Gāt*–(mouth to ass), a tunnel, a borrow, - the mouth.
28. *Pāāh Murho*–the three hills formed like the posts of a oven.
29. *Pāgochyā Gāch*–(parasital trees), abode of ghost.

30. Ubudho gāt (the anus).
31. *Puri Khāt*–Den of fairies.
32. *Puri Khalā*–the field of fairies.
33. *Rādhā Ghara Chuk*–a hill top, the head.
34. *Rijhyang*, a water fall–armpit.
35. *Sāmugho Leijha Bach*–snail tailed bamboo.
36. *Tāng Mhāng Ghāt.*

Treatment: (1) ***Ādrik Khāng:*** It is a rite performed to cure an incurable and cancerous disease. In this rite, *Gangā, Gairā, Moginhi, Khagini, Rakkhwal, Kala Khedar, Kalubang, Naga Kaluk, Bhoot* and *Pret*, etc., the offending deities of a place is appeased. For *Gangā*, a goat, for *Goirā*, a chicken, for *Moginhi* a chicken, for *Khagini* a chicken, for *Rakkhwal* a chicken, for *Kālā Khedhar* a duck, and for others chicken are sacrificed. For this rite thread of different colour from seven houses, rice from seven houses, water from seven streams is necessary. The threads need to be rounded on the weaving apparatus. Seven small ponds are made and the water poured in. Bamboo poles are posted at each pond. First *Ganga*, the *Goirā* and the *Kālā Khedar, Kālubang, Nāgakālubang, Bhoot, Pret, Rākkhwal, Khāgini, Moginhi* are appeased serially. After cooking the sacrificed animals the tale of the source of how offences came to a land or place in the earth has to be recited. That after the death of Mokkya Raja, the Lord of *Duch* (offences) his sons Bangali (Jāngāli) and Changali ruled the kingdom. But they had a clash over the kingdom and both fought a battle. And to stop them from fighting their sister entered in between and got injury. Both brothers died in fighting and their sisters Kajol Pudi and Sibong Pudi ruled the kingdom. One day after hunting leeches on each other's head they slept. They woke near sun set. Kajol Pudi saind the sun was setting and Sibong Pudi said the sun was rising and they had an argument and made a bet. In the bet, the one who is wrong should become slave to other and remain so till the sun and moon exists. But Kajol Pudi was defeated as Sibong Pudi spread her period lower garment over them and the sun could not show the face through period garment and Kajal Pudi became slave to Sibong Pudi. She had to do every work of her younger sister. When they became middle aged, Kajol Pudi asked for freedom but Sibong Pudi said that 'our promise was till the sun and moon exists, how can I free you'? So one day, she left her in search of the God who made the sun and moon to get way for freedom from her sister. After going far away, she met a sage named Sukra Sarjyo whom she served properly. From the sage she got a son. When the son Kālā Khedar was born and a bit older, she decided to return to her sister. While coming, the sage gave her seven sceds of mustared in a covered pot and asked her not to open it. The sage also told her if her sister wants to see it, she should take promise from her that she should grant her whatever she asks. On reaching to Sibong Pudi, she enquired what she had brought in the pot. But Kajol Pudi would not disclose. At last after repeated request, she agreed to show it if she agrees to do what she ask. When she agreed, Kajol Pudi opened it and the mustard seed became wasp and started biting Sibong Pudi. When Sibong Pudi asked for rescue her, she asked to release her from slavery and she agreed and Kajal Pudi rescued Sibong Pudi. They then stared living peacefully.

At the old age they decided to leave the world and live in the *Pādāl* (nether land) living behind Kālā Khedhar. When *Kālā Khedhar* enquired how he will get offerings from the human beings? Then they told him, if we go to *Pādāl*, we will leave our bodies on the earth. They then

asked him to bury the heads in the east, the legs at the west, right legs at the south, left hands at the North and the thrunks at the middle of the kingdom and promised to creat offences in every places. The head will be known as *Ek Mittyā Bhidhyā*, the eyes–*Bādol Khāt*, the ears–*Biji Khāt*, the nose–*Nāga Khāt*, the throat = *Chhinyā Kijing*, the armpit–*Rijhyāng*, the breast–*Na Tānā*, the naval–*Tārā Pochchyā Gāt*, the mouth–*Neil Chumo Gāt*, the elbows–*Dyo Dhulon*, the femaleā organ–*Hājā, Kuluk*, the anus = *Ubudhwa Gāt*, cocynx–*Kāmār Dagān*, the knee bones = *Biatrā Bhidhā*, the ankles *Tudhing Khalā*, etc. In this way, thousand of faulty places will form on the earth. When we feel the urge of vegetable like *Jāngāllyā Shāk* and *Lelham Pādā*, we will catch hold of human beings and the human will do *Dāru Kubo* rite, *Khāng Bānhā* rite and appease you and we will get the share and release our holds. We will free them and not catch them.

Afterward, the cooked meat of sacrificed animal is offered with prayer to release hold and cure the ailment. Then the seeds of mustards of the bamboo pole (cylinder) are chanted with following mantras:

Ung Sarjho Sarjyo ki sarjyo, Kāla Sarjyo, Dhalā Sarjyo, Ei sarjyo ki Kāde? = Gangā Kāde, Goirā Kāde, Bhoot Kāde, Pret Kāde, Khāgini Kāde, Moginhi Kāde, Dya Kāde, Puri Kāde, Sijhi Kāde, Mangsā Kāde, Hājh Kāde, Kuluk Kāde, Sahachsra Kāde, Duch gun Kāde. Kār Gyān? = Sri Rāmar gyān. Sikri phwa!!!!

Afterward, wine and the mustard seeds are taken in the mouth and thrown on the suspected faulty place saying – Will you hold it again? Oh Khodhā! I will not hold it again, I will not catchit again, Will you free the hold? Oh! God, I will free it, I will release the hold! Taken stool and taken urine? Yes, taken stool and taken urine. And the rite is over.

(2) ***Bhat Jora***: *Bhāt jarā* literally a lump of rice. It is dedicated to the water goddess, *Gangā*. A Bhāt jarā is made by packeting a lump of stale rice on two tip of plantain leaves in which some portion from the four main posts of the house and main king post of the house, a little salt, and *Annwha* (the black smoke formed above anoven) is also packeted. It is offered on falling sick say fever, erruption of absces, body pain, etc. First is hovered (called *Nijhi Denā*) above the patient with the prayer that – Such and such has fallen sick with fever/ absces/Loose motion, it should come to the rice packet and the patient should get well. He should get peace of mind and all the diseases flow down beyond seven seas and seven islands. It is then taken to the river and the rice is fhown downward chanting the same prayer that with the flow of the water the illness should flow down beyond seven rivers, seven seas and seven Islands, that the patient should become cool like the water of Gangā. That all his complanits, symptoms, allergy should cool down. Afterward, the plantain leaves are also flown in the river/stream and the thrower will come back home washing his hands and never looking back until reached home.

(3) ***Bor Shellya*** is worshipped for fever of alternate day fever. It is usually performed at the bank of a river or stream. With the same proces, but tofferings has to be made second time after cooking along with five to seven course of vegetable.

(4) ***Bhoodho Sugor***: A *Bhodho Sugor* is offered to *Bhooda*, the ghost at serious illnessa if a *Vaitdyo* diagnosis the cause of illness as Bhoodho Karam (involvement of a bhoot). There are certain signs to observe on a patient to declare it a *Bhoodho Karam* by a *Vaitdyo* which are written in their books of *Vaitdyali*. It is generally observed at night. For perorming this rite *dwapallāpāllyāng* (a double storeyd plateform made with bamboo tapes), *phool* (three, five, seven kinds of flowers from thornless plants), *Tengā* (money), *Ābedhi sudho* (thread spun by a girl who has not attained puberty), *Khoi* (popped rice), *Pedoli mukti* (a big bellied idle made of

thatch), etc., has to be arranged. First some hairs of the pig with the material on the *pāllyāng* have to be hovered over the patient. The *Vaitdyo* (Ojhā, the priest) then makes a wild cry at the door step and go to the jungle. Under an evergreen tree, the materials are placed after cleaning the spot. There again he makes wild cry, calling the *Bhoot* saying with one cry they should come from one day distance, with two cry they should come from two days distance with seven cry, they should come from seven days distance, etc., as stated in the *Bhoot Pujo*. They should come by boat from down stream, by bamboo rafter from upstream. They should carry the lame on their back, the blind should be lead, that the infants of the cradle should be brought on lap. Or they should not blame that they were not invited. That the *Pujo* is not offered for having excess or that it is not offered by selling the grass of roof for not having. It is offered with reverence and respect, etc. He will also ask the *Bhooda* to release the hold from the patient and instead, take the pig as blood for blood, meat for meat, liver for liver, etc., and examine *Āk Pādā*. If the offering is accepted, they will kill the pig and blood sprinkled on the *pāllyāng*. They then come home and clean the pig and eat after cooking. But the left out should be thrown away.

(5) ***Bhoodo Kurho:*** *Bhoodo* or the ghost is worshipped by the Chakma on many occassion. While worshipping Gangā, Bhoodā is to be worshipped under an evergreen tree. Bhooda may also be worshipped as a fulfilment of vow on lossing anything like a cow, a boy or girl on finding later. Children while playing if they loss the instrument like *Gheelyā* may also say that Give me/ return my Gheelyā, I will sacrifice you the *Bich Kurho* (Productive chicken). It is also seen if the children wet their bed at night the children are asked to vow before the middle *Pādholā* (post) of the oven and pray before *Bhudemā* (female ghost) not to cause him/her urination at night. A Bhoot is worshipped under an evergreen tree. A *Pāllyaāg* (a bamboo tape planted worship dish), two tips of plantain leaves, *mārei keim*, three, five or seven type of flowers of thornless plant, money, candle or oil lamp and the sacrificial animal is required. Before going to the evergreen tree, he will hover the sacrificial animal over the patient/votery with prayer. On going to the tree, the Ojhā will place the materials for worship under the tree and call the Bhoot making a peculiar sound called '*Kuiyānā*'. That with my one *kuiyān*, come from one day distance, with two *kuiyān* come from two days distance with seve, times of *kuiyān* come from seven days distance, carry the lames, bring the blinds walking, come on rafter from upstream, come by boat from down stream. I am offering this to you come and take it and later do not blame that I have not invited you or offered you. I am giving it on behalf of such and such you please spare him and release your hold. Take life for life, skin for skin, liver for liver, meat for meat and spare the patient. Afterward, he will light the lamp and examine whether the sacrifice is accepted with the *Āk Pādā*. If the leaves fall one up and one down, it is understood that the offering is accepted. Then the animal is slaughtered and the blood sprinkled. The Bhoot is appeased in the afternoon. The meat of the animal is then taken to home and cooked and eaten up with rice. but it should be eaten up before midnight. My mother has narrated me one story about the Bhoot, In 1943, they made a jhum in the virgin jungle of Belhai area. My father went to sale salt, dao and sidol to Lushai villages. She was alone in the *jhum* hut with my eldest brother and the second elder brother was born just two week earlier. It was in the month of September-October and time for harvest. The neighbours are far away and cannot be heard at calling though they can be seen at distance. But at the midnight my second elder brother was missing. She searched and searched for him in the whole hut. He was not of the age to crowling. So having no way, she vowed to sacrifice a cock to Bhooda, the ghost that she will offer a cock to him if she finds back her son. After about half and hour she heard the sound of baby's cry from down the *Ijor*. She rushed to the spot and found that my

second elder brother was there under *Pugulhok Pādā* (bana leaves used to cover a rice pot after boiling the rice above which lid of the rice pot is placed. This *Pgulhok pādā* is used by the Chakmas to make the rice to cook properly. The cock was duly sacrificed after my father had returned from Lushai villages one week after.

(6) ***Bhoot Pujo:*** A bhoot or ghost is frequently appeased. In fever and other muscle related deseases. He is also appeased when apatient fears in particular place and fall sick or to find out lost property or things.

(7) ***Chelā Pujo:*** Chelā is the big ghost. He is appeased to cure muscle related ailments.

(8) ***Chelā Sugor*:** Chela is said to be the big ghost whose height is about twenty feet. It has got no head but his eyes are on the shoulders. Those who see him are bound to die unless he is appeased with a pig and he had released the hold. Chela is appeased as a last treatment for a very serious patient. He has to be appeased ad midnight in the jungle under an evergreen tree. The Ojhā has to be very brave to perform this rite since he has to go alone. He has to make arrangement for his safety with mantra, or talishmen. For this puja also a pig, oil lamp, Pallyang, Piduli mukti, tenga, ak pada, phool, khoi has to be arranged. The *Vaitdyo* will call the bhoot in the same manner is in the *Bhoot Pujo* and sacrifice the pig. This pig has to be offered for the second time after cooking. It is not taken to the house but cooked and eaten at the courtyard.

(9) ***Deino Pujo:*** *Deino Pujo* is performed to cure blood related diseases like paralysis, etc.

(10) ***Dibuchsyā Sugor:*** This rite is performed at the trijunction of a road at the noon for a critical conditioned patient.

(11) ***Dik Phelānhā:*** If any one suffers from fever at the noon, indigestion, etc., five or seven kinds of vegetable are cooked and hovered upon the patient with the prayer those who have seen the patient with bad intention, or who had thirst for the food the patient has taken should give up such bad intention and relieve the patient. It is then left at a trijunction of road.

(12) ***Gangā Pujo:*** Gonga is believed to be cause of water born diseases. She is worshipped with Bhat Jora, lamps, flowers and sacrifice of chicken and goat. Bhooda is also worshipped with Gonga under a evergreen tree and is said to be her son and hunter. Gonga is worshipped in every illness, for delivery of a child, etc. An Ojha conducts a Gonga Pujo with sacrifice of animal. For simple offering of Bhat Moja, Cherak (lamp) and Phool (flowers, no Ojhā is necessary. For performing a *Gonga Pujo* with sacrifice animal, a *Gonga Ghār* is constructed whose post should remain dipped in water. A plateform is made. There may be roof or no roof on the plateform. First two tips of plantain leaves are spread on the platform. Above it one lup of soil is kept one pair of *Āk pada* is required to be place. A *Marei Keim* is also place. First, if it is chicken, has to be hovered above the patient. If it is a goat, some hairs of then goat is taken to the patient and hovered above. That, mother Gonga, if the patient has ofended you in any way, kindly spare his/her life. I am offering you this chicken/goat in place of him. You take life for life, eye for eye, ear for ear, liver for liver, gizzard for stomach, flesh for flesh, skin for skin. You please spare him/her. You don't think that he is offering this for having in abundance, he/she is also not offering it by selling his/her hairs of the head. You please spare him/her and cure him immediately. On going to the river also the *Ojhā* will light the lamp, utter the same prayer and sacrifice the animal. Afterward, the sacrificed animal will be brought to the house and cooked and taken up with some neighbours. There is a rule that the meat should be eaten within the day and the left out be thrown away.

(13) ***Gāt Mārā:*** This rite is performed to deactivate an offending hole.

(14) ***Ghār Band:*** This rite is performed to protect a house and the family members in it.

(15) ***Hājā Kuluk Mārā:*** This rite is performed to deactivate a salt forming place which is believed to be the source of skin diseases like leprosy.

(16) ***Jokkhyo Pujo:*** This rite is performed to release the hold of demons who lure people with wealth and later kills.

(17) ***Jum/Bhui/Jāgā/Gāt Mārā:*** This rite is performed to deactivate a suspected offending jhum/ rice field/place/cave.

(18) ***Bhui Mārā:*** Deactivation of offending wet rice cultivation land.

(19) ***Jāgā Māra:*** To deactivate the bad spirits of any place.

(20) ***Kāli Chhāghal:*** *The sacrifice of goat to Kali.*

(21) ***Kuluk Mārā:*** This rite is performed to deactivate the spirits of a muddy place.

(22) ***Moginhi Pujo:*** Performed to release hold of spirit who shows beautiful girl in dream and causes night fall.

(23) ***Mralā Pujo:*** It is a planetary deity who causes death of children.

(24) ***Prettyā Devedā Pujo:*** This rite is performed to release hold of spirit who causes boils, lumps and absences.

(25) ***Puri Pujo:*** The fairies are worshipped to release hold who causes mental disorder.

(26) ***Reido Sugor:*** Sacrifice of pig at night to witches to release hold in cronic illness.

(27) ***Sājha Kurho:*** Sacrifice of cock to evening witch who causes facial palsy, etc., nerve related diseases.

(28) ***Sibāngsā Sugor:*** Sacrifice of pig to king of witches to release hold in chronic illness.

(29) ***Sijhi Pujo:*** Worship of the spirit who causes uneasiness in children.

(30) ***Tridep Pujo:*** The worship of Brahmā, Vishnu and Sivā in chronic illness.

(31) ***Trinhāth Pujo:*** Worship of three gods.

(32) ***Nārenghyā Debedā Pujo:*** Narenghya is also a disease causing spirit. Worshipped to release hold.

(33) ***Clāmbāk Pujo:*** It is a witch who misbelieved to destroy whoever come to face him one hand measure per night.

13

Literature

The Chakmas have their own written literature and folklores. It may be divided into oral and written. Among the oral literature we find the *Geingkhulee* ballads, *Pālhās* (Traditional stories) *Ubho geet*, the traditional love songs, *Pachjhan*, the fairy tales, Rhymes, *Olee*, the lullabies. *Bānhā*, the riddles, *Dāgha Kadhā*, the proverbs, *Thengā Bhāngāgeet*, the folk song, *Khojhā Gudu*, etc. In the written form, there are the *Āgar Tārās* (the written scripture), *Tālliks* (medical formulas), *Mandars* (magical chants), *Pujo Bijaks* (methods of a Puja), *Kobidā* (Poems), *Bārha Mhāch* (composition on unsuccessful love stories), *Lāmhās* (hymns), *Jabin Parichay* (description of vital points of a body), *Moghām Parichay* (description of haunted places), *Nāri Kalpa* (description of pulses and nerves), *Phughiri Kālām* (the art of medition and yoga), *Sinān* (mantras for chanting water for bath), *Āng, Dhamasik, Tabit*, etc.

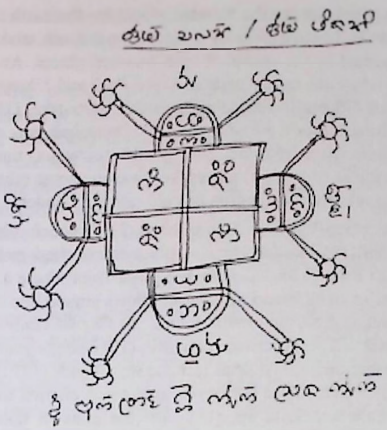
Āghar Tārā: The word 'Āghar' must have come from the Pāli word 'Ākhar' meaning letter and 'Tārā' means 'religion' or 'Dhamma' in Chakma. As per Chakma rule of composition a 'Ka' of other language without vowel deler transforms into 'Ga' and 'Kha' transforms into 'Gha'. So, 'Ākhar Tārā' had transformed into 'Aghar Tārā'. So, *Āghar Tārā* actually means 'written religion'. *Āghar Tārā* is the traditional Buddhistic scripture of the Chakma. Before 1856, the Chakmas used to follow a peculiar form of Buddhism with the help of the traditional monks called *Luries*. They used to call it *Luri Dhamma* or *Rauli Dhamma*. They believed that this *Dhamma* (Religion) was specially taught by *Rahula*, the son of Sakyamuni Buddha to his clansmen. The *Luries* used to wear not the traditional shewn rob but a plain rob with three flowers at three corners. They also used to put the back tuck whereas the traditional Buddhist monks do not tuck their robe at the back. *Athereavada* monk is supposed to observe 227 sheelas or precepts but a *Luri or Rauli* observed only eight precepts. They were invited only at death, *Sāt Dinnyā, Karma, Dhamma Kāmo Puja, Bhāt Dyā*, marriage, burning of a dead, and at the spread of epidemic. They used to recite discourses from the *Āghar Tārās*. There said to exist thirtysix *Āghar Tārās*. But my research found the existence of the followings:

1. *Āditthāmā Tārā* –

2. *Ājinā Tārā*–After offering rice to dead.
3. *Āmantran Tārā*–To call gods and the soul of a dead. It has (a) *Karali Jādi, (b) Pāniā Jādi, (c) Āniyā Jadi* and *(d) Dakshiyā Jadi*, etc., invitation chantings.
4. *Āngārā Suttang Tārā*–Description of virtues of Triple gem, arhants and others.
5. *Ānijā Tārā*–On seeing a dead body at home.
6. *Ārennāmā Tārā*–It is about the creation of universe.
7. *Arindāmā Tārā*–Recite at the time of death of a king or rich person and at *Pinda Dānā*.
8. *Arinnāmā Tārā*–Recited at marriage.
9. *Ārintimā Tārā–Pinda dānā* to rich and noble.
10. *Ārittāmā Tārā*–Marriage.
11. *Bār Kuruk Tārā*–After tiger's attack while performing *Bur Pārā* and for peace.
12. *Bar Nhidhing Tārā*–With this the paste, present and future of a person is ascertained in *Bhāt dyā*.
13. *Bar Tangdā Tārā*–It is about spread of Buddhism.
14. *Bhujanga Tārā*–On snake bite to reduce affect of snake poison.
15. *Botjango Tārā*–To get relief from illness.
16. *Buddha Phulu Tārā*–At Buddha Puja, Pinda Dānā and dedication of *Chānnwā* (canopy).
17. *Cherāk Phulu Tārā*–While dedicating a temple or banyan/peepul tree, *Bhāt dyā* and *Pinda Dānā*.
18. *Chhotā Kuruk Tārā–Annameru dan*, for peace.
19. *Dāsāpārāmi Tārā*–urning of dead. *Jādi Pujo, Dharma Kāmo Puja (Sitdhi Puja), Bhāt Dyā, Pinda Dānā*.
20. *Dwadachsya Tārā*–It is recited at *Bhāt Dyā* and *Pinda Dānā* for up to seven generations.
21. *Jai Mangal Tārā*–It is listened like *Mangal Sutta*.
22. *Jiyan Dhāran Tārā–Bhāt Dyā* to bring back sense and *Pinda Dānā*.
23. *Kadam Phulu Tārā–Bhāt Dyā* and calling of soul of dead relatives.
24. *Kamma Phulu Tārā*–It is recited at dedication.
25. *Khabari Tārā*–After *Dhamma Kamo Pujo* to know about future of the votery.
26. *Mālem Tārā*–Recited beside a dead at home *Jādi Puja* (Annameru), *Dhama Kamo Pujo* while dedication to relative.
27. *Padam Phulu Tārā*–At *Bhāt Dyā* and while dedication for relatives.
28. *Pariphulu Tārā* –
29. *Phāgiri Tārā*–Meditation.
30. *Pharāngphulu Tārā* –
31. *Phudumphulu Tārā–Shrāddha, Bhāt Dyā* and *Pinda Dānā*.
32. *Phuthumphulu Tārā–Bhāt Dyā* and *Pinda Dānā*.

33. *Pindapāt Tārā*–It has two parts: (a) One for opening the rice plate and the other (b) for offering the rice plate at the burning place.
34. *Rāghem Phulu Tārā*–Yearly Shrāddha, *Bhāt Dyā* and *Pinda Dānā*.
35. *Rājā Hodā Tārā*–It is about the *Sākkyas*.
36. *Rākhem Phulu Tārā–Sāt Dinnyā, yearly. Shrāddha, Bhāt Dyā and Pindu Dānā.*
37. *Sadāpārāmi Tārā* –
38. *Sādengiri Tārā*–While burning of dead body.
39. *Sāhas Phulu Tārā*–Read at home beside a dead body. At *Bhāt dyā and Pinda Dānā.*
40. *Sākā Suktān Tārā*–To get protection from fire and house burning.
41. *Sākkya Tārā–Damma Kāmo Pujo* and *Bhāt Dyā*. About the *Sākkyas*.
42. *Sālem Tārā* –
43. *Sāmeng Phulu Tārā*–While dedicating a *Chānmwa* (canopy).
44. *Sāmi Phulu Tārā*–Marriage. *Bhat Dyā* and *Pinda Danā*.
45. *Sānek Phulu Tārā*–At *Bhāt Dyā* if a relative is found to have reborn as a bird or animal.
46. *Sarak Dān Tārā*–It is recited at burning of lamps and thousand lamps.
47. *Shāneng Phulu Tārā–Pinda Dānā, Bhāt Dyā,* etc.
48. *Sheel Magal Tārā*–Marriage.
49. *Sigol Mangal Tārā*–Advice on family life recited at marriage of king and other rich people and leaders.
50. *Subadijhā Tārā*–At *Bhāt Dyā* to bring back sense of hyptonised person by chanting water and administering it or giving bath.
51. *Surādijhā Tārā* –
52. *Swargarohan Tārā* –
53. *Tāllik Shāstra Tārā*–To cure a sick. It is about illness, symptom, treatment, preparation of medicine, etc.
54. *Tāmmā Puinya Tārā* –
55. *Tri Putdra Tārā*–Marriage.
56. *Trikudda Tārā*–At death due to accident and for wealth.
57. *Udang Pharet Tārā*–It is of three kinds: (a) *Chak Phayet*, (b) *Angra Phayet* and (c) *Iji-biji Phayet*. It is for protection of a village. First, a thread of seven strings is bound around the village. The powder of brick, parasital grass and mustard seed are mixed together and chanted this *Tārā* and strewn around the village to get protection from spirits.

Āng: *Āngs* are used by the *Vaitdyas* as a part of magic for protection, to cause harm to enemies and to drive away spirits from a haunted place and also to get protection from the spell of enemies. These are used in *Chāllān, Bāhn, Tonā, Jāgā Mārā, Jum Mārā, Ghār Band, Pārā Band,* etc. A Typical Āg is shown below :



Bijak: It is the history of the Chakma.

Dhāmāsik: It is the list of population of a *Gutthi* (gene) or clan. It was necessary at the time of performance of *Bhāt Dyā* for the dead relatives and to know the relations between living relatives.

***Jabin Parichay*:** It is the description of vital parts of the body on which the *Vaitdyas* (traditional healers) apply mantra to cure a patient. The main vital parts are thirty-six in number, from head to toe. In a open book of *Vaitdyali* the vital parts are named differently to make it impossible for a common man to know the vital parts. Since the vital parts are very vulnerable which can be utilised for good causes and for causing harm. Unless a *guru* has disclosed the meanings, a common man should not recognise the points. Since, it is believed to be dangerous if a common man misuses the *mantras* by applying on innocent people, in such case, a *guru* is also acquires the sin as per traditional belief. For example – At solar flexus remains *Parameswar*. There *Man Pawan Gulo* sits opposite the liver which is called *Niranjan*. Under the right nipple remain *Tin Tari*. The Liver remains opposite the solar flexus. The liver is also called *Tin Tari*. Above the liver is *Thāgur*, the heart. Under the left nipple is *Dumdubi Bazar*. Below that is Navel which is called *Sivasthan*. Eyes are known as *Surjyo Tapta Nari*. *Ingilā* is *Male Nāri* and Pingilā is *Female Nāri*. The followings are the vital points:

Ālgā jwil –*Ādi Chandra*, *Ālgā Jwil–Fire*, Back which cannot be touched – *Gupta Dwar/ Sristi Bramhā*, Chhānei – *Kedugā* Crown of head- *Cheir Chandra Nāl*, Day – *Father*, End of navel – *Tin Tari*, Eye lid – *Phajhari*, Forehead – *One lamp*, Front of nose – *Nāga chopchobi*, Heart – *Thāgur*, Index finger – *Lāngula Khudho*, ndex finger – *Lānguli*, Kidney- *Niranjan*, Left fingers – *Pingilā*, Life – *Bayu Niranjan*, Liver – *Tin tari/Āp/ Rohini Chandra*, Lower lup – *Ghandhi*, Lungs – *Dyo dhwach*, Middle finger – *Indriya*, Mouth – *Pavan*, Right – *Mother*, Right fingers –*Ingilā*, *Sānei –Thāghur's bed*, Stalk of liver – *Saramhā*, Tear–*Ulambattya Chandra*, Throat–*Tribeni Ghāt*, Thumb – *Bharani*, Two eyes – *Two lamps*, Two nostril – *Maldwar*, Two nostrils – *Air canal*, Upper jaw – *Own Chandra* and When four ways meet – *Srigalā ghāt*.

***Moghām Parichay*:** *Moghams* are the haunted places on the earth. According to belief, if anybody try to habitate such a haunted place by constructing a house, making garden, jhum, etc., he/she is bound to be harmed by the spirits of such haunted places. As per myth those places are formed at the places where the bodily parts of *Kājol Pudi* and *Sibang Pudi* have fallen. The haunted places are named differently according to bodily parts like. (1) Nose–*Nāgo Khāt*, (2) Ears–*Dyo dhulhon*, (3) Breast–*Biātrā Bhidyā*, (4) *Tārā Pochchyā gāt*- eyes, (5) Limbs–*Kuung gāch*, (6) Back bone–*Munichsyora āruk*, etc. They are 36 (thirty-six) number and 18 (eighteen) are the main. Apart from the 36 (thirty-six) places there are also some other haunted places which the Chakmas preferably avoid from habitation or cultivation as under:

(1) *Bādol Khāt* (Bats cave)–Ear hole. Den of bats, (2) *Bamhoch Khat*-A place of *Bāmhoch* fishes on a pond in the hill, (3) *Bāndar Marā*–A place where dead monkey is found, (4) *Bhet bhedi*–A muddy place, (5) *Bilei Jhām Māchchyā*–A place from where a jungle cat jumps away, (6) *Byātrā Bhidyā* (Breast)–a small island where water flows around, the it, (7) *Changarāa Marā*–A place where an unattacked dead sambhar is found, (8) *Cherāk Ghār*–Place of lamp burning, (9) *Chhinyā kijing* (the neck)–A plain between two hills, (10) *Debeda gourh*–Burial place of spirit, (11) *Dur Marā*–Place where unattacked dead tortoise was found, (12) *Dyo Dhulon* (The swing of Diyo, the male fairy)–A tree whose both ends are rooted on two banks of a stream, water follows between and whose middle is up, (13) *Gat* (the anus)–a hole, (14) *Gerā Āruk* (the backbone)–the shape of a millipede, (15) *Gangā Damdamā Mājā* (Platform of water)–A triangular stream source, (16) *Gui Marā*–Place where an unattacked dead monitor lizard was found, (17) *Hājā* (Female organ)–A source of salt formation. (Believed to be source of leprosy), (18) *Heil Gāch* (big evergreen trees)–Believed to be the abode of ghost, (19) *Huring Mārā*–A place where an unattacked dead deer is found, (20) *Jāmā Bāch*–paired bamboo, (21) *Kājhee* (four limbs)–the rope, (22) *Kāmār Dogān* (navel)–A stream, which source is down at the beginning, (23) *Kara Mādi*, (24) *Khār chhāgoni* (ash strainer), (25) *Kodorao Tong*–A big boulder where pigeons resides, (26) *Kuduk Khat*–Den of porcupine, (27) *Kuung Gāch* (Legs). Where two line of trees, three each are found, (28) *Māgeim*, (29) *Mānāp Āruk*–(the body figure), (30) *Munichsyora/Nimuchchya Āruk* (Headless skeleton)–figure made by six tillas, (31) *Murho Seloch Khāt*–Den of eel on a hill, (32) *Nāga Khāt (Nose figure)*–A place where water flows from two sources of a cave or hill, (33) *Nah Tānā*–a long narrow stretched plain, (34) *Neil Chumo Gāt* (mouth to ass)–A tunnel where source is open and end is also open, (35) *Nimuchchyā Āruk*–Headless body figure, (36) *Pāā Murho (Oven hill)*–the three hils formed like the posts of a oven, (37) *Pāgochyā Gāch* (parasital trees)–abode of ghost, (38) *Pāgala Gourh*–mad person's grave, (39) *Peikh Marā*–A place wherean unattacked dead bird was found, (40) *Phrāngi Gourh*–a leper's grave, (41) *Pihr Khānā*, (42) *Puri Khāt*–Den of fairies, (43) *Puri Kholā*–Field of fairies, (44) *Pwa kābā*–the grave of a baby, (45) *Rādhā Ghara Chuk* (the head)–a round hill top, (46) *Rijhyāng*–a water fall, (47) *Sāmugho Leijha Bāch*–A place where a twisted bamboo like as nail tail was found, (48) *Selhoch Khat*–Den of eel on a hill, (49) *Sil Kugur Khat*–Den of *sil kugur*, a stripped lizard which sounds like a dog, (50) *Sugor Dyā Bheedyā*–A hill or tillā where a decision to fine a pig for illegal sexual relation was taken, (51) *Tāng Mhāng Ghāt*, (52) *Tara pochchya gat*–eyes, (53) *Tudhing kholā*, (54) *Ubho Dogān*(navel), (55) *Ui phut*–Place of bubble formation.

***Nāri Kalpa*:** It is the description of the *Nāri* or Pulses. It also explains what symptoms arises when certain pulse not felt at the body.

***Phugiri Ālām/Yuk Sādhān*:** This book was written by Sip Charan, the legendary poet sage. He wrote about certain sounds and certain yoga positions for practice and to attain salvation.

***Pujo Bijak*:** These are the books of rules to be observed while performing Puja to certain gods, goddesses and spirits. Here the life history of the deity is written and the likes and dislikes of the deities.

***Sinān*:** In a *sinān*, five measures of rice, is arranged on a shieve. A figure is made with the rice and above it a pitcherful of water is arranged. Money and flowers of five, three, seven kinds are also arranged on the shieve and oil lamp is lighted. The *Vaitdya* then asks the patient to salute it and make prayer for cure and then he starts to chant the mantras with the shoot of *mhyo* or of a ray fish thorn stirring the water. After chanting mantras on the water is over, the patient is given blow of air on the bodily vital points called *Jāgā-jabin thik garānhā* (to correct the vital points) then only the patient is given bathe. After giving bathe, the rice is re-measured. If there is increase, it is good for the patient. The rice is cooked and the first portion is offered to *Gonghei.*

Chhai Chakra Sinān

"Ung gut lārang, mu lārang bāyu karang thidhi. Phalanār ulambchtya manurā, thāghur bichchhoni, kāyā niranjan karhiācham thidhi. Jwilvā tole thidhi karam Gangā Bhagiradi, Nābhimuley thidhi karham Barmhā udhok jwali. Nājhigātte thidhi karam pavan dwi sar, Chokkhu matdhye thidhi karam dwi kālāchān. Kandha mule thidhi karam choidanyo gojhain, Tālumule thidhi karam (pholonar) kāyā niranjan. Mālumette thidhi karam ek chakrā diyā. Dwi hātte thidhi karam Ingilā, Pingilā, Sujarmhā, Gandhāri. Ei chāri nāri dhariyāchhe Mahā Prabhu Sip, Kāyāa Charma Dhoriyāchhe Bichsunu Niranjan. Rakta māngsa dhariyāchhe Kedugā Devi Mā. Benu benu bātdya bājok (Pholonar) Nikunjha mandire. Man houk thir, Sahachsra dwarajā houk thidhi. Jwalanda Brammhā tip di jwalok bāati nitti nitti. Sarilette chhai chakra karam thidhi. Andhakār dur houk Sibho gyane, Brammha hungkāre. Jwali udhok Manipuri bāzār. Sulho kelā thidhi houk purna houk ga. Hinanda Bajhanda thidhi houk jwalok man pobon. Sulho kelā, chāri Chandra, thāahur bichchhoni, madhurā nagari thidhi houk. Jilvā tole bajhok gangā, Jalanda barmhā thidhi houk jwalok bātti nitti nitti. Chhai chakra thidhi houk bājok dumdumi bzār. Sulha kelā thidhi houk Bājok Madhurhā nagari. Chhatrich maghām, bāunna kājhee, tippānna galli, baunna bāzār kariyacham thidhi. Manipure bātdya bajok nitti nitti. Ādi-Anādi barey Gurghanhādhe parhe pānhi Durgāi dilho bar – Purna houk phlnār kāyā niranjan. Ādi-Anādi swāhā. Ung Sibho gyān, Barmhā Hungkār, Bishnu Ungkār.

Translation of Chhoi Chakra Pānhi Parhā (sinān)

This *Pānhi Pārha* (water chanting) is performed for a bed rident patient who is very weak and suffering for a long time. For performing this rite first, a pitcherful of water is to be carried from the river/stream. Before filling the pitcher, the filler should throw rice/flower to the river and make prayer that he/she is filling the water for such and such (the patient), that the mother goddess *Gangā* should give him/her pitcherful of water so that the patient could be cured. He/she will then fill water and bring home and place it on two tips of plantain leaves. Now five measures of rice, 3/5/7 kind of thornless flowers, three wicked oil lamps on shell of oisters will be arranged on a shieve. The rice is to be made a human figure, above that the water pitcher is placed, in which rice, a coin, flowers will be poured. Now the *Vaitdya* will make prayer for the cure of the patient and will also ask the patient to pray. Now the Vaitdya will sit folding the legs and facing the pitcher and start chanting the *mantras* stirring with the tender shoots of bamboo called *Podonā dik/Mhiyho dik or a Thorn of sting ray* and blow air at every punctuation.

"Ung, I am moving my lips, my mouth to restore air and health of the patient. I am also restoring the mind and liver functions of such and such (patient). I am restoring water under the

tongue, fire at the navel to light up. I am restoring the two airways at the nostril, the sights at the two eyes, the sense at the throat, the body at the crown. I am also restoring the neck making a whirl at the Demi (back of the neck), veins and nerves at the two wrists. The master of the four main nerves –Ingila, Pingila, Susurma and Gandari is Sivā, the master of skin is Vishnu and the master of blood and flesh is Kedugā. Let there play musical instruments in the heart, and the mind is restored. Let the thousand doors are restored, let the oven is ignited and burning. Let me restore the six circulatory systems in the body. Let the dark go away with the knowledge of Sivā, with the Ung sound of Vishnu and with the Hung shout of Brahmā and the navel becomes active. Let the sixteen arts of the body are restored and the body become complete. Let the respiration and aspiration is restored and the mind lighted on. Let the sixteen body arts, four kinds of liquids, the liver functions, the heart are woken up and lighted and remains lighting under the tongue. Let the six circulations are restored and the heart beats properly. Let the Chhatrich Maghām (thirty six vital points) are restored, the fifty-two Kājhees (ropes), fifty-three Gallis (streets), fifty two Bāzār (markets) of the body are alright and the heart beats are proper. With the blessing of the Almighty, Gurghonath I have chanted the water. With the blessings of Durga let the health of such and such is restored fully. Swaha of the Almighty, With the Ung knowledge of Sivā, Hung sound of Brommha and Ung sound of Bishnu.

Afterward he will vow before the water pitcher and also ask the patient to make prayer for cure. Now he will take some water in a glass and ask the patient to drink some. Now he will wet his right thumb in the water and wet the vital points of the body one each chanthing *mantra* on the wet thumb and blowing air on the thirty-six points making a left side round (anti clockwise) of the thumb. The points are:

(a) *Ung Mastakette Siba baise. Ung kār Pavan thidhi haiā jā.* Blow on the crown.

(b) *Ung Karnette Kāliā baise. U Poi Ong Ing Swā.* Blow on both ears.

(c) *Ung Nāsikātte Nityānanda Madhu Kare Pān. Ing Ong Swā.* Blow on both nostrils.

(d) *Ung Chokkhe Pralay Baise Prabhu Nijo Hungkar.* Blow on both eyes.

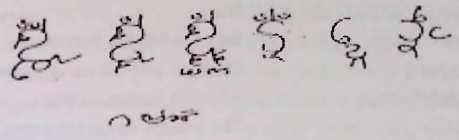
(e) *Ung Jwilbhātte Amullya Baise Udhok Jal Bharok Gangā. Sāgara Bādājhe Udhilo Jal Āi Gangā Āi.* Blow on the mouth.

(f) *Ung Nābhi Moole Mahā Brammhā Thidhi Haiye Chakra Sār. Ing Ang Rosul Āllāh. Dasami Dach Dwār Bhiriyā Thāk. Ung Swāgā Phwā.* Blow on the navel.

(g) *Ung Jang Kang Ang Swāgā Phwā.* This mantra is for recitation and blowing of air on the water glass before giving to drink.

In other *Sinān, mantra* is blown on crown, forehead, eyes, ears, nostrils, tip of nose, neck, throat, between shoulder blades, chest, solar flexus, nipples, three fingers below the left nipple, navel, three fingers below the navel, end of thighs, back of knee, ankles, above the feet. For all the vital points, various sounds are to be made. This process is called *Jāgā-Jabin thik garhi denā* (literally to correct place and land, the vital points of the body). After blowing of air is over, the patient is asked to drink a little chanted water and afterward bathe with it. The patient is then asked to get up pressing on the upside down pitcher and the performance is over. Now the rice agains are measured. If the rice is found more than five measures, it is good for the patient. If not, it is bad. The rice is cooked and offered 'syong' before the *Gonghei/Gozen*/Buddha as a Pujo.

***Tābit*:** It is a talisman where an *Āng* or *yantra* is used for protection. Medicine is also poured along with the āng in some tābit. (Detailed in Vaitdyali Chapter). A typical Tabit is given below:



Write the above *Āng* and pour it in a *Tābido Khul* (housing) with *Jārbwa Pwa neii* (navel of illegimate child of *Bhādo* month). *Sannyo Kalā Gāch* (plantain grown on tree hole), *Sannyo Arjun, Sannyo Kereit.* Invoke life to the tabit with *Telhāk* or *Teimbreing* (name of the chantings) and bind it on a Tuesday or Saturday. It is for protection.

Tāllik: It is the medical formulas which are abundance in number preserved by the *Vaitdyas* (traditional healers). (Detailed in *Vaitdyali* Chapter.

Lāmhā: Lāmhā are the hymns composed as prayer. The known *Lāmhās* are *Gojenha Lāmhā* and *Buddha Lāmhā*. In the *Gojhena Lāmhā* the composer *Sip Charan* a saint poet who is believed to have gone to other abode alive puts prayer before the Almighty ***Gojhen***, the God. He also puts his prayer before *Bar Kamal, Phul Kamal* and *Neel Kamal* (Brahmā, Vishnu and Sivā) the trinity in Hinduism. He puts prayer for blessing for health, wealth, beauty and relatives that he should have the knowledge of thirty-three dialects, reading, writing, etc. It also stated what should be done to attain salvation and what should be practised. That one should practice kindness and love. Also offer *dānā*. In the *Buddha Lāmhā*, Lord Buddha is found to be taken as incarnation and he is asked for salvation of the soul. Extract from Gojhena Lāmhā is given below:

GOJENHA LĀMĀ	PRAYER TO GOD
Chakma	English
Ujoni chhurā Lamoni Dhār	Stream goes up flows down.
Na āchhil sritthi julutkār.	No creation, only water.
Jala ugure gochchhye thhal	Earth made on the water.
Banela Gojhene jib sagal.	God created all living beings.
Areye Maneye jar jnam	The birth of Arya Metta Buddha.
Age salam dyang tār chārān.	I salute first at his feet.
Chaney Surjye Sadhar Bhei	Moon and Sun are real brothers.
Sālām dyang udijhe bhumit thei	Salute towards them from the earth.
Sammughe sālām dyang pugedhi	salute to east at the front.
Pojhimey sālām dyang pijhedhi	Paid salute to west at the back.
Uttore sālām dyang Bānghedhi	Paid salute to North at the left.
Doghinhe sālām dyang denhedhi	Paid salute to south at the right.
Marhe Bidhiye doye houk	Let the God be kind enough to me.
Tin Deba charanat Sālām roukh	Let my salutes remain at the feet of three gods.
Na bujhe tin debe je sagal	Those who do not know three gods.
Bar Kamal, Phool Kamal, Nil	They are Brahmā, Vishnu and

Kamal	Sivā.
Mā Sarasatti Sālāmat	Salute to Mother Saraswati.
Jāgei didigoi Geedo pat	Bless me with verses of hymn.
Sālām Mānei Tabachchhi	Salute to human ascetics.
Dhārmāsila sonyājhi	The precept observing sages.
Egā mane bhajanghar	I am worshipping devotedly.
Sālāmat jānelung Dev Kāmal	My salutes to the Kamal gods.
Pujor guru mānelung	Salute to the priests as teachers.
Hājār sālāmi jānelung	Conveyed thousand salutes to them.
Matdhya puri janam jār	Who gave birth to me on this middle abode.
Tār charane namachkār *Dach mhāch dach dhin duk peyeh*	Salute at her feet who suffered for ten months ten days.
Jombhu dibot ni jormeyeh	Took birth in India (Jambhu dwipa).
Juri chelhung chokh bhori	Realised keeping eyes wide.
Ma Bāp pārhā nei dechbhari	Noone like parents in the country.
Porbhwa bujhe Āgarhat	Readers know from Āghar (written books).
Ejher māneilak sangsārat	Human taking birth in the world.
Bāp Mā charan bhajhinei	Worshipping the feet of parent.
Sagal Tittha phal pāih bhei.	Virtue of all pilgrimage is gained, brothers.
Gyāni Dhyāni sālām dyong	Salute to the knowledgeable and meditators.
Porbhwo pundit bhuji lung	I salute to knowledgeable and readers.
Sabai sālām mui dilhung	I salute to all.
Geet sādhanān sādhilhung	I devoted for the hymn.
Geet ek Lāmhā Phureyeh	First hymn is complete.
Bujhilhe bujhibho māneye	Human folk may understand it.
Tadāt berhei dhup kābar	Coiling a white clothe around the neck.
Gojhena charanat Bhajhanghar	I am worshipping at the Lord's feet.
Āge sālām de Sip Charan	Siv Charan salutes at first.
Māghang Gojhenatthun dwi charan	Ask for the two feet of the God.
Chheyar tale rāghedhā	To keep under his refuge (shadow).
E kāle U kāle toreda	And to protect in this and next lives.
Jarme jarmey deghā houk	To meet in every life.
Chitte mane egā houk	To get concentration of heart and soul.
Debangsi Gojhene na dhujhi	Without approaching the divine God.
Abhuch māneye na bujhi	We the ignorant human do not understand.
Suno Suno Porbhwo Bhei	Listen, Listen the reader brothers.
Dwibhyā okkhorhe tori jei	Let us get salvation with two letters.

Guru sādhi na peyhe	Those who have no teacher.
Anā guruye pār hoiye?	Any salvation without a teacher?
Sādhi ānhang ār jānam	Desirous to gain in next birth.
Sagal dān garhangar ei janam	Dedicating everything in this life.
Juri na pāllye kwhot pebha?	Without earning how would you get?
Bhajile chaaran kul pebha	Will get salvation worshipping at the feet.
Na ralhe Dhan man sādhane	If wealth and heart does not remain in meditation.
Toribo māneiluk Phool dāne	Human will get salvat in by offering flowers.
Gurur charan sār garhe	Those who decides for teacher's feet.
Bangsha dhan ki pār garhe?	Can a dynastic resource give salvation?
Egā Māne bhājhile	If one concentrate in devotion.
Sagal Tittho phal pāih bhele	It is said to gain all virtues of pilgrimage.
Dayā delhe Sār garhe	Those who decides with kindness.
Sādhile dajaghat pār garhe?	Can bring salvation to a community?
Apār pānhi sāgare	Endless of water in a sea.
Trich tin jādi bhāch pāttungoi āgare	I should know thirty-three languages in future.

***Bārha** Mhāch* are the compositions to describe the unsuccessful ove stories and other stories for a whole year, like *Chāndobi Bāromhāch, Meyebi Bārho Mhāch, Chitra Legha Bārho Mhāch, Mā-Bāba Bārho Māch, Kāleswari Bāro Mhāch, Rangpudi Bāro Mhāch, Kirbyābi Bāro Mhāch, Tānyābi Bāro Mhāch, Rāttānbi Bāro Mhāch, Jutdhopudi Bāro Mhāch*, etc. These *Bārho Mhāches* describes about the social systems as to how the society treats a unwed mother, how much fines, bride price, the fore telling of an *Ojhā* (exorcist) at the time of performing a marriage rite. The condition of an orphan, etc.

Chāndhobib Bārha Mhāch

Sluk: *Namang Krishnang Nārāyanang gupi sabe ballabhang kāranang kamalāng pati bhakta bānchā punanang punanang. Chāndhobi angse jarmenang kandettang pāyenang pādubādettā. Jwibhā akrettang sittya pābi sarba shāhtra Mā Saraswatti.*

Bandanā (Prayer)

Nama nama bandham mui prabhu Nārāyan
Jāhāra kārane shristi ei tina bhubhān.
Swarga Martya Pādāl jāna ei tin puri
Tāhāre bandham mui namachkār gari.
Bramhā Vishnu Mahechswār eitin jan
Tāhārhe bandham mui dhariyā charan.
Ādyo shaktimahāmayā bandhi egāne
Jadekka debedā bandham dhariyā charane.
Gangār charane bandham sivera gharani

Sahachsra pranām karham lutāiyā dharani.
Sattya lāgi pritimbite thāge chāi juk
Sangsār naraka undhe utdhārite luk.
Tāhāri utdejhe mura sahachsra pranām
Jāhari kripāi pāih murukkho lugo dhām.
Bandham je Saraswatti jagat janani
Abhirade kandhe bajhi jabāiba Āpani.
Boisa mādā Saraswatti kandhera ubar
Bārha Mhājha jugāi dibāakkhore akkhar.
Sri Rā Lakkhane bandham bhumit garāi pari
Tār pādani bandham mui Sidā Thāgurāni.
Uttor daghin purba pajhim bandhi egāane
Sāt bā bandilāma sabhār charane.
Chandra Surjyo bandham mui garhi namaskār
Dibhā rāttri bet jāna tāhār adhigār.
Sur asur bandhammui bhakti garhi man
Bāha rājhi namagraha garilum sādhan.
Tirtha saba bandham mui Gayā Bārānajhi
Akgni kundha bandham mui ārha bandham Kājhi.
Kadekka bandhittee pāri tirtha je āchhai
Leghitte bichtara hai puchthagette kaih.
Achsatta brikkha bandham mui ārha tāl gāch
Jala matdhye bandhammui bara bara māch.
Nadā Nadi bandham mui sāgar gambhir
Jala matdhye bandham mui hangar kumbhir.
..... sagala idhu sahachsra pranām
Gyāni dhyāni pade mui jānailum sāām.
Ajhā guru mā bāp garhi namachkār
Jāhāra sāādhe degisagalsangsār.
Andha jana chokkhu guru sarba jane kaih
Gurur lāgiyā prabhu boidejhette raih.
Uhār udijhe murasahachsrapranā
Jāhāra kripāye pāi sahachsra sālām.
Jetthā khuro pidā ādi bhāi gurujan
Tāhāre bandham mui dhariyā charan.
Chāri vedha sattya shachtra bandhiluma Hari
Eghane kahiba āmhi asech vijāri.

Ki bā chhadha ki bā bara pranām garhiyā
Kahiba Chandhobi kadhā shachtra vijāriā.
Sattya, Tredā, Dābar Kali juga chāri
Tāhāre bandham mui māghi bar tārhi.

Sluk: *Satyang Tretā Dwāparang Kali jugang ei chāri tāthā. Kali juge jarmenang. Chāndhobi mānabi Kulenang. Nāi jātang, Rupang gunang tinang kulang tulanā dibār nāhikko jata Tribhubanang byāpitang. Rupang kayhe Sri Dharma Dharmaadhan Pandittang. Namo Namo.*

Payār

Satya Tredā Dwābara Kali juga ār
Kali juge jarme Chandho bhubhana mājhār.
Rube gune tin kule keha nāhi ā
Tulanā dibāra tār kijhu nāhi ār.
Sno orhe luga tumhi egā man garhi
Chāndhobi utpanna kadhā suno kanna bhari.
Patthame kahiba āhi payārera chhande
Kunamade tār mādāi dharilekka garbhe.
Dwidiye kahiba āmhi lajāri ubākkhyān
Ki made kāndilo te se saba kāran.
Tridiye kahiba āmhi ruba guna tā
Chadurte kahiyhā dimu sājhana tāhār.
Panjame kahiyhā dimutār Bārhamhāch
Je made gābhurera purwai mana ach.
Ei panja kadhā āmhi kahiba eghan
Egāman haiyā luk suno sarbajan.

Jarma Mhājha Kadhā/ Chāndhobi Jarma Kadhā.

Jaghane hailo Chandho garbette utpadi
Kuno made garilekkha garbhette bajatti.
Ki khāiyā rahilekka garbhera bhidhare
Ege ege saba kadhā suno naraluge.
Chāri nālhe kāyā bich bhuchkhyan garhe bāyu
Māyer nijhāhe bārhe āmanar āyu.
Same dārhā, Mangale nābhi Budhe padhāi buk
Birhochpudi bāre purela Chādhobira much.
Sukkhor bāre srijilena tār dwi nayan
Jāite-chāite dilo dukkho ei tin bhubhan.
Sanibāre kanna padhāi Rubibāre mādhā
Dinar kadhā shech hailo suno mhājhar kadhā.

Ega mhājha kāle Chandho ega bindu pānhi
Dwi mhājha kāle Chāndho parjhiyhe jānājāi.
Tin mhājha kāle Chandho hoyhe rakta dalā
Chāri mhājha kāle Chāndho hāra māngcha jarā.
Panja mhājha kāle Chandhor Panja phool phudhe
Chhai mhāch kāle Chandho ullode-phullode.
Sā mhāch kāle Chandhor sapta sarhil haih
Āchtya mhājha kāle Chāndhor hachta mahāmaih.
Nai mhājha kāle Chāndho phoghā māi chāh
Dajha mhājha dajha dhine bhumitte phudāi.

Sluk: *Māri udarenang garbha bālikang bālikā jātah Tri dharma pālanang sat mātri sayāang jāt. Tri dharma pālanang satyangkaye Sri Dharma Dhan.*

Chāndhorir Jāda Kadhā

Hachtini Patdini Chitrāni Shangghini nichchhay
Patdini baliyā jāa Shāchtrette hen kaih.
Ei chāri jāda nāri Bhubhana mājhār
Ege ege kwaih suno jār je byābahār.
Patdini nārira jāna bhāla tār madi
Chāndhobi sundari haih patdinira jādi.
Sadipadibhradāsadhāih dharma parāyan
Patda gandha baye gāye harini nayan.
Kogilāra sama swara adhi madhumay
Sadhā hāchsya badhan tār patdini je haih.
Machthakera mājhe jāna bohut kejha haih
Krichsna banna kejha tār jānibā nichchhai.

Lâjāri (Dirbo dhane marinei hābhilyāch)

Tribadi

Āhāi bidhi abarhāt *Buge māllya batjraghāt*
Ājambide bāp mari gelha.
Bhumitte ludiyā kānde *Chigur nāhikko bāndhe*
Bāba shoughe hala achedan.
Bhāibondhu sabe kānde *Chigur nāhi keha bāndhe*
Bhutee ludāye dharani.
Je mure garhibho dayā *Te yho gelha nidhur haiyhā*
Kun made thāghim mui se ghare.

Chāir batsar pāilhuk skch Panja bajhra kāle duk
Vidhāttāi gurilho nirhāch.
Bābar shoughe hayhā dughi Kānder Chāndho adha mughi
Murimboi de sāgare jhāmba diyā.
Mura bāp gelha mari Kane dibo anna pāhi
Bich pāne marimboi nichchhai.
Phalabiji kahe jhee Ki gallhya bidhiye na bujhi
Jiyanette haiyāchhi marā.
Kajlang Sublang berāi chāilhum Tumhār madan nāhi pāilum
Ut swāmi modhu garha pān.
Åhāi āhāi ki hailo Prāna padi kudhāi gelha
Karāghātgarhe bukkhwatale.
Bala orhe prānapadi Ki haibe āmhār gadi
Ei dajhā āmhār hailo.
Ejha nādh deghi muk Dwi chogho mant dukh
Ejha padi jurwagoi jivan.
Ei abalār gadi Ke habe āmhār gudi
Bhabha sindhu mājhārette padan.
Tyāji puttra bandhugane Chhārila āttiyagane
Kuthā nātta garilhe gaman.
Henamade Phalabiji Āgul hailo adhi
Mrida padi kuletthetulilo.
Shoughe hayhe achedan Bale orhei Prāna Dhan
Mur pānechāo ek bār.
Āmhāre chhāriyā tumi Kudhāi gelhā kah go swāmi
Ek bār matter eghan.
Ut Nāttho hāchsy mane Degha ei dajhir pāne
Kah go kadhā Oh Prānanhāth.
Āmhi je abalā nāri Taba shoughepāgalini
Kudhu jebe āmhāre chhāi.
Mui tarapremdhani Garlhye mure anādhini
Ebe kene chali gelhā tumi.
Tumi Natto chali gele Āmhār je ke habe
Annya ghare kemane rahiba.
Māye-Jhiye dwi jane Kādiyā byāgul mane
Purwan kadhā swariyā manette.

A kāle marilo bāp *Mane pāih bara tāp*
Nichchhai murim pidār lāgi.
Āhāi hāire dārun bidhi *Andha jagatdiyhe nidhi*
Chokkhu melhi deghitte nā pai mui.
Garhe nā rahiba ār *Na deghim mui punach bār*
Chandra mukkha dhariya chāii mui.
Pariyā bijham kānde *Biniyā biniyā kānde*
Dhārā bayhe dwi āngghir jal.
Chitte mane diyā khemā *Jah leghiyāche bramhā*
Karma leghā bhujhile je pai.
Judi thāghe bhākgya leghā *Punachbār pāiyom deghā*
Kāndile ki keba kāre paih.

Chāndhorir Rup Bannanā
Hādhat bālā sunar Chāndho Khanjane bāhāih pā
Jabun bālā sundar Chāndho kogilār kārhe rā.
Ki kahimu Chāndhobira rubar sarup bāghān
Kudhi kudhi tārā jāni chānar samān.
Kibhā Lakkhi Saraswatti kibhā kāma bāān
Rube tirachkār garhe sada sada chān.
Kogilāra rah jena manuhar madi
Pijhe pijhe chali jāi Lakkhi Saraswatti
Jār gandhe makarande tyaje alibrinda
Jhāghe jhāge chali āy pāyhā modhu gandha.

Kobidās are the composition of poetries like *Ālsi Kobidā, Muli Kobidā, Koli Choudijhā*, etc., describing the subjects. The *Ālsi Kobidā* describes about the symptom and condition of a lazy fellow. *Muli Kobidā* describes about *Muli*, the traditional yeast preparation and which is required for making traditional wine.

Kobidā: These are composition of poetry. Some of the *Kobida* are: *Muli Kobida, Ālsi Kobida.*

ĀLSI KOBIDYA (poem on laziness)

VANDANĀ (Salutation)

Sarba akgre bandhi āmhi deba Niranjan First salute to God Niranjan.
Tāra pare bandhanā karham debadā Paban Afterward I salute god Paban.
Tār pare bandhanā karham jada gurujan Afterward, I salute all my teachers
Tār pare vandanhā karham jada munighan Afterward, I salute all the sages.

Pidā-mādā jaichta khuro bhāi gurujan.	Parent, their elders and youngers, friends and elders.
Tārhare vandanhā karam dhariyā charan	I salute them touching their feet.
Tār pare vandanhā karham lutaye dharani	Afterward, I salute falling on the ground.
Sahachsra vandanhā karham namachkār garhi	Pay thousand salutes folding the hands.
Sattya kadhā hailhe jadi dibyā ājhirbat	If found true bless me.
Bhālhā mada nāhailhe murhe garha māp	If not to the mark pardon me.
Dhanya dhanya mahākabi Pranām je garhi	Bravo the legend poets I fold my hands before you.
Sahachsra jan pranām karham namachkār garhi	I salute thousands with folded hands.
Suno suno bhāi bandhu suno diyā man	Hear my brothers and friends carefully.
Ālsi mānjhya kabidyā garilyām rajan.	I composed poetry on lazy people.
Āisa mā Swarachatti kandhe diyā pā	Come mother Sarasati putting your feet on my shoulder.
Jwilbhā undhe jabāi dibā Swarachatti Mā	Mother Sarasati flow me composition at my tongue.
Dhannya kabi mānnya kabi suno gyānighan	Bravo poet honoured poet listen the learned.
Thik thik garhi kaiyhā dibo Ālsir bibaran	I will say truly about the lazy people.
Ālsi mānjhyar mane mukkhe satya kadhā nāi	Lazy people do not speak truth.
Sattya kadhā kadha gelhe luger pattya nei	People do not believe their true talks.
Ālsi mānhuch milyā marat kanha kāmat nei	Male or female they are worthless.
Ālsi mānjhye kām na gallhye kenhe pebha khei	How would a lazy get food without work.
Ālsi mānjhyar mane mukkhe nitto māghnhān	Lazy people always think of seeking.
Hakkhān jadi kadha chelhe hannhe bejārhān	If the truth is said they get angry.
Ālsi mānnyhe āljhi mānhuch judi lāghat pāih	If a lazy meets a lazy.
Ek baidaghat dinnho phelande kādāi	They spend the whole day in one sitting.
Kadhāi jāi ei kadhā thik jadhātta	They discuss one subject after another.
Ālsi mānjhyar ghār dwar berchāgā bhāngā	House of a lazy is with broken wall fence.

Talchājā bhāngā gharhat āljhi mānhuch thāi	A lazy lives in a house of broken flat bamboo spread.
Gharha bhidhirhe khādhe bhāt kurhwo lur deghā jāi	Chicken boxes are visible while taking meal.
Ālsi mānjhyar ghāt sambut bejhāt kichchhu nei	A lazy has less wealth.
Bhāghā kurhum bhānghā pullhyāng gam dingiryā nei	Only, broken baskets, no good baskets.
Bhānghā toloilwai dhān sughei khān umuri sumuri khei	They dry paddy on broken mat, somehow.
Sbherbhechsyā sersechsyā labhādjhā ālsi mānjhya kām	Work of a lazy is very infirm.
Elhang bhelhang gari phelhan girachthali nāng	They earn bad name to the family.
Ālsi mānjhye jum na khān kāmmwa mānjhyakāih	Lazy does not make jhum near an active.
Kāmmwa mānjhye jumot jāde ālsiye lājāih	Lazy feel shy while an active goes to work.
Kāmmwa mānjhye kāmar chidyā bellye garhi thaih	Active decides for work in the evening.
Patthyā rādā dāgat udhi jār kāmeje jāi	They rise early at cock's crow and go to work.
Ekadhā thik jadhāchta Debā jadi dar garhe	It is a fact that if it rains heavily.
Ālsi jebāk ghum phejherāi chinhyā jāi ālsir jum	They sleep and their jhum gets weeds.
Āsi mānjhyar kadhā ebe roukkhoi majiyā	Let the story of lazy men left aside.
Ālsi milyā kadhā ebe suno man diyā	Now listen about the lazy women.
Ālsi milyār wolhom shāl phujhung phājhāng chhei	Oven of lazy woman has scattered ash.
Bennhyā udhi na kājān ālsi mādhā khei	They do not clean it up in the morning due to laziness
Ālsi milyār ghar dwar phujhuk-phājhā phejhā	There is unruly grasses in the house of lazy women.
Se kārane ālsi milyā māllye two na mare gejā	So no satisfaction even in beating them up.
Ālsi milyār pwo-chhābhā pet chidiryā, buk	Children of a lazy women are dirty at belly.
chidiryā, nāgat sighon, muhwot lettwa	Chest, with runny nose and mouth.

Keyet chelhe pergā dalā chitpuribo kubhwat	Dirt balls at the body who will love them?
Ālsi milyā ghum jān bel udhon tinpachāudhon	Lazy women sleep and rise at third quarter.
Mudor sule mudo elhe pinhon bhorei mudon	They urinate in pressure on their lower petticoat.
Ālsi milyā gāngat gelhe kummlhwo bharhibyāk gādhi	Lazy women fill their pitcher after taking bath.
Pinhon pinhi bugot berhan tin tin chilhānyā khādhi	They cover breast with lower garment, breast cloth torned.
Ālsi milyā bārhā bārhan dapallā rānhan chol	Lazy women pound paddy cook rice with bran.
Dwi cheir bhuk dinei kannhe senhehebel hol	After two four stroke they say it ok.
Tāli ubor tāli pinhon ālsi milyār pun	Label upon label at the bottom of the lower garment of lazy women.
Kāāidhi gelhebāch nhighilhe ālsi milyātthun	They emit foul spell if gone nearer.
Ālsi milyār wolhonchhāl phujhung pājhāng	Chhei, Oven of lazy women are full of ash.
Nānān darbya māghannowi bel gelhe tei	They ask for anything after sunset.
Urhonpinhon parā pāān ālsi milyāi je	Lazy women face deart of proper dresses.
Māibunile je bunilo kārhe kannhā de	If mother weaves who gives to others.
Ālsi milyār kum kutti jale heil garhi thāi	Potteries of lazy women get green with dirt.
Ghin kājochchyā manjhye delhe pānhiyho na khāi	People who hates dirt do not drink their water.
Ālsi milār dabhākādhi bhāda tyana sādā	Cutlery of lazy woman have remains of courses
.....*dhallyhe ādhā ādhā*	..... sticky at touch.
Ālsi milyār tāmā pidol luwhar mada haih	Brassand copper of lazy women becomes like iron.
Ālsi garhi na mājan	They don't polish it due to laziness.
Ālsi milyār kadhā ebhe roukkhoi majiyā	Let the story of lazy women remain aside.
Ālsi matda kadhā ebhe suno mana diyā	Now listen about lazy men.
Ālsi mānjhye kadhā kabhāk para gharhat jei	Lazy men talks in others houses.
Ālsi garhi kām na gallyhe kenhe pebhāk khei	If they don't work how would they get to eat?
Ālsi mānjhye bhāt khān chājāt bijhyān pāt	Lazy men take food spreading leaves on the floor.

Janam bhari na chhāribo ālsi manjhyar rāt	A lazy will never overcome poor state.
Ālsi mānjhye iyhān ubhon *nitto parā pāān*	Lazy men always suffer from want of all things.
Kām nagarhan kengarhi *pebhāklāgede sāmān?*	How will they get essentials without work?
Ālsi garhi kām garhan ālsi mādhākhei	They work lazily due to laziness.
Kutthun pebhāk lakkyā jinhich *tengā na kāmei*	How will they get essential goods without earning money?
Rodey jhare jār umochsyāi je *garibho kām*	Those who work in sun, rain, cold warm.
Luge sabe delhe tārhe sadāi *garhe mān*	People respect such hard worker wherever he goes.
Kāmmwa mānjhyar kanha *darap kichchhu parā nei*	Active people do not face dearness due to their work.
Bāksu bharhā Tengā paijhyā, *dhan rattan kām garhan kei*	They have box full of money and gems for their works.
Kāmmwo mānjhye hāde gāe *nitto garhan kām*	Actives always work with hands and mouth.
Galā bharhā deghe tār nānān jādi dhān	Various kind of paddies are seen in their godown.
Ālsi garhi nijo kām na garibho je	Those who do not do their job for laziness.
Nijatthun bech para kām *garhi pebha te*	He would have to work more for others then their own.
Ālsi mānjhyar kadhā ebhe rāghoi majiyā	Keep away the tale of lazy me.
Māā-pidā kadhā ebe suno man diyā	Now listen to the tale of parent.
Suno suno bhāi bondhu suno diyā man	Listen brothers and friend with eagerness.
Mādā-pidā kadhā ebe suno khānikkhyan	Listen about parents for a little.
Putra sughe sughi bā mā putra *dughe dughi*	Parents are happy and sorry with their sons.
Ichswaratthun perātthnā *garhe putra sugho lāgi*	From God parent pray for happiness for sons.
Putra lāgimādā-pidāi jiban ditte chāi	Parent can give up their life for children.
Mādā pidyā mada dol *bandhu ei jagadat nei*	There is no friend like parent in this world.
Phalha bharhe brikkhya jemhan *dhāl bhāngiyāpare*	Like a branch of a tree breaks due to weight of fruits,
Sei kārane mādā pidā putra lāgi mare	For that reason parent die for their children.

Phogiri Ālām is the book in which *Sip Charan* tried to teach breathing *Yogā* by practicing certain sounds on certain time and day for salvation.

Nāri Kalba is the description of pulse, veins and nerves, their situation, their utility and what affects are caused in their absence. If a certain pulse does not pulpitate, the *Vaitdyos* know what

is going wrong and they correct it by chanting mantras on certain points and blowing air and pressing with the thumb. The points of palpitation and the pulse have different names.

Bāzār Kalha: It is also the description of certain body parts.

Bāyu Kalha: It is the study of air in the body. It teaches as to in absence of what air in the body what affect is caused. It is also taught only by a *guru*. For example: *Pran Bāyu* sits at heart.

Jibadhwach Bāyu sits at Kidney.

Dhanantari at Ingilā.

Jbauna (Sibasthan) at Pingila.

Basanta at *Jibadhwach.*

Susharma near the navel.

Jibadhwaj Bāyu forms from *Anāuch Chakra* (navel).

Yama takes away life and life is lost after *Mālum* has fallen.

Mandar: *Mandars* are the mantras or magical chants available in abundance in the books of *Vaitdyali* discussed in the Chapter of *Vaitdyali.*

Modern Chakma Literature

Modern Chakma literature began with the composition of Chandobi Baro Mas by Dharma Dhan at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Afterward many other Baro Mas were composed. In 1926, Shri Prabodh Chandra Chakma, alias Phirhing Chand composed 'Ālsi Kobidyā' and others like 'Muli Kobidyā'. The publication of the monthly 'Gairika' under the editorship of Binita Roy, wife of Chakma Chief Nalinakshya Roy, from Rangamati (1935-52) is said to have brought renaissnce in the modern Chakma composition and literature. Play: 'Dhengā Boitdhya' by Sugata (1978), 'Neel Mwano Swaban' by Sugata 1979, 'Hai-naii Boitdya' by Dr. Bhagadatta Khisha 1982, 'Ānāt Bhājhi Udhey Kā Mu' by Chirajyoti (1983), 'Je Dinot Jey Kāl', 1984, 'Bizurāmar Swargot Jātrā' 1985, 'Āndhārot Junhee Pahr' 1986, 'Jharā Pādār Jingkāni', 1994 by Shantimoy Chakma.

After her marriage with the Chakma Raja Nalinakshya Roy, Binita Roy wanted to publish literature of hill people of Chittagong Hill Tracts and she met Rabindra Nath Tagore for suggestion. Rabindra Nath suggested to name the magazine as *'Gairika'*. Binita Roy, is the grand daughter of Keshab Chandra Sen (founder of Brahmo Samaj). In *'Gairika'* writers like Chuni Lal Dewan, Mukunda Talukdar, Chitta Kishore Chakma, Jamini Ranjan Chakma, Bala Ram Chakma, Dr, Bhagadatta Khisha, Bankim Krishna Dewan, Ashok Kumar Dewan, Salil Roy, Arun Roy, etc., people started writing song, poems and articles regularly. Chuni Lal Dewan is said to be the first composer of modern Chakma songs. The first three modern poems in Chakma are:

Ghar Dwarat Einei Dāger Sibhyākannhā Marhe? By Chuni Lal Dewan (1940-1945)

Ghar dwarat einhei dāger sibhā Kannhā Marhe?

Mwan chinhong nāng na jānang, Kudhu dekkhyang tārhe?

Dāk sunhinhei purhi phellyung jedakkhāni mar kām,

Parāne katthe tārhe cheinhei pujhor gotthung tā nāng.

Pujhor garhi chin parijay Tallwai juni hoi,

Haoch garhi bhidhirhe bajhi dwijane kadhākwai.

Kadhā kwainhe manat palhe khebhattyei kwomh tārhe,
Janamattyei milimijhi thebhang āmhi samāe.

Purwan Kadhā by Mukunda Talukdar

Purān kadhāhidot tullhe manhān kenjhān garhe,
Parāne kaidhe se dhakkyā garhi rāghedung jana bhare.
Chigan kālar se sap khelā, se sap sangibhei,
Jevan sāgarat dubi jeyhon ikkhu kichchhu nei.
Bellyā halhe 'gudu khelā' ārha kadhak ki,
Dwhibhor kāllyā 'Nadeng Khelā' manat parenhi?
Se kadhāni manat tullhyemachtha sukhlāge,
Siyānhi bhābhi ikkunhuya Kheldung parāne māghe.
Murhwa ugure mono gharat bājhee eikkhwa lai,
Daghinā buyār ejher chhyā, gāi gāi rayhach bwai.
Dhānhun undhi langi etthan, tadek yho dhabha pare.

The followings are the recorded events of modern Chakma literature:

1.	Gojhenlio Lama	Sip Charan 11th Ajhar 1184 Bengali.
2.	Chandobi Baromhach	Dharma Dhan
3.	Alsi Kobida	Prabodh Chandra @Phiring Chand 1930

4. Goirika by Binita Roy 1936 -1951 (irregular).
5. Jharna from Bandarban 1966.
6. Parbattya Bani Rangamati 1967-70.
7. Adhunik Chakma Gan - Salil Roy.
8. Rangamattya, Nonadhan 1970.
9. Padarong Kochpana, Rong dhang.
10. Dipankar Srigyan 1978.
10. Bargi, Suhrid 1987.
11. Jwoli no udhi kitthei. Kabita Chakma - 1992.
12. Dikbana seretthun. Mrittika 1995.

From 1967 Mr. Biraj Mohan Dewan published 26 issues of a monthly news magazine named *Parbattya Vani*. The first book published in Chakma was '*Rangamattya*' a collection of twelve poems by Sugata Chakma in 1970. *Bājhi, Singhyā*, collection of modern Chakma song. Afterward, JUBHAPRAD (Jumma Bhasha Prachar Daptar (1972-1979) published 23 books and Jhum Aestatic Council (1989-2004) published forty books. In these books, they published poems, songs,dictionary, research on language and phonetics, folklores, play, story, articles, old literature and did the most valuable things. Sugata Chakma, Dipankar Srigyan Chakma, Bankim Dewan, Soumentra Narayan Dewan, Suhrid Chakma, Supriyo Talukdar, Bira Kumar Tanchangya, Mukunda Talukdar, Dr.

Bhagadatta Khisha, Mrittika Chakma, Raja Debashish Roy, Phelajeya Chakma, Shyamal Talukdar, Salil Roy, Ranjit Dewan, Sishir Chakma, etc., have contributed their compositions and writing to these two organisations. To name some new writers are Nikolai Chakma, Rip Rip Chakma, Ranel Chakma, Ripan Chakma, Sugam Chakma and Paramita Tongchangya. The first Chakma play staged was *'Dhenga Baitdya'* by Sugata Chakma in 1978. Afterward, *'Jharāpādār Zingkani'* by Shantimoy Chakma, *'Dewangshi Hādar Kālā Chhābhā'* by Mrittika Chakma and *'Āndalat Pahr'* by Jhimhit Jhimhit Chakma. The first story books were *'Pachjhan'* by Sugata Chakma, *'Kālāchānar Bizu'* by Prof. Nandita Dewan, *'Gam Lāgānātthun Bech'* by Raja Debashish Roy and *'Gadhā Rāma Swaban'* by Shantimoy Chakma.

We also know about publication of 'Bizu' by Jummia Bhasha Prachar Daptar in 1972, *'Pahadi'* by Pahadi Prakashana Gosthi, Rangamati, *'Marmar'* by Banamarmar Sanskritik Sangsthan, Kaptai, *'Oa'* by Murallya Jagarani Sanskritik Gosthi, Rangamati. In this way many organisations like 'Tribal Research Institute, 'Jak', 'Mona Ghar', 'Giri Nirjhar', 'Jumia Bhasha Prachar Daptar', 'CHT Regional Council and many other institutions have published many books, megazines, little magazines, pamphlet, etc. We hear about such publications–4 in 1972, 2 in 1973, 2 in 974, 2 in 1075, 2 in 1977, 34 in 1967, 28 in 1988, 5 in 1978, 10 in 1979, 22 in 1980, 22 in 1981, 16 in 1982, 19 in 1983, 23 in 1984, 14 in 1985, 19 in 1986, and 10 in 1989, etc. From 1989 to till date, there are many publiction of books, magazines, little magazines, collection of old literatre and translation works. In which known and unknown writers and composers expressed their feelings, hope, sorrow, revolution, evolution, love, hate, etc., and introduced us with civilisation, politics, literature, old literatures. The reknown modern poets in Bangladesh are Dipankar Shrigyan Chakma, Sugata Chakma, Phelajeya, Dr. Bhagadatta Khisha, Suhrid Chakma, Mrittika Chakma, Sishir Chakma, Biro Kumar Tangchangya, etc.

In India, modern Chakma literature started with the composition of songs by Mohini Mohan Chakma, Satya Priyo Dewan, etc., and also writing of play like *'Jama Chhābā'*, *'Dhullhyattun Lo Udhe'* the publication of cyclostyled magazine from Kamalanagar, Mizoram in 1973 by Janesh Ayan Chakma when he was in Mizoram. After which *'Dalak'* a magazine was published from Tripura under the editorship of Sukumar Chakma and Niranjan Chakma in 1973. Afterward many other magazines were published like: (1) *'Pilyebhinghur'* editor Pritikusum Chakma, 1974, (2) *'Sadak'* by Niranjan Chakma, 1978, (3) *'Sonā Regā'* by Satyapriyo Dewan, 1975, (4) *'Jānghāl'* by Bimal Mamen Chakma, 1976, (5) *'Cherāk'* by Silchar Chakma Students of Mizoram, editor Pulin Bayan Chakma, 1977, (6) *' Lorbwa'* Gautam Chakma, 1978, (9) *'Nijenhi'* editor 1 issue by Lalit Chakma, 2nd issue by Banani Chakma, (10) *'Talbich'* quarterly editor Bimal Mamen Chakma and Chakma Ashim Roy, 1979 (10-12 issues), (ii) *Pilye Bhinghur'* 1979-80 Priti Kusum Chakma, 1979-80, (3 issues), (12) *'Bijhu'*, editor Bhabantu Bikash Chakma, 1981, (13) *'Bāatwa Peikh'* from Calcutta, editor Chiji, 1981, (14) *'Rāngāmāttyā'* from Calcutta, 1981 editor Bikash Chakma, (15) "*Cherāk'* 2nd issue of Silchar Chakma Students' editor Subhash Chakma, (16) *'Bārgi'* editor Rishi Janesh Ayan and Priti Kusum Chakma, 1982, (17) *'Tripura Sadak'* by Niranjan Chakma from 1984, (18) *'Sāllyāng'* from CADC, editor Hriday Chakma, 1995, (19) *'Nua Sadarak'* Kusum Kanti Chakma, 1996, (20) *'AALAAM'* (fortnightly), Cyclostyled by Art and Culture, CADC. Editor Lakshmi Bhusan Chakma, 1997-1998. We may also mention other publications like CADC Silver Jubilee 1978, *Sadarak, Bijhugulo, Dedgang, Bargang, Monugang, Madi, Bizu Phool, 'Adama pawr'* published by YCA Mizoram, Annual magzines of Kamalanagar College and *Radang*, the Annual magazine of Chakma Literary Academy, Kamalanagar. We must mention the books on Chakmas written by Shri Sakya Prasad Talukdar.

We should not also forget the first modern song writers and play writers who have influenced us a lot for modern writing. Among them Satya Priyo Dewan, Mohini Mohan Chakma, Abhik Kumar Chakma, Priti Kusum Chakma, Janesh Ayan Chakma, Ashim Roy, Niranjan Chakma, Bimal Mamen Chakma, Anil Chakma, Abani Ranjan Chakma, Nagendra Lal Chakma, Pulin Bayan Chakma, Hitler Chakma, Nilo Baran Chakma, Mangal Dhan Chakma, Lokkhi Kumar Chakma, Doyal Bikash Chakma, Sneha Kumar Chakma, Nihar Bindu Chakma, Bipul Chakma, Banhishikha Chakma, Sukumar Chakma, Lakshmi Bhusan Chakma, Uma Charan Chakma, Jayan Chakma, Doyaraj Chakma, Tribanku Chakma and many others.

***Hikkhunnhyā Git* (Modern songs)**: The modern Chakma songs were introduced not long ago in Bangladesh, may be in the year of 1972 with the song *'Utton Peghe Meghe Meghe', Hillwa Milyābo Jumot Jatte* and *Āmhā Dechshyān Edhak Dol*, etc. Now there are many modern songs in Bangladesh and India like Tripura, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh. The first radio artists was Ranjit Dewan, Sahana Dewan, etc., from Bangladesh and Abhik Kumar, Sabita and Phulo Rani Chakma were from Tripura in India. Let us quote some modern Chakma songs written by the Chakmas belonging to different places to give flavour to our readers.

1. *Āmhā dechshān edhak dol...Nitto hājhi mu,*
   Bizu akthat kogil dagaran Kuhu....

   Āmhā dechshān murho murhi
   Cheirho kittyā Chharā gāng
   Bennhyā potthyā peikkunhe
   Ghumotthun jāgān.
   Rāngā garhi belhān udhe
   Mono mādhāndhi,
   Bizu akthat kogil dagaran Kuhu....

   Edhak dech ghuri chelhung āmhā dechshāna sān,
   Kanha kittyāt dol dech ejha mui... na pāāng.
   Ei jāgānat janam loiyhong, marimmbeyho iyhot
   Bizu akthat kogil dagaran Kuhu....

   -Amar Shanti Chakma, Bangladesh

2. *Jhimhit jhimhit junhi jwale murhwo dejha debāttale*
   Iyhān āmhā dech, iyhān tamhā dech, iyhān begar dech.

   Jei murhwabhot janam mar sei murhwabhot janam tar
   Āmhā dejhat thelhe da gam lāgede bech, gam lāgede bech.
   Iyhān āmhā dech, iyhān tamhā dech, iyhān begar dech.

   Idhu āmhār mā rwayhe āghe idhu bhei
   Gadā sangsārhat twagei chelhe ejhān dech ār nei
   Ejhān dech ār nei.

Ei murhwobhwot janam āmhār ei murhwobhwot maran
Ei murhwobhwo chhārhigeleghoi na bājibo jiban
Gyān garimāi tulibhong tārhe
Āmhār sanār dech, tamhār sanār dech begar sanār dech

--Ranjit Dewan, Bangladesh

3. *Kanha janar e jugot dhan na thelhe, kanha janar e jugot bal na thelhe*
Mānhuch bhilhinei tār dām nei, sadhar bhilhinei kanha nāng nei
Senatthei kodhung chāngghe:
Rangchangvā dinorhe bhuk garhi kāni hājhi tamhār manadughot na bureyo,
Puroni kadhāganhi manat tulinhei hale, nijor manānarhe bujhelheyho
Tumhi āmana jātthwarhe reni chah, āman dechsyān sājhei ja
Āmana pāttwan āmane khubei la, Ek bāre na hwal bhilhi ki hala
Dhan nei āghe bal buch dinei manānarhe, Sādhanāt bal peii haba dol
Sangsār Ālāmat byek kijhu meil āghe, ek bārat na hwal bhilhi ki hala,
Sughuno marubhumit galāp na phudhenei, sangsār Ālāmat khajhi la,
Tumhi āmanar kāma bhak gajhi la, āmana dechsān sājhei ja,
Tui āmana dechshān sājhei ja, āmana kāma bhār gajhi la.

-Abhik Kumar Chakma, Mizoram

4. *Jāgilo mandirot mānujhor bichsech*
Dāge dha begarhe āi āi
Sangsāra cheirhopālhā
Phorphochsyadilho jāgā
Dolānhi doldol dol.

Tidyāni pujhee phelhei midhyānhi ji rāghei
Milani dāgiyoi manānhi sār pāār
Sādhile gamāni ra't ra rāghei
Surot sure sājhenei, Jānidong da bujhidong da

Khojheyā thergeyā byekkk ānhi bijitthyā
Jurwak ekkware jurwak sejāttye,
Na thwakkuttyāri phurhwak ditdyāri, bājok bājānā

Bhajhiye thergeye taleye bitdyare,
Cheirhodhāge cherāge dharile dinnware
Maittri bhābanāi, lāngelha chindyānei
Āi sangit rāgānhāi.

-Chakma Ashim Roy, Tripura

5. *Jei jei bhon lak luii chhāgā sang samāri milinei*
Udondhi bela sadaghat Begenhā thebhāk cheing badi
Hādhe hādhe hāt milei, ghirhi ghirhi luii chhāghi.

Begenhā thebhār murungat ijyā thebhāk hejhelhāt
Jhaghā chherhar ijyā māch, dharhi ānibhong hijhinei
Silot tala kāngārhā bhānghi bhānghi bhoreinei
Nālhe nālhe sāmhukkhun labhang ārha tulhinei

Rānnyā gharhat jirebang, Ghajhā tāni git gebhang
Manar sughe git geih geih bebhang āmhi khenggrahng

- Raghu Kumar Chakma, Arunachal, 1977

6. *Thedha juni sei Bijagar dinhun, - sughe sughe kādedung*
Thedha juni se Sādhenggiri, - Dharmaghān edha phirhi,
Thedha juni ārha Bijoygir, - Teji hodhung pahrgarhi

Thedha juni sei puroni dinhun, beredung Rāngāmattyā Chengei
Mādāmurhi Sangha Kajalang chedhung egā bhirhi rininei

Hodhung sakkhe āgājhar peikh, uri uri beredung ma dejhat
Nānān sure git geih geih, nājidung mar dejha hābhā khei

- Umacharan Chakma, Mizoram, 1990.

7. *Jhādhi udho jhādhi udho jāt bhei*
Pari royhā kāmānhit ujei jei
Helhāi phelhāi din phelhelhe
Āmanar kām garher kannhā chei?

Ejha tāgalhān dharhi
karchāllhwa loi bāghāmachchhyā,
Kāllhwanggho pidhit kurhummhwa punot
Ejha ejha ejha āmhi ujei jei.

Jādar bāga mādhāt āghe karakārā
Dhulichchhāt garhi ejha āmhi ghutthyāgharhā
Ārākarā kājeinei kher padanā chhulhinei
Ejha ejha āmhi bege bāk dhujhei.

- Lakshmi Bhusan Chakma, Mizorām, 1988

We have tried our best to cover the literary aspects of the Chakma community spread across the subcontinent. It is hoped that the above discussion will help the readers to grasp a basic idea about the richness of Chakma literary tradition which focuses on humanism at large.

14

Folklore

Though the Chakmas are Mongoloid in appearance and origin, their language belongs to Indo-Aryan family. It may be due to the fact that they have adopted the Aryan culture and language some thousand years back after settlement in the Indian sub-continent. As per history, groups of Mongoloid people entered India and settled at the foot hills of the Himalaya. "In Nepal, we have Liccavi dynasty ruling for over the centuries (from C.350 to 879 AD) as a sort of precursor of Newar dynasty of subsequent time. It is not impossible that the group of eastern tribes like the Sakyas, Koliyan, the Liccavis, the Vrijis, the Moriyars and others were ultimately of Mongoloid origin or were the mixed people with a strong Mongoloid element who had adopted or adopting the Aryan speech". As per Suniti Kumar Chatterjee the Sakyas, the Liccavis, the Vrijis, etc., of the Himalayan foot hill were Mongoloid in origin and their original language was Tibetan and who adopted the Aryan language in later period. As per traditional believe, the originator of the Chakma tribe is Bijoygiri who was a descendent of the Sakyas. Bijoygiri established a kingdom in Burma and they were named and called as 'Thek'(pronunced Sek)/Tsak by the Burmese which means the Sakyas. So, Chakma actually means the 'Thek'/Tsak meaning the Sakya and 'Mi/Ma' means the men/people. Therefore, Chakma means the Sakya people. It is therefore assumed that the Sakyas and the Chakma have been adopting the languages wherever they went. Therefore, we find the Chakma language as an admixture of Pali, Sanskrit, Prakrit, Hindi, Oriya, Bhojpuri, Assamese, Bengali, Thai and Burmese/Arakanese. The Chakmas have many folklores which are oral. Among them Rhymes, *Oli, Ubho Geet, Geingkhulee, Khojhā Gudu, Pachjhan, Bānhā, Dāgha Kadhā, Pālhā*, etc., are the main. Some of them are given below:

A. Rhymes: Rhymes are generally sung or recited by the children at a game or otherwise. The followings rhymes are so far collected. Some of them have no connective meaning.

1. *Bom bom singyā bāih, hāmattaledhi dingyā jāi*
   Mānekkyā bāba dwi chogho pādānhi
   Swarhe jāmeye tānā tāni
   Mādhāt deghang pāgāha chul

Kānat deghang dhudhurhwā phool
Bhāi bala bondhu bala, chabā chitto bālu bālu.

2. *Teng tengori bārhāban, bārhā bān,*
Kāchchyā cholo bhāt dibhyā rān
Dādhā jeyhe Mak pārā
Bhujhi jeyhe chol kārā.
Dādhār mogar lāmbā chul
Bāndhe bāndhe chambha phool
Chhābhā bhuyot tale
Dwibhyā huring chare
Huring nai, changarā
Chogho pādātt bhangarā.

3. *Pattāpatti charane, āmhā buchjhyā marane,*
Dhān toloibhwā rāgeyhā nei, Jagarhā khummwayho kheyā nei.

4. *Kabā jāng kabā jāng, kabā lāghey muiyho jāng*
Chāk na khāng ghilhuk khāng Muno gharat bāā jāng
Ekkhwa badālwai gharat jāng. Hābābābābā.

B. Oli (Lullabies): *Oli* or lullabies are sung by the mothers, grand mothers and relatives by putting a child on the craddle while swinging with a rope. It is seen that even the naughtiest child goes cool on listening the lullabies. The *Oli* or lullabies of the Chakmas vary from person to person and it deficit their day to day life. The Chakma mothers and grandmothers lie their babies in the cradle called *Dhulon* for sleep till date and sing lullabies. It is sung in such a melodious tune that even the naughtiest baby cannot remain without sleep for long. It has got such a magic that the babies get hyptonised immediately and sleep easily. It is comparable with *Lori* and *Ghum Pārāni Gān*.

The *Olis* are composed by the singers in the typical two lined Chakma style of composition. As per the style, the first line of the composition does not necessarily have any connection or meaning with the second line. The first line is used only to synchronise the rhythm. The main theme lies in the second line. The first lines are generally description of day-to-day life and sorroundings of the society. Some of the typical *Olis* are given below:

1. *Hādat loiyhe bādol bāch, kuchsyot loiyhe gulhee,*
Lokkhi chitti ghumon jā tui sonār dhulonat pari.
- Bamboo catapult in hand, pallets at the end of loin cloth,
Oh the good baby sleep in the golden cradle.

2. *Sonār da dhulonhān, rubor dim mui duri;*
Lokkhi bābhā/dādhā ghumon jārei, sonār dhulonāt pari.
- The cradle is golden, I will bind silver rope on it,
Sleep my good son/grand son, lying on the golden cradle.

3. *Nāksha gājhar ribāng su, dhulon buni kerheng ju,*
   Kerhengju dhulonat kereit chāk, wāhng dagattan chitti chup garhi thāk.
   The core of *Naksha* tree is hard, Craddles are made in *Kerheing* Pattern;
   Kerheng pattern cradles have *kereid* (cane) coil, silence my baby the *Wāhng* (crab hunting kite) is crying.
4. *Marhe penehei Chiji sonā*
   Rādā dibo dhari
   Khebhār akthat kommhe mui
   Khei na bārim, dātthun jeiyhon jhari.
   On my arrival the baby will kill a cock to treat me.

C. Ubho Geet: An *Ubho Geet* is the traditional love song sung by the Chakma youths. It is not permitted to be sung in public as they are very particular with chastity and respect of elders. Since an *Ubho Geet* is full of lascivious words conveying the longing, it is considered obscene and harmful to the tender minds and teen agers. Therefore, it was treated unlawful to sing in public or to sing before the elders. The *Ubho Geets* were generally sung at lonely places in presence of friends in a *Rānnyā* (abandoned Jum) and jungle or river stream while collecting vegetable or catching fish, etc., with friends. Before singing an *Ubho Geet*, the singer had to consider whether there is any elder or any odd relatives like father, mother, uncle, aunt, nephew or niece, etc. However, it could be tuned at home in a flute called *Bājhee*, or *Khenggrang* (a harp type instrument made of bamboo chip).

The meaning of the *Ubho Geets* are sometime arousing and satiric. It is generally lustful and centres upon longing and union. The *geets* are composed by the singers. The style of composition is in the traditional style where the first line does not necessarily have any meaning or connection with the second line or actual meaning of the song. The first line is only comparison and description of the day-to-day happenings in the society. It is used to syncronise the second portion of the song in a rhythm. The main theme of an *Ubho Geet* lies in the second line or second part of the composition. It carries the typical style of composition of a Chakma song. The *geets* are still sung by the youths of rural areas. Some typical *Ubho Geets* are given below:

1. *Pāadā kābi ne tin tārā, oh bhon, kengorhi jebe bo bhin pārā?*
   -Collected three bundles of plantain leave, Oh cousin, how will you become bride of other villager?
2. *Jumo lejāt ne pāgochchyā, kai dhin thebhe bhon bāp mā ghara chāgochchyā?*
   The paracital tree is at the down boundary of the Jhum, for how long you will remain a servant at parents' home?
3. *Lāghā bāndare kwa khādan, oh dādu, bhin pārāllyāi marhe bo chādhan.*
   -The hoolocks are taking Kwa (a jungle fruit), Oh, my cousin brother, other villagers have come in search of bride to me.
4. *Dāru tulhi singorhi, oh bhon, marhe phelhei thebhegoi kengorhi?*
   - Roots are collected for medicine - Oh sister, how would you live there without me.

5. *Khelhāk bandare kwa karhat, chāh bhon! āmha sangi-samāchsyā hoyhon pwa karhat.*
   - Monkeys ate up tender shoot of *kwa*, look my sister! our friends are now babies on their lap.
6. *khalāk gāburhe keim khārā, choghatthun hāreley deimh pārhā.*
   - The youths played bamboo chip game, I feel like seeing when you are lost.
7. *Bārhā poji tin kulo, eri dha na bārong din mulo.*
   -Sieved three sieves of pounded paddy, I cannot live without you even for one day.
8. *Pānhi kheye pahnhattun, nitto na jāi tareh manatthun.*
   - Clear water is for drinking, I cannot loss you from my mind.
9. *Phunhit dilhung kākkyā bān, oh dādu! āga dharāne kyā ākkhya pāāng?*
   - Bound the comb in bamboo rafter bind, Oh big brother! Why you are found so evasive than earlier!
10. *Subori kābi khāne khan*
    Udjer manatthun nānākkhān.
    I cut the betel nut into pieces
    Many things are floating in my mind.

D. Thenghā Bhāngā Geet: It is the modern form of love song introduced not long ago in the mid sixties or seventies with two lines simple composition. It is now sung by the village youths and used in *Tāmājhā* (entertainment in the village). The songs are called *Thengā Bhāngā* as a *Thengā* is a stump of bamboo or small tree in a jhum. It is said that while singing a *Thenghā Bhāngā* Song the singer remains deeply engrossed in it and does not remembers when the *Thengās* (stumps) are broken. Some of them are given below:.

Belhān jaghan dubibogoi juro juro pāāng.	When the sun sets I feel lonely.
Parāne dharjyo na māne udhi bojhi pāāng.	I become restless and sit and stand up.
Chidhi dinei chit najurwai dwi choghe na delhe.	Letter does not satisfy unless seen in own eyes.
Patthameda deghā na pāāng deghang swabane.	I don't see in real but in dream.
Chhārālyā Chillhwo utte utte hoiyhe mekkwai sang.	The kite flew up to the cloud.
Lāāp gorinhei na phelhe marānāloi sang.	If you can't marry after affair it is like death.
Rānnyābana kurwhogun	Gourds of abandoned jhum are like white goats.
Ājhā dinei na lalhe āndhā hai sangsārān.	If not married after promise, the world is dark.
Tomhāsidhu berā na jāng lājāg shurhibo.	I don't visit you as I shy the mother in law.
Delhe mhāle hāgudi pare hojhor sālābo.	The young brother in law also receives eagerly.
Chigon bebhei phool tuletthe tuler dach biye.	Young sister weaving flowers of ten steps.
Mane kalheyho phelhei na bāimmui dhatar meye.	It is impossible to discard your love, if I wanted.

Pānhit bhājher nak
khāghārāheedhit bachsye dok.
Reeds floating in water a snipe fell in trap.

Tarhe juni na lang nui
Satya Gweiyhe khouk.
If I don't merry you let the live God kill me.

Chigon chigon chharhānit
lāmbā lāmbā tek.
The small streams have long long bends.

Tarhe chhāri Oh Chigonda
janam nalom nek.
Oh my young cousin brother! I will not accept others as my husband in this life.

Etthmān chharhā aughei
jeinei pānhi na jeba.
Such a big stream would not dry up.

Chirojiban manat thebha
kaledhe kadhāgan.
I will remember your promise whole the life.

Belhā jaghan dubibogoi murho āndale.
When the sun sets behind the hills.

Dāgileyho ra na pāāng parān bebheire.
I don't get any sound from young sister after calling.

Satthā peighe khei gelhāk kala chhrhābho.
The Satthā birds ate up the row of banana.

Jāde samai di gelhe jālāparābo.
You left me under burning sorrow.

Manat dughe na theich Chitti
manat sughe theich.
Be happy not in sorrow my dearling.

Bhaghabāne pār goribo egā mane theich.
The God will bless us and remain sticked.

Ehtthamān chharhā hijinei
sugei jebār naih.
It is not possible to dry up such big stream by throwing.

Tar lāgi da ekkhān jiban
gelheyho kichchhu nai.
If this life is lost for you I don't mind.

Chigon chharhāt gādhilhe
Chitti keye na bhijhe.
Darling, body does not wet if bathed in a stream.

Duro jāgātthun love garilhe
meye na phude.
If fallen in love from a distance it is not effective.

Tumbāch tela shijhiribo
thoiyong kāk māri.
Kept scented oil bottle under cork.

Māmhā dāghi iri nadyon
eichsyang phāk māri.
Mother and others don't permit came with bluff.

Bennhye jakkhe pahr haba
deghang kum-pilyā.
I see pitcher and pots in the morning.

Ikkhu maratthun chālhāk
haiyhon nalan bhul milyā.
Boys are clever now and not marry foolish girls.

Eikkho gurhi mhārmākarhā sibhyā pagarā.
The only tender cucumber is also bitten.

Bizu lakkhe rānhi dim mui
midhyā jagarhā.
I will make a sweet beer for you in Bizu.

Ek chillyāmarā ek chilly jedā
jāli pāgochchyā.
The netty paracital tree is half alive and half dead.

Lāāp garilhe parānhān	In love affair one has to keep the
hādat lwa pare.	life in hands.
Āgājhedhi uri jādan sanār kāndyā seir.	Golden cared mynas flying in the sky.
Lāghatpelhe parāne kaidhye iri na dibyā.	My mind does not permit to part Soff.

D. Geing Khulhee: 'Gheing' is actually a taxfree place where discussion of knowledge is held and a novice can be ordained to monk only at a 'Gheing' otherwise, he has to be ordained on a floating flat form made of bamboo at a river. So 'Geing Khulee' means opening of discussion on knowledge. It is the ballads sung by ballad singers. While singing a Geingkhulhee a Puja has to be arranged with five measure of rice, oil lamp, money and a Ghat (water pot) and wine. The Puja has to be arranged by the listeners. The Geingkhulhee first put prayer to the God and all other Hindu gods and goddesses, teachers and elders. Saraswati the goddess of learnings is specially appeased to help the singer in singing and supply of flow of verses. The singer then enquires from the listeners how to sing it in three, five or seven *Pāghors* (petals). 'Pāghor' (petals) are the lines of allegories used to form rhythms in the composition of *Pālhā* or *Lāmhā* (story). While singing Geingkhulhee songs the listeners has to cry a sound called 'Reing' (war cry) at certain tune. After completion of the singing the singer used to foretel the past and future of the listeners on asking. Geingkhulhees are also prohibited to sing lascivious songs in public and inside a village. If the youth want to listen to it, they had to listen outside the village. A Geingkhulee is learnt from a *Guru* or without a *guru* called *Guru Sikkhyā* (thaught by teachers) and Deva Sikkhyā (taught by gods/spirit). A *Deva Sikkhyā* is said to learn it in dream at meditation or from unknown person in the jungle. The follwings are the *Pālhās* generally sung by a *Geingkhulee*: *(1) Bārgi Dharā, (2) Bar Denā, (3) Chādigāg Chhārā, (4) Ereiā (lascivious), (5) Gheelyā Pārā, (6) Kāmesh Dhan-Kāmesh Bi, (7) Lorbwa-Midungi, (8) Nara Dhan-Narpudi, (9) Nilak Dhan-Nil Pudi, (10) Phul Pārā, (11) Radangsa Pārā, (13) Rādhā Mohn-Dhan Pudi, (14) Rāch Nāmā, (15) Rānnyā Berā, (16) Swarasatti, (17) Swarga, (18) Lokkhi, (19) Shrichti Pattham, (20) Buddha and many other pālhās.* An extract from *Rādhā Mahn–Dhanpudi Pālhā* is given below:

Sālāmi (Salutation)

Bājhi beiye ru ru ru.	Play flute ru ru ru.
Āge sālām dyang mar Guru.	At first I salute my Guru.
Mā Saraswatti Sākkhiye.	Keeping *Mā Saraswatti* as witness
Sālām dyang Mā Bhaktiye.	I salute Mother with reverence.
Mā Saraswatti sālāmat.	Salute to Mother Saraswati.
Jugei dichchhi Mā geedo Pat.	Compose the rhythms of my songs.
Chāne Bele sadhar Bhei.	Moon and sun are own brothers.
Sālām dyang mui bhumit thei.	I salute from the earth.
Debakule Indra Rājā.	Indra is the king ofgod's abode.
Māneikule Chakraborty Rājā.	Chakraborty king is in the humane abode.
Peigho Kule Bhirech Rājā.	Spoon-tail is the king of birds.
Hemānakule Singha Rājā.	Lion is the king of animals.
Pādālpurot Nāg Rājā.	Nāga is the king of Nether world.

Mājha matdhye Ijyā Rājā.	Lobster is the king of fishes.
Bengha māāi Khochsyo Rājā.	Frog is the king among toads.
Gājhakule Chibang Rājā.	*Chibāng* is the king of trees.
Bājhakule Egochchyā Rājjā.	*Egochchyā* is the king of bamboos.
Ludi matdhye Gheelhyā Rājā.	*Gheelhyā* is the king of creepers.
Phoolo māāi Nāksha Rājā.	Nāksha is the king of flowers.
Begar sālām dyanghar mui.	I am saluting all.
Purei dibāghi mana ājhā.	You fulfil my wish.
Dilho Gojhene dwibhyā Chokh.	God has given two eyes.
Hājhārsālām tā idhu rwakh.	Let thousand salute be to Him.
Bārhe dilo dwibhyā chokh.	Two eyes given at outside.
Bhidhirhe dilo mana chokh	The eye of mind, at the inside.
Se choghot mā.... !	In that eye, Mother ....!
Byek sattyanhi deghā dhyok.	Let all the truth isvisible.
Hājhār Geingkhuli geih jeyhon.	Thousands of *Geingkhuli* ballad were sung.
Sāgar reidhot rojeyhon.	They composed many nights.
Sāgar kadhā sājheyhon.	They decorated many sentences.
Sāgar range rongeiyhon.	They coloured it with various colours.
Begar sālam mui dyanghar.	I am saluting to all.
Byek Geingkhulitthun bar langhar.	I am taking blessing from all the *Geingkhulis.*
Āmhā jādi bāji thok.	Let our community live long.
Uronhe pinonhe ghār bhorhok.	Let our house be full of dress and ornaments.
Dhane jane shikkhā-dikkhāi.	With wealth, population, learning and education.
Sālām denā thum halha.	Salutation came to an end.
Pālhā Sunebār hoch ralha.	Have a desire to sing *Pālhā'.*

***Sāt jur samāsyā* (Seven Pairs of Friends)**

Rādhāmahnnhoi Dhanpudi.	Rādhā Mohan and Dhanabati.
Nilang Dhannhoi Nilangbi.	Nilang Dhan and Nilang Bibi.
Kunjhadhannoi Kujnjhabi.	Kunjha Dhan and Kunjha Bibi.
Kāmech Dhannoi Kamechbi.	Kamesh Dhan and Kamesh Bibi.
Phujak Dhannoi Phujak bi.	Phujak Dhan and Phujak Bibi.
Meyā Dhannoi Meyābi.	Meya Dhan and Meyabi.
Chheyhā Dhannnoi Chheyhābi.	Chheya Dhan and Chheya Bibi.
Jur bodilāk sāt jure.	They paired in seven.
Samhāre thalhāk Ājurhe.	They kept the grand father with them.

Rangar rājā bābar bāp.	King of entertainment and father of fathers.
Begar Āju Cholhā Bāp.	Cholhā Bāp, grand father of all.

***Chalhābābar Temmāng* (Meeting of Chalhābāp)**

Chalhābābe ek dhine.	One day Chalhābāp.
Nādin Dāgilo se dhine.	Called the grand children on the day.
Urer pokkhi meghattal.	Birds flying under the cloud.
Halhāk nādin egattar.	Grand children gathered.
Biji kheye khājure.	Seeds of dates are eaten.
Berhei dhollyāk ājurhe.	Rounded the grandfather.
Balha mujunghe Nilangbi.	Nilongbi sat at the front.
Deinhe balhagi Kunjhabi.	Kunjhabi sat at the right.
Bānghe balhagi Kāmechbi.	Kameshbi sat at the left.
Pijhe bochsyegi Phujakbi.	Phujakbi sat at the back.
Dhāgat bochsyegi Meyābi.	Meyābi sat at the side.
Karhat bochsyhegi Chheyhebi.	Chheyhebi on the lap.
Kānhāt bochsyhwgi Dhanpudi.	Dhanvatii on the shoulder.
Pānalaghe subori khān.	Betel nuts are eaten with *Pān*.
Bigidhi gatthan naānāghān.	Were poking jokes on many things.
Deghi tārhāre gharatthun.	On seeing them from their home.
Lāmi elhāk maratthun.	The boys also came down.
Champāludi phoolor ban.	*Champā* creepers are at the flower garden.
Patthan elha Rādhāmahn.	*Rādhāmahn* came first.
Tār jeredhi Nilang Dhan.	Afterward Nilang Dhan.
Hājhi hājhi Kunjha Dhan.	Kunjha Dhan came laughing.
Kāmech urhi Kāmech Dhan.	Kāmech Dhan wearing a shirt.
Phujhuk-phājhāk Phujhuk Dhan.	Phujhuk Dhan in untidy condition.
Geedey reinge Meye Dhan.	Meye Dhan came singing.
Begar jere Chheyhe Dhan.	Chheyhe Dhan at the last.
Lāmmya reidot junho Pahr.	Moon shined at night.
Chalhā Bābar man pāgal.	*Chalhā Bāp* is restless.
Puroni dukkho udilho.	He reminished old sorrows.
Sāghar kadhā bhābhilo.	Remembered many things.
Doiyho mādhāt ghee tullhya.	Ghee is produced from curd.
Nādin lagarhe kwha dhallyo.	Started talking to the grandchildren.
Dagattan monot mon bagā.	*Mon bagās* are calling at the hill top.
Oh Chigon Dā.	Oh young brothers.
Jebānhi samāre Tyoantagā.	Will you go along to search for vegetable?

Dhāreyā tāgallwai galā kāp.	Cut cane with sharp knife.
Tyan tagā ujallhyo Chalh Bāp.	Chalha's father asked to go in search of vegetable.
Rānnyā Mādi Tengari.	Soil of abandone jhum is hard.
Tyan tagā jebang kengarhi?	How will we go for vegetable?
Dilho huringe bar dhābhā.	Deer gave along run.
Jebānhi nādin jumkābā?	Will you grandson go to cut jhum?
Suni beggar uchswa man.	All got excited.
Jebāk jum kābā patti jan.	That all will go to cut jhum.
Ālām buni phool tulhil.	Flowers weaved on the *Ālām.*
Perā Bajan sunela.	*Perā Bachan* was informed.
Pujala Baijhāga Bhādha.	In the month of *Pausa, Baishkha* and *Bhadra.*
Garhe ega nidhi.	Is fixed as a rule.
Tinmhājhe peiyhe Pera.	In these three months *Perā* falls on.
Sani Brihachpudi.	Saturday and Sun day.
Jetrela, Ājhina Māgha.	*Jaistha, Ashwina Māgh.*
Garheanuchkram.	Comes afterward.
Tin mhājhe peyhe perā.	*Perā* falls on these three months.
Rabi loi Sam.	Sunday and Monday.
Kātriga Phāguna mhāch.	*Kartika, Phalguna*months.
Ār je Ajhār.	And the month of *Ashad.*
E tin mhājhe peyhe Perā.	In these three month *Perā* falls.
Budhe Sukkar bār.	On Wednesday and Friday.
Āghun Sāwan ār.	*Agrahayan Shraban* and.
Chodar sesh.	The end of *Chaitra.*
Mangangalera dibhā rātri.	Day and night of Mangal.
Budhera ardhek.	Half of the Wednesday.
Perā Bajan phurela.	*Perā Vachan* is complete.
Jātrā Bajan kwah dhallya.	Started to state *Jātrā Vachan.*
Rabi Sukkore pube nidhi.	Travelling east on Sunday and Friday is the rule.
Budhe Bresude uttare siddhi.	Travelling north on Wednesday brings fulfilment.
Sam Saniye Pajhime jāi.	Western travel is on Monday and Saturday.
Daghina jātra Bresuve jāi.	Southern travel is on Thursday.
Dibhā Bajan thum hala.	Talk on day travel I came to an end.
Chalhā Bābe kwaih dilo.	Chalhā's father told about it.
Āttya Nādin rang gallhyāk.	Grand father and grandson enjoyed it.
Jum berā din thik gallhyāk.	Fixed a date to go to jungle for selection of jum site.

Pajhim mukkhyā Sam bāre. To the west on Monday.
Pubhāngtuli Dya murhot. At the Dya hill of *Pubhāngtuli*.
Jebāk Sāt sangi bhei samāre. The seven friends will go.
Chārit bhijhei bet tārā. Soaked bamboo tapes in a *Chāri* (earthen pot).
Gallhyāk ta kellyā jātrā. They set off the next day.
Belā beyhei gat dilhāk. Violin player played a tune.
Samāre jum berā lar dilhyāk. They started to go together.
Belāt bājhei tāttānhi. Cords are bound on a violin.
Khei dei lalhāk bhāt pānhi. They took meal before going.
Tārum Chharhāt pachchyandhoi. They crossed streams and jungle.
Pubhāngtuli Dya murhot lummhyondoi. Reached the hill *Dya* hill of *Pubhāngtuli*.
Dābe dābe berādan. Walked along the side of the hill.
Mono tugunot jirādan. Sat to rest at the hill top.
Gelha Changarā tik kārhi. The sambhar run away crying out.
Dhallhyāk jumānhi fāng garhi. Selected jum site with rite.
Dhāne sudhwai britdhi hawk. Let there be bumper production of paddy and cotton.
Manar ājhā sitdhi hawk. Let the desire of mind be fulfilled.
Debarhe sakkhi garilhak. They invoked the witness of gods and spirits.
Jār jār jumānhi dharilāk. Selected their individual jhum sites.

***Rādhāmanhar Swaban* (Dream of Rādhā Mohn)**

Deba pujāt dyan midhyā. Jaggery given in worshipp.
Kubi dilhyāk dya chidyā. *Dya* chips are planted.
Mādi lalhāk chebhāttei. They took soil to inspect.
Swaban kenjhān debhāttei. To see in dream.
Pubhāng ludi dhunu kuch. Creeper of *Pubhāng* is for making bow.
Mhendhari gājhar nādeng kuch. *Mhendari* wood is for tops.
Phooni shalā Midingyā. Chips of *Midingyā* bamboo is for making combs.
Chebhāk reidot sedinnyā. They will observe dreams in the night.
Lalhāk ārha bājhi bāch. They also took bamboo for flute.
Manar ājhā purelāk. They fulfilled their minds.
Rāngā Khādhi sādhāngat. In decorating a red breast cloth.
Belhān duber pajhimat. The sun is setting in the west.
Bellyā phirhilāk ādāmat. They returned to village in the evening.
Pidhyā sijhei pogone. Cakes are cooked in steamer.
Delhāk reidot swabane. They dream in the night.
Mādhā pādi bar lan. Boons received by bowing down.

Swaban delhā Rādhāmahn.	*Rādhāmahn* saw in dream.
Regech phoole dwi hādat.	*Regech* flowers in two hands.
Berār burhi jum chābat.	An old lady was roaming in the jhums.
Chibāng pādā āk chelha.	Leaves of *Chibāng* is used to see foretell.
Ghare ghare bhātkhela.	Took meal in every houses.
Swabana kadhā sunibār dhāp.	Eager to learn about the dream.
Bhānghi dilo Chalhābāp.	Cholhā's father explained it.
Khujhir kadhā nādin sun.	Happy news dear grand son.
Gam habade e bajhar jum.	There will be good harvest in this year's jhum.
Ghadhat bochsye man pobon.	Mind sat in concentration.
Bege dekkhyan gam swaban.	All of them dreamt good dream.

***Dhanpudir Bhāt Rānānhā* (Cooking of Meal by Dhanpudi)**

Rādāi dāk kāllhya lurotthun.	The cock crowed from chicken box.
Utthye Dhanpudi ghumotthun.	Dhanvati wake up from sleep.
Deghang na deghang pattānhi.	Roads not clearly visible.
Jukolār bidu bhāt pānhi.	The sister is making meal.
Ghumotthun udhi uchchho man.	Woke up in cheerful mind.
Ijorot baihnhei.	Sitting on the outer flatform.
Bājhi bāā dhallya Rādhāmahn.	Started playing the flute.
Turu bājhi turu turu.	Flute sounded *turu turu*
Ombhet ombhet ru ru ru.	*Ombhet ombhet ru ru ru*
Chākkwa tulit lujruk lu.	*Chākkwatulit lujruk lu,*
Bhuwa tulit lujruk lu.	*Bhwa tulit lujruk lu*
Dine kāle gollhya ju.	The time has brought a chance.
Juu dyong Gojhen ta idhu.	Oh God I salute to you..
Bājhi sure dāgi jār.	He started calling with the flute.
Kochchyā Bidu satpadhār.	Young cousin sister was in unrest.
Dāru tulhi singarhe.	Roots are collected for medicine.
Indhi Dhanpudi ki garhe.	What Dhanvati did over here.
Nānān chidyā garadhe.	In thinking many things.
Sugurhi gulobhwa kābade.	While cutting the pumpkin.
Rini chādhe pijhendhi.	While looking at the back.
Phellhye tāgalhān bijidi.	She missed the aim of knife.
Jāma laghe kāā dhoyhe.	Cleaned dishes with glasses.
Degānnhyā āngullhot ghā hoiyhe.	She injured the index finger.
Ghumho toloi thang bodi.	Keep sleeping mat in roll.
Nhighāllhye kānānā Dhanpudi.	Dhanpudi started crying.

Elhā Rādhāmahn phāl māri.	*Rādhāmahn* came hopping.
Ijora mādhātthun jhām māri.	Jumping from the flatform.
Khan nijāchsyā kochchyāman.	In tecage breathless mind.
Pujhor gallyha Rādhāmahn.	*Rādhāmahn* enquired.
Dāru bādi pibaye.	Long peepers pounded for medicine.
Ki hoiyhe bhon ki hoiyhe.	What happened sister what happened.
Kāner Dhanpudi noneyhei.	Dhanpudi cried out in pampering voice.
Marimbe Dā ghā hoiyhe.	I will die I got injured.
Jharher loghān rāngā rang.	Blood came out in red colour.
Ghā bānhi dilo Rādhāmahn.	*Rādhāmahn* bandaged the cut.
Ka pudi māder gudhitthun.	Ka Pudi spoke from the cabin.
Ikkhye kyā ghā halha māmhātthun.	Why my mother got injured now?
Kām karach na jānhe.	She does not know works.
Mānhā gallhye na sune.	If forbidden she would not listen.
Na sunhoch da ma mānhā.	You do not listen to me.
Ikkhe kyā nhighellyhach kānānā.	Why now started crying?
Suni se kadhā rā udhi.	Hearing rebuke she angered.
Sune na sunhe kaih Dhanpudi.	Dhanpudi said murmuring.
Bagarā muii jāleba.	Teethless mouth will cause burn.
Dinnho eichsye bhugheba.	She will make me suffer whole the day.
Potthyā khwa jari gel.	Morning fog was clear.
Pugendhi udilho rāngā bel.	Red sun rose in the east.
Hāhojhe bojhei dādhāre.	Eagerly made the older brother to sit.
Bhāt khābela te tārhe.	She made him to take meal.
Ādāmmyā pārllyā sunilāk.	The villagers heard about it.
Chhai sāgachchya lhumilhāk.	Many people came to see her.
Meghartale peikh ure.	Birds fly under the cloud.
Jebāk sāt bhei samara.	The seven cousin brothers will go together.
Pijum dhari sāngutthun.	Handle poles are caught from the ladder.
Dhannhwai kalha hojhotthun.	Dhanpudi said with eagerness.
Noneiyhāi kalha dādhāre.	Told to older brother in pampered voiced.
Ānhidibye chyā chuchsyāk Tāglhak Tui marhe.	You must bring *Suchsyāk-Tāglhak* (loom Apparatus) for me.
Kochchyā gābhur uchswa man.	Teenage mind is enthusiastic
Jebār māgilho Rādhāmahn.	*Rādhāmahn* sought to go.
Pijum dhari cheih ralha.	Remained looking catching the ladder handle.
Dhannwa tārhe bidei dilho.	Dhanpudi bid him farewell.

E. Khojhā Gudu: It is the composition of rhymes to irritate a opponent at the traditional game of *Bodā-bodi* (Hadodo/Kabaddi) to give anger and enthusiasm to an opponent. Some of them are given below.

1. *Āmilyā pādā lhāi lhāi, marat pwa halhe ujei āi.*

   - Rosselle leaves are single, if you are a male, come forward.

2. *Hāmat tale chār bhānghā, bhugette kugurbhwa hār bhāngā.*

   - Broken potteries under house platform, the barking dog is with broken bones.

3. *Hāmat tale takthā, ma kugurbhwa pokthā.*

   - Planks under house flatform, my dog is fat.

4. *Ājārat gelhung bāzārat gelhun kini annyung chhādhi, peder peder na gurich tui buk chei dim mui lādhi.*

   - Went to party and market and purchased an umbrella, don't entangle with me or I will kick you at the chest.

5. *Kuttār bāchchhā mojho sing, tarhe pelhe bugi nim.*

   - A puppy with buffallow horn, I will carry you away if I get.

6. *Bhādhe rānhi na charāng, tarhe mui sabhāi na darāng, na darāng.*

   - I don't watch the rice before cooking, I don't fear you a bit, etc.

***G. Pach Jhan* (Fairy Tales):** The Chakma grandparent used to tell many *Pachjhans* (fairy tales) to the grandchildren to incrase their knowledge and keep their bond. There were many *Pachjhans* told by the grandparents. But now these are almost unavailable for want of collection.

***Sudottubi āā Khachsyo beng* (The little bird and the toad):** Long long ago, there lived in the forest a *Sudottubi* (little bird) near a jhum of. She made her nest on a brinjal plant. Below the plant lived a *Khachsya Beng* (toad) in a hole. They had a friendship. One day the *Khachsya Beng* went away saying he was touring far away to *Sahar* (Chittagong). After many days, he returned to his hole. On return he told to the *Sudottubi*, Friend! danger is near! Did not you hear the news that there will be a devastating cyclone today? People of the *Sahar* were discussing about it. That, the bark of one tree will transfer to other. The *Koyeng potatoes* of the jungle will also break into pieces inside the soil'. I can easily save myself inside my hole. How will you save yourself friend?

The news was actually a frank. It was told only to impress the *Sudottubi*. In a village we find that some people who come from a town used to tell such false stories to impress others. Otherwise, what is the joy to visit a town spending own money?

On hearing the story of *Khachsta Beng* the *Sudottubi* took it as real. She was so frightened. What a dangerous news! If it really occurs, it will flew away her little nest to unknown places! How will she save her life? So, she run away from the nest and started flying in many directions in search of a shelter. She was flying and flying. At that time a big *Rhangrāng* (spoonbill) was happily inhaling fresh air on a big tree, wide opening the beak. Taking it a safe shelther, the *Sudottubi* entered the wide mouth of the *Rhangrāng* in a sudden, to save herself! Knowing nothing about what happened? The *Rhangrāng* vomited it out and cried out loud in pain with peculiar sound of '*Rhangrāng*....!

At that very moment, a monkey was eating happily a pumpkin on a tree near the jhum, which he stole away from the jhum. On hearing the sudden peculiar sound of *Rhangrāng* his hold on the pumpkin went free in fear and it fell on the back of an *Huring* (deer) who was grazing below the tree. The deer then jumped up in fear and pain and raced far away for life. While running away, it stepped on a *Ājaba Sāp* (*python*) who was sleeping lazily in a coil under a bush. But before the python could realise what happened, the deer was far away. The python was so angry with the deer and could not cool down. So she went to the nest of the jungle hen and swallowed her eggs. On seeing that her eggs were swollen by the python she was full of sorrow. Her eggs would have come out with chicks within few days and the python has swollen them all! She cannot fight the might of the python but could not control her anger. So, she scratched the nest of the ants with her legs and pecked the ant's egg and eaten up!

What can the poor Ant do! She cannot avenge the hen. A wild boar was then in dead sleep under a bush. The Ant went straight and gave a bite on the testicle of the wild boar. The boar cried out in pain and jumped up. The boar was making *'gont! 'gont*! calls in pain and thinking ways to calm down. The Ant has already run away and hidden. He then run to the grassy bush and reached to the ripe paddy field of the jhum of the widow. He then destroyed the paddy field of the widow!

All these incidents occurred within minutes. The widow toiled a lot for the cultivation of the jhum. After the death of her husband she sought help from the villagers going door to door. And the wild boar has destroyed her hard laboured jhum? There is law and order in the kingdom. So she lodged complain against the wild boar before the king. Immediately, the king sent royal *sepoys* to call the wild boar. The boar was the napping on the bank of the stream in a cool place after eating stomach full of paddy. At the arrival of the royal sepoys his sweet sleep was disturbed and was apprehended and produced before the king. He told before the king – 'My Lord! Pardon me! Kindly do justice! I did not eat up the paddy without cause. Why did the ant bite on my testicle? I was so angry! So I ate up the paddy and destroyed the paddy field in rage!'

The king then thought – "the boar is right!" If the ant had not bitten him, he would not be in rage and would not eat up the paddy. So, the ant was summoned.

The Ant also came in folded hands and said – "My Lord! I am innocent!" The hen destroyed my nest and eggs! I could not control my anger, so I have bitten the testicle of the sleeping boar. So, the hen was summoned.

The hen also said – "My Lord! Pardon me! What I did was in anger!" The python has swallowed up all my eggs which were about to give chicks. So, the python was summoned.

The python said – My Lord! I am innocent! I was sleeping in coil under a bush. But the deer stepped on me and run away. It was so painful! I got angry and swallowed the eggs. So, the deer was summoned.

The deer came and said – My Lord! It was not my fault. I was grazing tender leaves under a tree. But the monkey suddenly threw a pumpkin on my back! It was so painful and I could not endure it and run away. I did not know that the python was sleeping under the grassy bush. I simply run away to save myself. So, the monkey was summoned.

"My Lord! Pardon me and do justice!" said the Monkey. I was happily eating a pumpkin on the branch of the tree. The *Rhangrāng* made a loud peculiar sound of '*Rhangrāng*' and my hold on the pumpkin got freed with the sound and fell on the deer. So, the *Rhangrāng* was summoned.

The *Rhangrāng* also stated that it was not his fault. He did soas the *Sudottubi* entered his open mouth when he was breathing air on the tall tree. So the *Sudottubi* was called.

The *Sudottubi* on reaching the Royal Court said everything about the news told by her friend *Khachsya Beng* and of her fear and entry in the mouth of the *Rhangrāng*. So, the *Khachsya Beng* was summoned at the last.

The *Khachsya Beng* admitted that he really told about the news to the *Sudottubi*. He threw the frank simply to impress her. Since he had left her saying he was going to visit *Sahar* (Chittagong) where actually did not go. The *Khachsya Beng* also sought pardon from the king with the promise not to repeat such frank in future.

After hearing statements of all accused the king found that the main culprit of the case was the *Khachsya Beng!* If he had not poked the frank all the incidents would not have happened and people would not have faced such loss and pain. So, the *Khachsya Beng* was ordered to be bound at a jackfruit tree and beaten up heavily!

The Judgement was carried out and the *Khachsya Beng* was bound at a jack fruit tree and beaten up.

From that day the *Khachsya Beng* (toad) got spurs on its body as a mark of beat up sign and the white juice which comes up from its body is the raisin transferred from the jackfruit tree.

H. Pālhās are the Chapters used to describe the subjects mythological or historical events by the Geingkhulees (ballad singers) while singing the ballads like *Lokkhi Pālhā* where the coming of *Loapters kkhi*, the goddess of wealth is described. There are many Pālhās like– *(1) Bārgi Dharā, (2) Bar Denā, (3) Chadigag Chhārā, (4) Ereia, (5) Gheela Pārā, (6) Kamesh Dhan-Kamesh Bi, (7) Lorbwa-Midungi, (8) Nara Dhan-Narpudi, (9) Nilak Dhan-Nil Pudi, (10) Phul Para, (11) Gheela Para, (12) Radangsa Para, (13) Radha Mohn-Dhan Pudi, (14) Rach Nama, (15) Rannya Bera, (16) Swarasatti, (17) Swarga, (18) Lokkhi, (19) Shrichti Pattham, (20) Buddha* and many other palhas. Pālhā are generally sung as ballad by the Geingkhulees. Lokkhi Pala was collected by Shri Niranjan Chakma of Tripura in the ballad form. A translation of which is given below in prose.

Lokkhi Palha: At the beginning, the earth was not in the present form. There was no earth or water. Niranjan the Almighty was formed itself with the sound of UNG. At first Niranjan took out a drop of sweat from his body. After coming out from the body it floated and Niranjan made it water drop with the sound of UNG. Afterward Niranjan thought over it and it was transformed into ocean. Niranjan then sat on the ocean and thought over how to make Vasampudi, the Earth. While thinking he scratched his navel and some dirt came out to his fingers. And with that dirt, the Almighthy Niranjan created the Earth. Niranjan threw a string of hair from his head in the ocean and it became the tube of the lotus and at the end of the tube tender lotus leaves was formed and later lotus bloomed.

Nirnajan also threw some more dirt of his body on the ocean which produced foam and the earth increased day-by-day. Niranjan also found that on putting one foot on the earth, it lost balance and moves. So he placed some more dirt and created the hills and mountains to keep the balance of the earth. Niranjan then sat above and created Brahmā from the dirt of his right hand. Brahmā then brought light from his body. Niranjan was staring at the light emitted from Brahmā. He suddenly saw the reflection of his body and enquired who that was? And as per his shadow Keduga was created. But Keduga was sexless. So, Niranjan made the female organ by

fiercing his two thumbs in between the legs. While making the female organ on KEDUGA blood dropped out. The first drop of blood became the moon, the second drop the sun and the other drops the stars.

Niranjan also created Vishnu from the dirt of his left hand and Sivā from his mouth. To preserve the creation Niranjan then asked Keduga to marry Brahmā. But Brahmā denied marrying her as he already called her Mother. She was then sent to Vishnu. But Vishnu also denied marrying her as he had also addressed her as mother. At last she was sent to Sivā who had also addressed her as mother. But Sivā agreed to marry her on the condition that she dies and reborn for hundred times, he will preserve 108 bones from his every birth and keep two names secret. He will also make a garland of the bones and wear it. That he named the last name as DURGA. Now Niranjan realised that the creation will be intact. Afterward, Niranjan is said to have measured the earth in the form of a dung beetle.

Afterward, there was no activity for sometimes. He then asked Brahmā, Vishnu and Sivā to strain the ocean where they found the main seeds and sprouts. The almighty then created the gods to hand over the seeds. Niranjan called Brahmā from the heaven and asked him to handover the seeds to Pavana who threw it on the hills, mountains and plains. Niranjan now urinated on the ocean and the owl formed from it. He also gave life to it. He then again asked Brahmā, Vishnu and Sivā to strain the ocean for the second time. Now, they found some more seeds, foetus and eggs. So, from the seed the plants, from the foethus and eggs other living beings were formed.

Now the almighty started creation of human beings. He created seven pairs of human figures and kept aside to give life on the next day. But on the next day, he found the figures were missing. So, he created a black dog to keep watch on the human figure and drive away the ghosts. He also said to the dog, if you bark at night the spirits like BHOOT (ghost), Debeda, Siji, Mongsha will run away in fear. He then created the human beings and more on the next day. He then gave eye to the figures and life. On getting life, the figures had movement and Niranjan asked them to talk. But their first word was –RICE. But rice can be provided only by Lokkhi, the goddess of wealth! who was staying far away in the midst of the ocean. So, the Almighty called all the gods and plants in a meeting as to for how many days they can feed the human before the arrival of Lokkhi. King Kup promised for twelve years, the fruits for eight months and the bamboo for six months. *Sorbhek*, *Erei*, *Jogonhā* and *Kolā Gāch* promised for six months. But on the first day itself people started vomiting after consuming *Sorbek*, *Egei* and *Jogonhā* fruits. So, on being reported to the Gozen, he kicked the Sorbhek, Erei and Jogonha trees and cursed them that they will grow in leaning position. That the Kolagach (plantain shoot) will be wranged before taking raw. Niranjan then called *Dhyon Goru* (the Kamdhenu). Dhyon Goru reached with Sivā. Sivā brought water with the help of the Dhyon Goru and called the men to drink it. But before they could drink, the calf of the Dhyon Goru drank it. So, Sivā scolded the calf and the Dhyan Goru did not like it. She gave milk and made a sea of milk and the human took it. Now the human will be able to wait for Maa Lokkhi.

Lokkhi was living at the ocean. So Gozen, the Almighty Niranjan called the gods like Hattya, Mattya, Gonga, Biatra, and Kalia. Kalia enquired – Father why have you called us? Gozen said – Who will be able to bring Maa Lokkhi among you? Kalia replied – If you permit, I will bring her. But I need a boat of *Sobon* tree and a paddle of *Pobon* tree. But where do I get the boat and paddle of *Sobon* and *Pobon* tree? No one recognise the *Sobon* and *Pobon* tree. So, it was decided to call *Kāli Kāmāchchyā*, the engineer of the heaven. The Battwa Peikh was sent to heaven as messenger to call Kali Kamachchya. After taking all information from the Battwa Peikh,

the messenger. Kali Kamachchya got ready with his apparatus to came down to earth and dig out the boat. They roamed in the jungle in search of Sobon and Pobon tree. Kali Kamachchya and his companions were now very tired and fell asleep in the jungle under a big tree. Only Goda, the Rong Barhoi (the painter carpenter) was awoke. He had the knowledge to understand the birds and animals' language. On the tree under which they were resting, there was a vulture nest. Goda heard the conversation of the vulture chicks. They were talking that – these people will destroy our nest since it is the *Sobon-Pobon* tree for which they came here. If we had food to eat now, we could have eaten it and flew away to other trees. So Goda gave them peces of flesh by cutting his calves. For this act Goda became the great donor. Goda then woke up all his friends on the next morning. They started to search the Sobon-Pobon tree. Goda then showed the tree to Kali Kamachchya. Kali Kamachchya enquired from Goda Rong Barhoi as to how he could recognise it. Goda then explained everything. They then cut the tree and Kali Kamachchya started digging the boath first by taking measurement of length, breadth. He was also helped by the companions. The boat was ready very soon. It measured about seven *Biyong* (measuring about six feet per biyong, i.e., the measure of between two spread hands, i.e., end of middle finger to middle finger). Now Kali Kamachchya asked for help to draw the boat from the hills to the sea. Many gods came to draw the boat. Now Kalia set off from human abode. There all the human was found assembled. There Kalia declared that he was fetching Maa Lokkhi Maa. But before going off, he placed the term that he will bring Lokkhi but he should be worshipped before. The human promised to worship him before Lokkhi if he can bring her to them.

So Kalia set off on the boat to invite Lokkhi to human abode taking the name of Pavana, the god of air. He then reached the sea but could not find any shore. So, he became thoughtful and put prayer to Gonga Maa (the goddess of water) that she should take her to Maa Lokkhi. Suddently, there was a cyclone. Kalia was not in a position to stay calm and the cyclone took away the boat speedily. So Kalia again put prayer to Gonga to save him from disaster.

At last, the abode of Lokkhi was visible. He saw light from the abode of Lokkhi and reached there. On reaching there Maa Lokkhi asked about the purpose of his going there. Kalia informed her everything. Now Kalia was the guest to Lokkhi and she asked him to take bath. In the meantime She cooked rice and curry for him. She kept aside the water after washing the rice and she made it *Mot* (wine). She also kept the excess water after boiling the rice and made *Jogorhā* (rice beer). Maa Lokkhi first offered Kalia the *Mot* and *Jogorha*. Kalia drank all the wine and beer and became drunk. In a drunken mood, he first addressed her as Mother and later as Older sister. He also addressed her in many names like *Lokkhibi, Chikkobi* under drunken state. So, Maa Lokkhi got angry and denied to come with him less he may again commit disregard to her in the way. On the next morning Kalia again requested Maa Lokkhi repeatedly to come with him. But Maa Lokkhi denied to come with. So Kalia had to come back without Maa Lokkhi. On reaching human abode, Kalia was enquired as to why Maa Lokkhi did not accompany him. To which Kalia lied that she was not well. On knowing the fact Niranjan scolded Kalia for his such behaviour.

Now Gozen selected *Biatra* to go to Maa Lokkhi and bring her. But Biatra also put a term that the human should also sacrifice a cock for him after they have worshipped Gonga, the water goddess. To which the human agreed and Biatra set off for Maa Lokkhi with that Seven Byong boat, decorating it with golden clothes. Kalia also accompanied Biatra. While going Biātrā put prayer to to Maa Lokkhi and then to Pavan, the god of air. He then went in speed rowing with the paddle and reached to the abode of Maa Lokkhi. Now Maa Lokkhi treated him like her treat to Kalia and offered him wine and beer. But Biatra denied to consume it saying he had never

tested it. He then requested Maa Lokkhi to come with his telling about the misery of human and Maa Lokkhi agreed to come with. So Maa Lokkhi was getting ready to come to human abode. She took with her thirty-six kind of paddy seeds including king of paddy *Kāmrāng*. She also took with her *Sāngi Rāngi* paddy. She also invited birds and animals to come with her. Now Lokkhi called the jungle foul, the jungle boar, the crab and other animals. Out of them the foul, the boar, the turtle and the elephant were found ready to accompany her.

The spider who came out from the nose of Sivā was asked by Biatra whether he can make a railling so that she can use it as a handle. The spider made a bridge from one shore to another with the fibre of the belly. She also asked Honuman and Lagha monkeys to help her to cross the ocean. Sivā also asked them to make a dam to facilitate the coming of Lokkhi. So Honuman carried mountains, stones and boulders and handed over it to Lagha monkey for placement. The Lagha takes it with his left hand and keep it in place. On seeing the Lagha monkey doing everything very easily with the left hand, Honuman got angry and put three-four hills on Laghas head. He also asked him why does he do so? So, the Lagha told Honu if he touches the earth with right hand, it will melt down. Honu wanted to know the cause and Lagha answered him that it was due to the boon of Gozen, the Almighty. He also said that when the Gozen was creating the earth, he went to Niranjan and asked for some dirt from his navel and instead he gave him the boon that if I touch the earth with the right hand, it will melt down. So, he had promised to Gozen that he will never touch the earth with the right hand and do everything with the left hand. And from that day he keeps the right hand upright. Earlier Borun once shot his arrow on the ocean. There were also sandal trees. At that time the monkeys saved their lives hanging on the sandal trees. Now Honuman and the Lagha monkey could complete the making of the dam.

Lokkhi then called Biatra and said,—I will not go by boat as it may not be able to bear all my provisions. I will also not go by the dam as it may tremble and move. My legs will tremble if I go through the dam holding the railing made by the spider. So Lokkhi said I want to go on my dear pigs back. She also took with her her dear crab.

The animals like elephants, horses, buffallows, cows, etc., also followed her and walked through the dam. The birds also flew along the dam. Now Biatra called the turtle and it floated. The crab sat on the turtle and above the turtle, the pig and above the pig a *Meh Chhagoli* (a little bird which bleet like a goat) and above the *Meh Chhagoli* Lokkhi took her seat. So, they started coming along the dam floating, catching the railing made by the spider. It is said that from that day the turtle has the scratch mark of the crab and the crab have the hoof mark of the pig on its back. So Maa Lokkhi came to the earth sitting one upon another. She carried her properties like paddy seeds and other plant seeds on the boat. Maa Lokkhi was at the foremose and Biatra paddled the boat after her. They reached the human above after about five months.

The first information of Lokkhis arrival to human abode reached to the wild birds and animals. And they sang with joy. The *Dobha Kadhee Bhirech* (spoon tail) danced with joy, *The Ketkettya* (horn bill) gave her a stool to sit on. The *Alsia Peja* (owl) hooted with joy and invited Lokkhi to sit on the stool. So Lokkhi sat on the stool and called the animals and birds one by one. At first she called *Biatra*, the son of Gonga and told him – In the worship of gods you will be known as *Ochsya*. You will get the first offering from the human. Now she called the turtle and blessed to able to live on plain land and in water. The crab was blessed with big claws and the pig with lots of fat. She also told to the *Meh Chhagoli*, on seeing your nest in a jhum, the human must worship it sacrificing a pig taking it as my presence. She also blessed the spider that without his presence a *Dhamma Kamaw Puja* will not be complete. Kalia, though a drunkard was also blessed

that if the human without any children worships him with a five fist *Malha Sugor* (castrated pig) in the *Hoiya Puja* will get children. Maa Lokkhi named the *Bhirech* (spoon tail) as the king of birds. That's why the spoon tail kicks the other birds and the *Sottā Peikh* supplies food to her. The *Ketkettyā* (Horn bill) was blessed to live in the *Olong* of big tree. Now she called the *Ālsyā Pejā* (Owl) and asked her to inform the human about her arrival, hooting. So, the owl went to the human and informed about the arrival of Maa Lokkhi, hooting. But at dawn it felt lethargic and slept in the bushes. On knowing about the arrival of Lokkhi the human were happy with joy and they decided to offer a golden crown to the informer. So, they made a golden crown and searched for the informer. In the early morning they saw the *Khurollhyā* (wood pecker) pecking on a *Bhuro* tree and they took him as the informer and crowned him. Therefore, we find the woodpecker with beautiful crown till date. On knowing the fact Maa Lokkhi called the owl and asked him not to feel sorry for the crown and told him to remain with her and carry her on the back and roam with her to every corner of the world, hooting and wake up the lazy people. That's why the owl hoots early every morning and wakes up people, hooting.

While Lokkhi was coming to human abode, Sani also accompanied Biatra with the plea to test the human as to whom they love more, Lokkhi or him. On the arrival to human abode, on the bank of a river, Sani took the form of a little girl and splashed water on the way. As a result, Lokkhi slipped and all her paddy and othe vegetable seeds fallen. So, she asked the villagers to collect the fallen seeds. Some came with *Mejāng* and some with *Lei*. The people who came with *Mejāng* could not collect all seeds as it fell through the holes and the people who came with *Lei* could collect all the seeds. The uncollected seeds also sprouted and the animals were freed.

First Lokkhi and Sani entered a village. It was a afternoon. A girl just got up. She walked the house with sound. She went to the front of the house. The girl just came out and urinated in front of the house. Seeing this Lakkhi was dismayed. Sani tol her– "she is my follower". So, let us go and find your follower.

Now Lokkhi and Sani reached a village. There the women bind *Khabang* (turban) on their head. They walk slowly in their houses. They wake up early in the morning. They put prayer to God before sleep lighting lamps. They were found to be eager to welcome, Lokkhi. In a house the daughter in law and the daughter of the householder woke up early in the morning wearing won their head, brushing their hair. They lighted the fire in the oven and washed their faces. They were talking sweetly also about the rearing of a castrated pig for the Maa Lokkhi. Now Lokkhi told to Sani – Look, what they are talking about. No the sister in law told to the sister in law (younger sister of husband), you go and face water and I will cook meal. So, she came to the verandah to carry water and she found a woman in white dress at the couryard. She then woke up all family members and told about the white dressed woman. Her mother got up and washed her face and opened the main door. She could recognise the white dressed woman as Maa Lokkhi. So, she invited her in. Now the head of the house also woke up and came out and invited Maa Lokkhi with eagerness. He did not invite Sani. So, Sani had to go back pale faced. Now the head of the house went out to invite the villagers that he will serve Maa Lokkhi with the castrated pig they were rearing. So, he requested the villagers to refrain from going out on the day and enjoy the feast he was offering in honour of Maa Lokkhi. And Maa Lokkhi accepted the invitation and she was seated in the inner room under the middle main post of the house.

The village was a progressive one. It was situated on the bank of a river. The villagers built their houses on the hillocks of the bank of the river. The village head was the oldest leader of

the village. He was conferred the title KARBARI by the king. The king also conferred the title of Khijha to some of the villagers. Here a case is tried by the general public called Dajhe under harvest, the leadership of the Karbari. The Karbari selects the area where jhum cultivation is to be made. After the harvest the Karbari used to enquire about the yelds of the villagers. He used to ask the the villagers who have yelded more to share his grains with the less yielded villager. In the village, the villagers used to help each other with *Bol Dena*. Some arrange *Maleia* (where the host ask for one day work help from the villagers and arrange a feast). The villagers used to help the widow and widower in their work. They also wake up by rotation in a sick house and help in calling the *Vaitdya* (physician) and collection of jungle medicine. The villagers also help in the marriage and dead house compulsorily in the performance of all ceremony and rites. They also participate overwhelmingly in every festivals and celebrations. Here, the temple is on the upstream of the river above the village. The children used to go to the temple to learn reading and writing and the students used to learn *Vaitdyali* and other knowledge from a Guru Thagur. The old fellows read the old epics. The girls fill their pitchers from river the youths play the musical instruments like Dhul, Khengrang, Bajhi, Singya, etc., at night. They also dance, play the traditional games like *Gheelā*, Nadeng, Pohr, Gudu, Boli indoor games and participate in drama. The children play the games like *Chorchori, Mch Khara, Bhulong Khara, Bak Khara, Dhingi Khara, Polla Polli,* etc. The women spin threads at night with their spinning wheel called *Chorgha.*

After enjoying the feast in the house, Maa Lokkhi now decided to stay in the human abode. The wild birds and animals were gathered and were asked to put their questions. So, the birds and animals started putting their queries one by one. They first started expressing their foe how to save themselves and what they should eat. So Lokkhi told them– "rest under thick bushes during day time and roam at night". The people will be afraid of you on seeing suddently. She told the crab–"you should protect yourselves showing your big claws." Now the wild pig enquired as to where should he live? Lokkhi told him - hide under deep bushes during day time. Roam with caution during day time. There are wild dog who may harm you. You should run away with the sound of 'ghunt'. Lokkhi told the jungle fouls to sleep on the branches of trees at night. When the elephant wanted to know about his fate, he was told to live in the hills and that he will get his food in the hills. Now the boar wanted to know as to where he will get his food? He was told to feed on jungle roots like *Alu* (yam) and *Kuju* (*escullants* and *taro*) and that he should remain hidden during day time. In another village, there was a widower named *Michchingyāh*. He was a very lazy and poor fellow. Though, he had cleared a portion of jungle for jhumming, he had to abandone it due to growth of excessive weed. So, he put prayer to Maa Lokkhi for help.

One day Michchingya went out of home in search of food like jungle roots, yam, escullants at noon Ma Lokkhi went to his courtyard and called up. She took the form of a widow wearing white cloth and white blouse. It was a Wednesday. Two daughters of Michchingya were sleeping then in empty stomach. So, Maa Lokkhi entered their house and woke up the daughters and introduced herself as Mujhi (the younger cousin of their late mother). She asked one daughter to bring the rice *'Tong'* (basket) and the *Kulo* (shieve). She placed one grain of rice in the Tong and covered it with the shieve. Now the Tong was full with rice and she shieved it with the shieve. Now she asked the younger daughter to bring the cooking pot and asked the elder daughter to cook it. They also cooked some curries of vegetable leaves and vegetable fruits. They at it up and the daughters slept after stomach full of meal.

At the evening when Michchingyah returned home with jungle roots, there was silence at home. He called up the daughters and enquired as to what happened to them. Lokkhi answered to him and told about taking meal. Now Michchingyah entered the house and enquired about the where about of the woman. Maa Lokkhi introduced herself as a sister in law to him. That she is a related younger cousin to his late wife. The relation between *Sali* and *Bonhoi* (brother-in-law and sister-in-law) is the most common and cordial one. So Michchingya started joking with Lokkhi. Later Michchingya married Lokkhi and they started running the family.

One day Lokkhi asked Michchingyah was asked to select a jungle for jhum cultivation. He went to select the jungle observing omen and came home in the evening after clearing a portion of the jungle and putting *Dhachchya* (ownership sign) on it. Another day Lokkhi asked Michchingyah to cut and clear the jungle for jhum cultivation. The next day Lokkhi visited the spot and the cleared plot become wider. The jungle dried in the months of *Phagon-Chot* (15h February to 15 April) and Michchingyah burnt it at the end of *Chot*. Michchingyah cleaned the *Ārā* (unburnt logs) for one day and Lokkhi sawn the seeds in one day. There was lots of weed in the jhum. Michchingyah tried to clear it but weeding was completet could not. Maa Lokkhi went to the jhum the next day and the weeding was over. One day Lokkhi asked Michchingyah to go to the jhum and advised him to roam only in three corners. Michchingyah roamed the three corners and found it alright but thought over the matter why his wife had forbidden notto go to the other corner? So, he went to that direction, defying the advice and heard weeping from under the covered of a big boulder stone. Now he went to the direction of weeping sound and found that there was a cave in which all the weeds of the jhum were lying under a big stone and were crying. So Michchingyah uncovered the stone with his might and found that the weeds have run away in the jhum to their position. Mischchingya was surprised to see it and returned home in fear. He disclosed everything to his wife and Maa Lokkhi had to go again the next day to clear it. It is said that Lokkhi had repented for this act of Michchingya that the human will face the problem of weeding in future. The paddy plant grew in *Jet* and *Ājhār* (May to July) and at the end of *Shāgon* (July-August) it matured. When then the paddy was ript in the month of *Bhādho* (Aug.-September) she asked Michchingya to inaugurate it for harvest on a Wednesday. Now Michchingya started harvesting the ripe paddy by cutting the paddy earns with a scicle. He cuts the paddy whole the day, but cutting do not completes. He finds more paddy corn on the place where he had cut the ears. There are also lots of paddy ears at his back. So, one day, out of despair, he hit the paddy ears with the tip of his sickle saying it again come up and does not finish. In the evening he returned home and found his wife suffering from high fever with bruises and body pain. It was because, his wife was Lokkhi and the hit with the sickle actually was on her. So, lokkhi decided not to remain in the human abode any more and asked Michchingyah to construct a platform at the middle of the jhum and invite all the villager for a fiest. Michchingya constructed the platform and invited the villagers on a Saturday. On that Saturday, a feast was prepared by slaughtering a pig measuring five fist. Fourteen other gods were also invited in the feast.

After the fiest was over, Maa Lokkhi lead Michchingya with his two daughters and suddenly all four of them transformed into beautiful gods. People could not realise whether it was reality or dream. They were just staring at them. Suddenly, breaking the silence she told to them—"As the human abode was under famine, I came here with Biatra, the son of Gonga. I with Michchingyah and his daughter lived here among you for eight months to teach you jhum cultivation." She also said that—"If you do jhum cultivation in time there will be no famine. A

family will progress day-by-day if the male do not get addicted to bad elements a right and straight life. If a family leads a good life, the family god *Chumulang* will bless such a family for prosperity." Such a family will earn name and fame. The female who will lead a ethical and cultured life will be known as *Lokkhi Shree*woman I will always remain with the Lokkhi Shree woman and bless her for the progress of her family. The woman who will not follow my advice will lead a sorrowful life. Therefore, listen to all people, let me explain which house or family I will not visit or bless:

1. A woman who would not bind a *Khabhang* (turban) on her head in the morning.
2. A woman who does not get up early.
3. A woman who walk with force in the house.
4. A woman who shouts at slightest pretext.
5. A woman eats with sound.
6. A woman who talks with anger with a guest.
7. A woman who usage bad words.
8. A woman who keeps utensils dirty.
9. A woman who commits adultery.
10. A woman who talks opposite to husband, etc.

Such type of women will be known as *Sani* and people should avoid them. "I will never live with Sani women and remember that I will never be visible again. Though you may not meet me in person again, my representative the paddy and rice will be with you. You may accept the paddy as my representative and generate it to your future generations. You may start harvesting paddy on a Wednesday, the day I came to human abode. You may worship me with the first rice of harvest. If you do so I will always visit this world. And if you follow my advises, poverty will never touch you." After posing for some times, she again told about family culture and ethics as follow: God creates a family. There are definite good and bad. Wherever Maa Lokkhi goes, ALokkhi also follows her. If ethic and culture is followed properly, a family will progress. If you do not follow ethich and culture, you will be under the control of ALokkhi. ALokkhi is the wife of Sani. Sani also longs for sacrifice like other gods. Therefore, going under the control of Alokkhi, it means you are under the control of Soni. A person who falls under the control of Sani, has to suffer for a period of twelve year. Since twelve years is the cycle of Soni. If you worship Maa Lokkhi, you will lead a smooth and progressive live and Alokkhi will run away. If you decide a thing consult in between husband and wife, and father and son for a good cause, a family will prosper andprogress speedily.' She also told about jhum cultivation as under:

Perform *Than Mana* in the month of *Puch* and *Maak* and worship the fourteen gods. After the *Than Mana* seat for a meeting consisting of all villagers and select the area where jhum cultivation should be held for the next year. Afterward, select a day for visiting the proposed area and select the plots. Go to visit the plot after observing all the formalities like taking bath, lighting lamps in the name of God before night and observing other omens like observation of dreams, etc. If everything is good, start clearing the jungle in the month of *Phagon*. it should be dried in *Phagon-Chot*. It should be burnt in the month of *Chot*. The unburnt logs be cleared immediately and paddy and other seeds be sawn immediately. A jhum should be weeded in the month of *Jet* and *Ajhar*. Observe the *Hal Palon*ion seventh of *Ajhar*, to worship *Bajhampudi* (the earth) and other agricultural spirits and equipments. When the paddy is ripe in the

month of *Bhadho* start harvest on auspicious day. On the day of eating first rice, invite the neighbours.

Now how to Worship: A poor family should sacrifice a crowing cock. A progressive family with a castrated pig. Decorate the *Poi* (plate) with fruits and flowers. Offer one glass of wine. Never offer shrips and fishs or sour items. If cock and pig is not possible, offer a roasted crab. In absence of a crab, offer an egg. Light a lamp deep inside a *Lei* (rice basket/container) in the house under the main post of the house.

Lokkhis Blessings: 'Live on the bank of a river or stream. Let the razor sharp blades and pointed weapons and things get blunt for you. Let your wishes fulfilled. Let the soil turn into gold and the lead into silver at your touch. Let my blessings bring fruit. Let you perform *Dhamma Pujo* frequently. Plant banyan trees on the road side to give shades to travellers.

At last, she introduced others on the platform as under: The one with fair complexion to my right is *Dhalechswari*, the goddess of learning. If she is eagerly worshiped, she can provide you all knowledge. The one at my left is my younger daughter *Vikrampudi*. If you worship her you will be blessed with the knowledge of weaving and other art and craft. This old lazy fellow *Michchingya* is my husband, *Chumulang*, the family god. If he is pleased, a family will remain in tact. All ill fate, ill luck and misfortune will go away and there will be no quarrel with others.

I. BĀNHĀ (Riddles): The *Bānhās* are those riddles which the boys and girls use to increase their knowledge level. It is generally encouraged to nurture riddles among the Chakmas. Some examples are given below.

1. *Āgā kābile garā mare. Gadhā.*
   - Root dies on cutting top. Dam of a stream or river.
2. *Āgā loklokkyā pādā khachkhachchya, bhirhechchyā mā punophakkhwa rāngā dokdokkyā. Sughurhi phul.*
   - Top tender, leaves coarse, the anus of Bhirechsya's mother is bright red. Pumpkin flower.
3. Āgājhat jhilimi, pādālat lech, Kan Khodāi bānei dilho kaljyāt kech. – Ām.
   - Tuinkle at the sky, tail at the soil. Which God has created hair at the heart? – Mango.
4. *Ām pādā jhilhi-mili kātthwal pādā leich, uri jār sachsyo puri jār dech. –Rot.*
   - Mango leaves dangling, jack fruit leaves have a trace, mustard seeds flying away and the land is burning. Sun-shine.
5. *Ar ga-tthun dar gha, mu nei karhe ghā, hath nei kurhe madi, theng nei berai hadhi. Pānhi nāl.*
   - It widens the wound, no mouth but makes wound, no hands but digs soil, no leg but walks. Water flow.
6. *Āttugo gājhat seitdobhā khul, bhanghi na barley gutthiyho bhul- Dābā.*
   - A nest of *Seitdova* (a bird) at the hole of a topless tree. Those who does not know the meaning the whole clan is fool. – Bamboo tobacco pipe.
7. Bābu sānnyābajhe, chalhā sānnyā bhājhe, Bāgha sānnyā phāl māre, pātthar sānnyā dube. Beng.
   - Sits like a gentleman, floats like a straw, jumps like a tiger and drowns like a stone. – Frog.

8. *Bar kalaghat sudho phudhe- Tārā.*
   - Cotton blooms at the big valley. Star.
9. Bhāt re bhāt, pātti dhāna bhāt, pāch chhah jane kei na phurhon ek ser cholo bhāt. –Nun.
   - Rice is rice, rice of Patti paddy (small grained paddy); five six persons could not eat one seer of rice! – salt.
10. *Bho bho ra sārhe bhangharhā naih, gattanāt poidyā āghe brāhmhanyho naih. Ki cheih? –Chargha.*
    - Emits 'bho bho' sound, not a black bee; it has secred thread at the neck but not a Brahmin, - wh.
11. *āide shāghatthun phool nei. – Pān.*
    - Vegetable leaves without flowers. Betel leaf.
12. *Khāmmhwa thāi, gātthwa khweih ejhe. Āndhik.*
    - The post remains, the post comes out. –Ring.
13. *Khelhe ek kurhum, na khelhe ek kurhum. –Shāmhuk.*
    - If eaten remains one basket, if not eaten remains one basket. Snail.
14. *Khukruk-khākkrhāk gājha ghuttyā, kai dhin thebhe pānhit duppyā. – Pānhi dur.*
    - Disorderly tree trunk, how many days will you remain in water? – Turtle.
15. *Khut khut allwa cholo bhat, dach gābhure khei na pāran ek dhah cholo bhāt- Nun.*
    - Rice of broken grain, ten labourers also could not consume one measure grain of rice. –Salt.

L. Geil, a Kadhā, Ku Kadhā and Meyā Kadhā: Geil (Curses)/ Ku Kadhā (Bad Language) and a Kadhā (rebuke): Some examples of the *Geil* (curse), *A Kadhā* (abusive language) and *Ku kadhā* (bad languages) and *Doyeli kadhā* (pampering words) generally used by the Chakmas in the day to life are given below:

1. *Āgājha bāch pochchyā*–Let thunder fall on you.
2. *Bāgha eidhyā*–Let you be attacked by tiger.
3. *Bangsha nājhā*–Get finished your clan.
4. *Bhach mwha*–Go toward destruction.
5. *Bhidhya Utthyā*–Let your settlement is vanished.
6. *Bhudho gulhit pochchyā*–Let you be hit by the ghosts' shot.
7. *Chela gulhit pochchya*–Let you be shot by the king of ghosts.
8. *Chelā Hādat Pochchya*–Let you fall in the hands of Chelā, the king of ghosts.
9. *Chotdheng mwha*–Face *Chotdheng* means face a dead drum beat. As per custom the Chakmas used to beat drum at a dead house. The rhythm of a dead drum is said to say– '*Chotdheng Chotdheng dendreng, Magadā Rādhā Dendreng, Theim ni na theim Gāngkuley Jeim'.*
10. *Debedā gulhit pochchyā*–Let you be hit by the spirits.
11. *Dendreing Mwha.* Face Dendreing. Means face a dead drum beat.
12. *Deno mwhat pochchyā*–Let you fall in the mouth of the Deins, the blood sucking spirits.

13. *Matte, Dwai pilyabhwat hāt burei pedhung*–I wish I have dipped my hand in the curd pot meant for your dead spirit at your after-death rite.
14. *Ek shilhon daruyho khei na peyhe garhi matte*–Let you die without getting one shell of medicine.
15. *Gangā gulhit pochsya*–Let you be hit by bullet from Ganga the water goddess.
16. *Gheelhya Ghara Mwha*–Face a wheeled dead chariot.
17. *Matteh, ta gorbhwat hāghi didung*–Wish you die and would ease latrine on your grave.
18. *Matteh Ākbārhā Pwaibho kheipedhung*–I wish you die and I can eat the provisions offered to your soul.
19. *Rādhā Gharha Mwha*. Face a dead chariot.

Rādhā Mwha–Face a dead chariot. Means face a dead person's chariot. According to custom the Chakma keep a deadbody on a decorated cot at home after giving bath which is called *Somreng ghār*. They carry the deadbody on a decorated stretcher called *'Ālang'*. If possible, the dead body is to be first given a ride on a wheeld chariot called *'Gheelhyā Ghār' (Gārhi Ghār, a wheeled chariot)* which is to be pulled by two parties. If a wheeled chariot is not available at least one chariot named *'Rādhā Ghār'* is to be arranged and given a ride. It is only the poor who cannot afford it. After giving a ride on the chariot only a deadbody is burnt. The chariot symbolises the legendary chariot of king Sadengiri who is said to have ascended heaven alive on a chariot pulled by the *'Ka'* (brown doves). *Ratha* a chariot, which is pronunced as *Rādhā* in Chakma due to its rule of pronunciation. When it is with a vowel deleter it becomes *Rath* and when it is without vowel delete it becomes *Radha*.

Ku kadhā (Abuses): Some examples are given here: *Achswa chedā*–horse dicked, *Ākkal chhārā*–Senseless, *Ākkal kān*–Blind of sense, *A Sabbhya*–Uncivilised, *Bānbar put*–Son of a father, *Bāl Khā*–Eat cunt, *Bāl Mwha*–Cunt faced, *Bāla phak kheyā*–Eater of cunt hole, *Balti guru*–An ox, *Bāndar*–Monkey, *Be-ākkal*–Senseless, *Beimān*- One who does not keep promises, *Bechsyā chudi pwa*–Son of a whore fucker, *Bekup*—Senseless foolish, *Bhādha mhāchsyā kugur*–A horny dog of July-August, *Bhakkhārhu*–Circumcised, *Mederhā Kheyā*–dirty eater, *Nadar Kān*–A blind of reality, *Nādang chhārā*- Wretched, *Pādhā chhāgal*–He goat, *Sedhā Khā*–Eat cunt, *Sedhā Mwha*–Cunt faced, etc.

Meyā Kadhā (Pampering words): Some examples are given here: *Bā*- Dad, *Bābu*- Gentle, *Bābhā*- Father, *Bākko*- My Pa, *Bebhei*- Grandma, *Bedu*- Elder/older sister, *Chikko*- Baby, *Chitti*- Baby, *Dā*- Elder/older brother, *Dādu*- Grandpa, *Dhana*- My wealth, *Lokkhi*- Polite, *Lokkho*- Polite, *Mā*- Mom, *Māmhā*- Mother, *Nāgar*- Pleasant talker, *Nāgochchyā*- Pampered one, *Nakko*- Cute talker, *Porān*- My life, *Porānnyā*- Lifeling, *Put*–Sonny, *Tunghyā*- Young boy, *Tuung*- Youngy, etc.

M. Dagha Kadhā: Dāgha Kadhās are those proverbs, words and phrases which the Chakmas use in their day to day conversation as given below. For example:

1. *Ā holot dyā yana dhak sādhā.*
   - Pale ike a curry without turmeric.
2. *A jda ra kārānhā.*
   - To sound like a bad breed.
3. *A jātrā garānhā.*
   - To make a travel unlucky.

4. *A jāttyā kurhwar nāgat kānat phor, ek ghara kochjyāloi sāt gharat jol.*
   - A bad breed chicken has feather at the nose and ear, quarrel of one house causes problems in seven houses.
5. *A Kabāllyā Jyot jāi, Pilya Bhātthunyo ubhot hai.*
   - Wherever an unlucky goes, cooked rice pot goes upside down.
6. *A mānhuch na marey, bhāngā ghar na parey.*
   - A badman seldom die, a broken house seldom fall.
7. *Ā mileyā sighon shāk.*
   - Uncooked *shighon shāk* (a taro type vegetable).
8. *A sābhar bich bech, A manjhyar kadhā bech.*
   - A bad snake has more poison, a bad man talks much.
9. *Āhdhik chedaney ijyā mādhāt ghu.*
   - For being with more knowledge a shrimp is with stool on the head.
10. *Āhdhik jattane kānā seredhi parey.*
    - In keeping with more care, it falls through the pores.
11. *Āhdhik meyāi berhat ābārānhā.*
    - For being with more compassion, one strucks with a wall.
12. *Āādhik pandige padha kurey hāghānā.*
    - For being with more knowledge one eases stool near the road.
13. *Aba byaye Lokkhichhārhā hanhā.*
    - To become poor due to unnecessary expenditure.
14. *Ababyoye lokkhichhārhā hoi pāih.*
    - Unnecessary expenditure is the cause of poorness.
15. *Abachthā bujhi byābachthā gorhā porey.*
    - One should act according to situation.
16. *Ābādhā Moni Ābādhā dhani, Ābādhā dorji Bhodhāng siyani.*
    - Suddent gem, suddent rich, suddent tailor jumping shewing.
17. *Ābhāch sunhi sābāch garānhā.*
    - To say bravo, hearing the sound.
18. *Abhābe swabhābh nachta.*
    - One losses character in distress.
19. *Ābitjane rājārheyo charchāi.*
    - In absence a king may also be scolded.
20. *Ach chet erei na bāri shālābāndhā chet erebār chānhā.*
    - One who cannot remove the prepuce of his normal penis trying to remove the prepuce of a phimosised penis.
21. *Ach chetthyoyho jānā.*
    - To go own penis.

22. *Ādāma kuro kabā bāā.*
    - A crow nest near the village.
23. *Adang krala garānhā.*
    - To behave in rowdy fashion.
24. *Adat na thelhe padhat na pāih.*
    - If absent originally, it cannot be in the stomach.
25. *Adat nājoni burhi, ārha pochchye dhulho bāri.*
    - Usually a dancing old lady, above it there was drum beat.
26. *Ādhā padhatthun biguno chet.*
    - A brinjal's cock at the half way.
27. *Adhak bojānhā/thik garānhā.*
    - To install egg laying basket.
28. *Adhik ghādhilhe pādil bhānghe.*
    - Over stirring breaks a pot.
29. *Adhik ājhā jalat bhājhā.*
    - Over hope floats in water.
30. *Adhik ājhā sarba nājhā.*
    - Over hope causes end.
31. *Ādhik jattane kānā serhedhi pare*
    - Over care falls through holes.
32. Ādhik pandige padha kure hāghe.
    - Over learned men ease latrine near the road (Those who are shows more, have many drawback).
33. *Ādhu gheelyā sach hahnā.*
    - To get loose the knee wheels.
34. *Ādhu ugure nalā gorhi thānhā.*
    - To sit keeping the calf over the knee.
35. *Ādhut kābi bajānhā.*
    - Cause to sit cutting at the knee.
36. *Ādhuye bhar na kārānhā.*
    - The knee not to able to endure the mass.
37. *Adrat āghe bidrat nei.*
    - It is in the heart but not coming out.
38. *Āduri kottā hahnha.*
    - To go into pieces the intestine.
39. *Ādurit pāk khānhā.*
    - Not to get coiled in the intestine.

40. Āgar pwayho pwa, Āgar rwayho rwa.

- The first child is a child; the first plant is also a plant.

41. Āgā garā na chinānhā.

- Not to know the beginning and end.

42. Āgārā kāmat phāghārā na jāi.

- One should not cheat where one has already worked in advance for it.

43. Āgārā khelhe magarā garhach, gharha kodhā kyā bāār garhāch.

- After taking in advance you don't refund. why do you out the family problems.

44. Āgārhā rāghei dhāgārā garhach, ghara kodhā kyā bāār garhach?

- Taking in advance you cheat, why do you spread, family talks.

45. Āge gelhe bāghe khai, pijhe gelhe sonā pāih.

- Advance goers face tigers, late goers find gold.

46. Āge khai Āge dhāi tār lāghat kyeh na pāih.

- Early eater and early fleers are not found by anybody.

47. Āghāch bhāngi kabālat parānā.

- Sky to fall on the forehead.

48. Āghājha chāntārā, puno keich phorhā.

- Moon and star of the sky and boil of the bottom.

49. Āghājha kittyā sep phelhelhey nijo keyāt parey.

- Spitting at the sky falls at own body.

50. Āghe goru na chwhai hāl, dukkha na chhārhe chirakāl.

- Having bull who does not plough, sorrow will never leave him whole the life.

51. Āgunho kure ghee thalhe kamale na galey.

- When did not the ghee melt after keeping near a fire.

52 Āgunho kure ghee na thaih.

- Ghee should not be kept near a fire.

53. Āgunho kure thalhe ghee galey.

- Ghee melts if kept near fire.

54. Āgunhot dilhe marā sughunhiyho tin pāk khāi.

- A dry sea fish also makes three rounds after putting on the fire.

55. Āgunhot ghee de/dhālhey pārhā.

- Like ghee has been poured on the fire.

56. Āgunhot jhām de pārhā.

- Like falling on the fire.

57. Āgunhot pānhit jhām di na bārey.

- One should not jump on fire or water.

58. *Ahtthye dumo pwa ārha punot ghu.*
    - Being a son of Dum above that stool at the bottom.
59. *Ahatthye khāng ārha sitthun jumwat udhe.*
    - Being an eater above that it also grows in the jhum.
60. *Ahdhat nājoni burhi, ārha pochye dhulho bāri.*
    - Being a dancing old lady, above that drum beat.
61. *Āhdhik kāme bāgat hāghānhā.*
    - Being more work and ease stool at the work place.
62. *Āhdhik kāme bāgat hāghe, se ghu phelhādhe tin bhar lāge.*
    - Being having more work and ease at work place. It needs three quarter of time to clean it.
63. *A hingjya param dharma.*
    - Non-violence is a supreme religion.
64. *Hhak kadhā kalhe Khahk garhi lāghe.*
    - Telling a truth strikes with sound.
65. *Āi bāndori, jā bāndori gorānhā*
    - To do come female monkey, go female monkey.
66. *Bāch bengābā bānhey uju, Mānhuch bengā kiley uju.*
    - A band bamboo is straight with bind, a ben man is straight with beating.
67. *Chet chelhe bhoodwho sugor jugonā.*
    - To fit a penis to sacrifice as a pig to a ghost.
    - Wife is not spinning small thread.
68. *Mogo ājhāi bhoch hārānhā, bhojhwa ājhāi mok hārhānā.*
    - To loss wife of elder brother in the hope of wife, to loss wife of elder brother in the hope of wife.
69. *Mogo bhākgye dhan, nega bhākgye jan.*
    - Wealth with the luck of wife, children with the luck of man.
70. *Mojho dhak pānhit buri thānā.*
    - To remain soaked in water like a buffallow.
71. *Mokkyāi mok mātte nei mokkyāi hāt kajade.*
    - A man without wife rubs his hand when a married man beats up his wife.
72. *Mollyāi gāch kāppe Bhāghināi naram pāii.*
    - The nephew feels tender when a maternal uncle cuts a tree.
73. *Mollyā-Bhāghinā jyhot jāi, ābat-balā syath nāi.*
    - Wherever maternal uncle and nephew goes, the danger goes away.
74. *Mollyādi-pijhudhi pijhedhi jāi,moijyānghā-jedenghā phirhi phirhi pāih.*
    - Children of brothers and sisters goes back. Children of sisters get paired repeatedly.

75. Mollyāi gāch kāppe bhāghināi naram pāih.

- A nephew feels tender when a maternal uncle cuts a tree.

76. Morā Bāngāla chet – Kālā.

- The penis of a dead Bengalee - blackest.

77. Mu chuchchyāng garānhā/hanhā.

- To make the mouth pointed.

78. Mu kābila/Rhu kābilā garānhā.

- To make arguement.

79. Mu kālā garānhā.

- To blacken the face.

80. Mu kālā hanhā.

- To get black face.

81. Mu kutkudwanā.

- To itch the mouth.

82. Mu kutkuttyāi chwar khāi, hāt kutkuttyāi swattyā khāi.

- An itching mouth gets slap, an itching hand eats non-veg.

83. Mu midhyā bheghātthyā hāzi, se mānjhyar antar pāji.

- Sweet mouth and open laugh, such a man's mind is crooked.

84. Mu piryājhul bhāt.

- Soared mouth soupy food.

85. Mu pughe madhu bwai pārhā, -ujwal ujwal.

- Trip after trip like a honey bee is collecting honey.

86. Mu tulhi kadhā kānhā.

- To talk lifting face.

87. Mudo shālat jādeyho laghe jānā.

- To accompany even at urination.

88. Mugwaryho degānhā, bini bhātyho jājānā.

- To show a club and offer sticky rice.

89. Mujanghyā ek khuch, pichswa ek khuch.

- One step forth, one step back.

90. Muk sutdha pāney, mānuch sutdha dāney.

- Pan freshens mouth, offering purifies a man.

91. Mul āgābhwa kān halhe, annyo āgār ajhā nei.

- If the king shoot goes blind, other shoots are hopeless.

92. Mul parānat hāt denā.

- To touch at the main life.

93. Mulo khet na garānhā, biguno khet garānha, juwele khei pāre.

- Not to cultivate radish but brinjal, which can be taken when they are ready.

94. Mulugwa bāndara mu.

- Face of a shy monkey.

95. Mulwa khet garānhā.

- To cultivat radish.

96. Munichsyarha doye-meye berān-cherān, hemhāna doye-meye liyhan-pujhon.

- Relation of men is frequent visit; relation of animal is lick and rub.

97. Murhee ajal ajal garhi berānā.

- To walk keep in the heels high.

98. Murhwa udhi guwha bāch.

- To get smell of stool after climbing a hill.

99. Murukbiānā garānhā.

- To behave as a leader.

100. Murukkhwa rāk dādat, hāghima rāk ādat.

- Rage of a fool is at the teeth; rage of an officer is at the heart.

101. Mutte beggar dāi.

- A forced labour runs away while urinating.

102. Muwhar gune beng mare.

- A frog dies for the mouth.

15

Bein and Weaving Process

Bein and its Process: The Chakmas grow cotton called *Sudho* in abundance in their jhum. The hilly soil is suitable for growing cotton. But the length of the cotton yarn grown by the Chakmas is shorter than the yarn grown in other parts of the world. Though the length is short, it is famous for its quality of fibre. The cotton grown by the Chakmas were exported to foreign countries even during British rule. The Chakma inhabited area was best known as '*Kapas Mahal*' or Cotton Belt during British period. It is still exported to foreign countries from Bangladesh and India for mixing with certain fabrics in Europe and Japan.

Process of Growing: The cotton seeds are first mixed with mud and dried. It is done for polishing of the yarn reminants of the seeds. It is then mixed with paddy and sawn along with paddy in the jhum by making a small hole on the ground with the tip of a *Chuchyāng Tāgal* (sharp tipped dao). The cotton plants grow along with paddy plants and the cotton balls generally matures in October-November.

After the cotton is harvested, it is dried on a bamboo plaited mat called *Toloi*. The seeds and the fibres are then separated with the help of a wooden ginning machine called *Chorghi* which is made of two wooden rollers fixed horizontally one upon another in a wooden frame on a wooden housing called *Chorghi Ghar*. The frame in which it is fixed is called *Chorghi Dābānā* (meaning thigh) and the plate on which it is mounted is called *Chorghi Pāt*, the rollers–*Chorghi Sola*, the teeth of the rollers–*Chorghi Karengā* or *Chorghi Melani*, the handle with which it is operated is called *Chorghi Hādā*.

The ginned (seed extracted) cotton is again dried in the sun and bowed with a *Dhanu* (bow) which is made of a small bamboo usually of three to four feet in length and a string of *Ludi Bāch* (creeper type bamboo) or other strong string is bounded tightly between two ends. The cotton is bowed in a place where there is no flow of wind and usually inside the house on a *Toloi*. In bowing cotton to bloom, the bow string is repeatedly pulled and released with the thumb keeping one end on the cotton. A ring of bamboo tube or of deer wind pipe is worn on the thumb to protect from blistering. When the cotton is sufficiently bowed and blown, it is rolled into *Pech* on a hard surface usually on the back of a plate or a wooden plank or low stool, with the help

of a roller called *Pech Kadhee*. When the *pech* are ready, it is spindled into thread with the help of a *Chorghā* (spinning wheel). The *Chorghā* is also made of wood, tapes of cane and iron spindle and it is fitted on a wooden plate called *Chorghā Pāt*. The other parts of a *Chorghā* are *Māladuri* (the wheel belt, usually of thread), *Sugurhi Sir* (wooden, spindle housing plate), *Sughurhi Kān* (pumpkin slice shaped spindle housing), *Dābānā* (thighs), *Chorghā Kān* (spindle housing), *Chorghāhādā* (handle), *Chorghā Lāgori* (handle stick), Chorghā Sirā (spindle housing's housing), *Chorghāmālā* (separator of thread and housing) *Chorghā Mālei* (wheel tapes), *Chorghā Mhādālā* (wheel rod), Chorghā Pāt (plate), Tākkwā (spindle), Chorhoibaach (oil gourd), etc.

In spinning thread, one end of the cotton pech is applied to the conical point of the *Tākkw* (Spindle) and a thread is wounded by turning the wheel in a motion which causes wounding of the spindle and thread is spuned. The spinnded thread is then rolled in the spindle until it is full and removed. A full roll of spuned thread is called *Ek Takkwa Sudho (one spindle of thread)*. The thread is also varies in size for purpose to purpose. For a *Jummwa Silum* (working shirt) the thread will be larger in size and for a *Gānjhā* (napkin) it will be smaller in size. *Ābedhi Sudho* is the thread which is spun by a child who has got no mensuration and a monopose woman which is regarded secred for the purpose of puja and other rites and also for binding a talishman.

From a *Sudho Tākkwa* it is transferred into *Khāng* (coil) with a *Lāngh*, which is made of wood or cane and wooden stick or bamboo chip. The *Khāng*is sometimes divided into *Sulhee* and *Lādee*.

A *Sudho Khāng* is dyed into different colour of choice. The following were the process of dying and making of colour:

Blue: To get blue colour, *Kārmā* or *Kālmā* (indigo) leaves are soaked in a earthen pot and left for rotting for two-three days. Afterward, the leaves are squeezed out and the settled reminant of the bottom is strained and lime powder added. (Lime is prepared by burning the empty shells of snails in dry bamboo firewood). It is then stirred with a stick called *Bhāra Kādhee* till it becomes frothy and when the froth does not stick to anything dropped. It is then allowed to settle down for few hours. When it is settled, the water is carefully drained out and the colour sediments remains at the bottom. The colour sediment now strained with a clothe and dried in the sun making small cakes. For making blue solution, alkali water of bamoo ash or plantain ash, or of sesame plant, ash are made and the colour cakes are dropped to melt. The solution is heated and the thread coils are dipped and boiled. It is then taken out and dried. The process may be repeated if the desired shade is not obtained.

Black: To get the black colour, the blue thread is boiled with the barks of *Kālā Gāb* and dried. Some even bury the blue thread under water and black mud to get the black colour.

Red: To get the red color, the bark or roots of *Rang Gāch* (coloured tree) by cutting into pieces and pounded and boiled with water adding ash. The water is strained and the thread is dipped and boiled adding some oil to get fast colour.

Yellow: To get yellow colour, raw turmeric and the bark of mango tree is pounded and boiled in water. It is then strained and the thread is boiled in the coloured water adding ash and oil to get permanent shade.

Green: To get green colour, the blue thread is dipped in the yellow solution and boiled adding ash and oil.

Brown: To get brown colour, the bark of *Jārul Tree* is pounded and boiled in the same process and the blue thread is dipped in it and boiled adding ash and mustard oil.

When the thread is coloured and dried it is mixed with rice arraroot called *Mār Denā*. It is then brushed with a brush of jungle fruit called *Rijhi*. The process is called *Tigānhā or Tiyānhā*. It is then dried and spread with the help of a wheel called *Nādei* (winder) on a shieve or a basket. The process is called *Kāranhā*. When *Kāranhā* is complete some rice grain or husk is placed on it to make the thread string come out without interruption while rolling into *Tum* (roll). The thread is then ready for weaving process.

For weaving a clothe, the apparatus required are collectively called *Sach-Padar* which are made of fine pieces of bamboo and hard palm tree called *Cha Gāch*. This *Cha Gāch* bears fruit which are like betel nuts and the Chakmas take it as betel substitute. A *Sach Padar* consist of:

1. Radang (housing of apperatus),
2. Tāgalhak (roller of woven cloth),
3. Tārhām (tension chip),
4. Byong (reed),
5. Ba Kādhi (thread fastener) for lower shaft,
6. Suchyāk (Rafter downloader),
7. Shyāng,
8. Tāmumwa,
9. Bogollā (selected rafter downloader),
10. Ba kādhee for flower patterns,
11. Thur Chumo,
12. Tāpsi Chām (the hde used as belt),
13. Tāpsi Duri (the rope fastened at the hide of belt),
14. Chibong or Kuduk Kād (porcupine quill/pin),
15. Mum (wax),
16. Beino Kāni or Narekulo Bāgal or a brush (dampener),
17. Pānaregā,
18. Sudhonnuli,
19. Ba, etc.

The *Radang* is a piece of bamboo which is required for the proper measurement of the loom. It is made by cutting holes where the required apparatus are fitted where the thread are to be wounded. It is usually fitted at the *Chānhā* (verandah) and the thread wounding apparatus like *Tāgalhak, Ba Kādhee, Suchyāk, Shyāng, Tāmmwa, Bogollā*, and if for Pinhon, two more *Ba Kādhee* for *Chābughi Gujhee* are fitted. The thread is then wounded around the *Sach Padar* (usually two strings at a time), till the required measure is wounded. Afterwards, it become a *Bein* (loom) as a whole.

The *Bein* is then taken out from the *Radang* and fastened to two rope rings called *Jadani* which are bound to a wall or two posts. The weaver seats at the other end of the *Bein* and binds it around the waist with a rope called *Tāpsi Duri* and a piece of dry leather of a buffallow or sambhar, as a back cushion. The dry skin is called *Tāpsi Chām*. The *Bein* is now stretched to its limit by fitting the feet to a jam called *Beino Gar*, under the *Bein* and the weaver starts

weaving. First, the weaver will pull the *Suchyhak* up to the *Ba Kādhee* and the thread will separate into two rafter. The *Byong* will be then passed through the space between the two rafters, below the *Ba Kādhee* and it will be pulled down towards the weaver by holding two ends of the *Byong*. It is then again pushed back up to the *Ba Kādhee* and kept up to make space to pass the shuttle roll called *Sudhonnuli*. The *Sudhonnuli* is passed with a bamboo tube case called *Thurchumo*, through the space made by the *Byong*, and below the Byong. Now the *Ba Kadhee* (thread stick which is fastened with the thread of lower rafter) is pulled up, to fall down upper rafter to make space and the Byong is pulled out and passed through the space created by the *Ba Kādhee* under it. Now the *Byong* is pulled down forcefully and one stringe is weaved. Afterwards, the *Sudhonnuli* (shuttle) will be passed by making space with the *Byong*, by the *Byong* at the bottom. Now the *Suchyāk* will be fulled down again up to the *Ba Kādhee* to lower the upper rafter and making intersection and space to pass the *Byong*. The *Byong* will be passed through the space, below the *Ba Kādhee* to pull home the already passed thread towards the weaver, forcefully and another string will be woven. This process is repeated over and over again till the required length is obtained.

Design and Flower Pattern. The Chakmas weave flowers and other designs in their *Bein* from the traditional flower pattern called *Ālām*. It contains flower designs which have names like:

Name of the Flowers of Ālam:

Ājabasābhakāngel, *Bāghachokh* (Tigers eye), *Bāgājilachakkar*, Bar bijilyā, Bar Charghāhādhā phool, *Bar Pattāpatti*, Bārgi Leng, *Bedāgi Boillhyā* (cane leaves), *Betgulosāp* (a snake), Bhādhichuk, *Bigunbijiphool* (brinjal seed), Bijilyādyā Sākkarhā phool, *Bijona phoolochok*, *Bileikhuch* (Cat's paw mark), *Chāndolidābā*, *Charghā Hādhā*, *Chari tolā* (bottom of a earthen container), *Cherāhāt-theng* (centepe legs), *Chha*, *Chigon Majarāphool*, *Chigon Pottāpotti*, *Chigon Sidhyāphool*, *Chiksorā*, *Chokbhoreye Bhādhichuk*, *Chokbhoreyekrangāthup*, *Chokbhorheyhe Sākkarhāphool*, *Chokkhyādoni*, *Dābāboidhak* (bottom of hubble bubble), *Dādidyā Ājabasābakāngel*, *Dādidyā Bāghakhuch*, *Dādidyābijonaphoolochok*, *Dādidyādurphool*, *Dādidyā Kāngarhagulwaphulochok*, *Dādidyāporānghar*, *Dādidyā Sākkarhāphool*, *Dādidyā Sānnyāpidhyā*, *Dādidyāsidhyāphool*, *Dadi dye kodora tong*, *Dānchharāphool*, *Dhinghikorhā*, *Dik*, *Dur*, *Dwibiyā Sāmhulech*, *Ekchillyākāngārhāphool*, *Ekchillyebājhorsidhyephool*, *Ekchillyebileiyokhuch*, *Ghandi Phool* (gong flower), *Hājhatheng*, *Hālchorhāpāt*, *Hār*, *Hārochok*, *Jaganhāthup*, *Jeit Chābughi*, *Junheechokh* (glow fly eye), *Kakkenghahāt pa (gecko's feet*, *Karengāleich* (tail of star fruit), *Tuttubi Hat-pa* (lizard's feet), *Ulu* (elephant apple flower), etc.

There is a custom that if any girl or woman weaves a certain flower in a *Tāngon* or *Pharhā* and dedicated, she losses the right to use that flower for the whole life since after dedicating/ offering a thing one losses ownership.

Dress of the Chakmas: The traditional dress of the Chakmas was simple a loin cloth and a Silum to cover the body. However, five items are advocated to for the complete dress called *'Pāch Kāborā' for* the male. They are: *Khabang*: Head gear, *Silum*: shirt, *Bāmunhi Kābar* (a white piece of cloth) for drapping around the chest and shoulder at prayer, and *Tennya, Gāanjhā* or *Dhudhi*: Loin cloth (*Moreover, Tennyā*) is a small loin cloth tucked from front to back at a string called *'Phāratduri* (waist string) bound around the waist above the knee. *Gānjhā* is actually a napkin worn around the waist whose one end is tucked at the back taking from front to back. Dhudhi was used in marriage and festivals) and Kamar Band: Earlier they used to bind a cloth around the waist.

For the female, the dresses are generally prescribed: *Khabhang*: Head gear, *Silum*: Shirt or blouse, *Khādhi* : Breast cloth. (It is of five kinds: (a) *Phul Khādhi* for wedding, (b) *Chibhuttānā Khādhi* for unmarried and widow, (c) *Jāngāli Pājei Khādhi* for common women and (d) *Khorhoch Khādhi* for the noble family. Thereafter *Chibhuttānā, Jāngāli Pājei* and *Khoroch Khāadhi* pattern were later amended in *Rāngā Khādhi* and every women bound it. Now, the *Rāngā Khādhi* pattern is woven in different colours and shape after 1980's. *Hoiā Khadhi* was specially woven for *Hoiāa Pujo*). *Gādonhi Kāni:* It is the clothe, they use for bathing. *Kamar Band:* Earlier the women also used a piece of cloth to bind at the waist.

The Chakma women also used to weave (1) *Silum Kābar*, (2) *Hāt Kābar*, (3) *Gānjhā*, (4) *Borgi*, (4) *Khollyā Kābar*, (5) *Tāngon*, (6) *Pharhā*, etc., apart from the above.

16

Wine and Alcoholic Drinks

Wine is the integral part of the Chakma Society. In fact, it is an integral part of almost all the tribal societies. It is used in almost all rites and ceremonies - for worship, as a medicine and all form of merry making. The Chakma brew and distil wine from rice, sticky rice, *Kech Piji* (a wheat like grain grown by them), *Kaun Chole* (millet, a mustard seed sized grain grown by them), banana, sugar cane, jack fruit and other sweet fruits. The distilled form is called *Mat*, the undistilled form of common rice beer is known as *Kānjee*, the beer of sticky rice is *Jagarhā* and a sweet fermented sticky rice preparation is called as *Dhoiyā Pujhee*or *Bhāt Jagarhā* and the juice which form after fermentation and before adding water is called *Rujhee*.

Process: In making wine first unpolished rice called *Āllwa Choll* (ricewithout removing bran) is cooked and let to cool. The leavening agent which forms fermentation is called *Muli* (made with soaked rice, garlic, some jungle herbs like *Kāttyah Dagar*, leaves of *Mān Kuju* (elephant taro) and some even mix oxidised water from Blacksmith, which are pounded in a *Dhingi* (wooden pounding machine) and after it has become powdery flour it is made into pan cakes and dried in the sun after dusting with old *muli* powder. Afterward, it is kept in a basket covering with straw) and later sun dried. It is then powdered and mixed with the cool rice. It is then kept in a pot or in a basket covering with plantain leaves to get worm called *Jar Udonha* (To get fever). It is then let to cool and kept in a pot to get fermentation for two nights or more. When it is fermented, juice forms which is very sweet in taste. For taking it as *Kānjee* (beer), water is added in it one night before. If it is kept for more than one night after adding water, it becomes sour and later bitter. If it is to be distilled to get wine, more than two nights is kept and distilled. If it is *Bini* rice (sticky rice) for making *Jagarhā* (sweet beer) it is kept without adding water. Water is added only about 10 to 15 hours before taking.

Distillation: The distillation process is called *Chwanā*. For distilling wine one big sized cooking pot called *Bhādi* is required where the fermented rice called *Mada Garā* is heated to get evaporation. The *Bhādi* may be an empty oil tin with one corner opened in round shape. Above the tin one long necked gourd shell called *Bhādi Sirā* is put which is again joined with a bamboo tube called *Neil Chumo* which other end is joined with a container, usually an earthen pitcher

called *Mada Kum* which is again seated on a ash strainer called *Pākkhwan* placed on two bamboo chips which are hung or bound to form a platform. If the *Bhādi* is of a big pot *(Pilyā)*, a lid with a hole at the top where a small bamboo tube is attached to join the *Neilchumo* to join the *Madakhum*. It is then joined with a paste made with some *Garā* and fine husk. To cover the joint of *Mada Kum* and Neil chumo, a cloth called *Lang Kāni* is placed as a gauze in between the *Neil Chumo* and the neck of the pitcher. The pot of *Mada Garā* is then heated in medium temperature and when the vapour reaches the *Mada Kum*, it becomes hot and dry. Again, to cool down it and form into wine, cold water is poured on the hot pitcher till the desired quantity of wine is obtained. To taste the strength of the wine cotton is soaked sending it with a bamboo chip by opening the cloth gauzed at the neck of the pitcher. The distillation may also be done by putting the pots one upon another. In this process first the big pot with the *Garā* (fermented rice) is put on the oven to get heated. Above that one smaller pot with holes at the bottom to pass vapour is placed. Inside it another small empty pot is placed. Above the second pot another pot with cool water is kept to block the vapours and drop it as wine on the small pot at the middle. It is said that, with the heat of the first pot, the cool water of top pot used to get hot. Hence, it is changed for two-three times before the distillation is over.

Wine may also be distilled for the second time to get desired strength. In that case, some water is added with the wine and distilled in the same process. A double distilled wine is called *Dwachuni* (double distilled). At one level the drinks traditionally used by the Chakmas reflect their close association with naturally produced components.

17

Hunting and Fishing Equipment

The Chakma hunt animals using many weapons and traps. Their main weapon is their *Tāgal* or the working knife. With which they do almost all necessary things. Apart *Tāgal*, they use *Khurhol* (axe), *Bādāli* (chisel), *Chhuri* (pointed knife), *Dhāmā* (sword), *Burhum* (auger bit), *Beich* (wood cutting hoe), *Phāghārhā* (earth cutting hoe), *Kadāl* (small hoe), *Belchhā* (spade), *Khandā* (shovel), *such* (needle) etc. Generally, they hunt an animal by chasing with hunting dogs called *Jeit Kugur* and waiting with *Jādhee* (whelse) in the way and make the animal fall from the ravine and gorge.

On hunting any big jungle animal like *Changarā* (Shambar), *Huring* (deer), *Ājaba sap* (phython), *Jhārbwasugor* (jungle boar), etc., in the kingdom all the villagers had a share. The *Sigāri/Pallhān*, cannot claim it of his alone. There is a belief that if a big animal is hunted and taken alone by a family, is a very bad practice. Such a family will be haunted and harmed by the *Deins* (witches) and it must be distributed at least among people of three *gutthis*. To get protection from *Dein*, it is customary that one should touch the hunted meat share with burning charcoal and turmeric powder before entry into the house. After hunting a prey first, the skin is removed or burnt and cleaned. Before cutting the belly first a little incision is made. Where some grass are applied saying '*Dāru Dāru*'. May be to divert the mind and get relief from the sin of killing a living being that I have tried to save it. It is then cut into pieces. First the *Pallhān/Sigāri* will get his share of- the head and one *Rān* (hunch) called *Pallhānhi Bhāk*, the *Gullet* (helper of hunter), an *Hādā* (front leg) called *Gulleda Bhāk*, a piece of back muscle (*Bungosach*) for the *Kheejha*[1], the other *Rān* (hunch/hind leg) was reserved for the *Raja* or on his behalf the head of the *Gozā*, the *Dewan* (if the place is far away from the place of hunting). Otherwise, the hunter was fined Rs. 5/ against hog's leg, Rs. 15/- against a deer's leg, Rs. 25/- against a sambhar's leg and Rs. 50/- against a goyal's leg[2]. If there is no Raja or Dewan nearby, it is mixed with rest meat. The rest of meat was cut into pieces and divided into two equal parts. One part is divided among every household of the village (including the *Sigari*, *Gullet* and the helpers called *Ghār Bhāk)*, the other part is equally divided among the participants who have cut and cleaned the animal (including the *Sigāri* and the *Gullet* called *Miloni Bhāk)*. The *Milonee Bhāk* or *Ga Bhāk* is never

denied even to small children, especially, a male though his share may be less. It is believed that anyone who deprives a male from *Milonee Bhāk* is attacked by tigers. There is also a custom that the owner of instruments for such hunting like gun, net, dao, whelse, etc., whose instrument has been used for the hunt should also be provided a separate share called *Pān* and a *Peduli Mila* (pregnant woman) should get one extra piece of meat. Since, the child in the womb may be a male child and a male cannot be denied his share.

The main hunting instruments are as under:

1. *Jādhee:* It is the spear, a pointed stick.
2. *Heedhee*: It is a trap of noose. It is placed at the passages of animals. A bamboo pole or small tree is bent down and a rope is bound at its end. A noose is made at the other end of the rope and placed in such a position at the passage of the animals that when the animal puts its head or front leg on the noose it is released and the pole stands up and the animal is hanged. It is placed for birds, deer, sambhar, etc. animals.
3. *Jhāp:* It is a trap kept on a plain ground. A platform made of splited bamboo is kept with heavy load in a inclined position. A post is placed to keep it stand on a platform say half of a bamboo cylinder. One end of the platform is tied with a long rope. Some edibles, say grains is kept under the platform to attract birds and animals. The hunter waits and wait from a distance catching the other end of the rope. If any animal enters the platform, he immediately draws the rope and the platform falls heavily and the animal or bird traps in it.
4. *Kerāp*: It is almost like a *Jhāp*. But instead of drawing a rope, a rope is bound which one end is at the food kept for the animal and the other end at the post. If the animal try to draw the bound food, the post get released and the platform falls on the animal heavily.
5. *Kābhuk*: It is a trap where a pole is fitted with a pointed blade at the passage of animals at the position to hit the heart of the animal. The pole is fitted along another bowed pole. The bowed pole is fitted with a string so that it get released at a little pressure on the string. So, when the animal crosses such place, it strikes the string and the bowed pole get released and the pole with the pointed blade hits the animal.
6. *Phu:* It is the blow pipe.
7. *Mong*. A big log is kept suspended with a rope on the passage of animal. The other end of the rope is kept in such a way that if the animal passes through it the log is releases and falls on the animal.
8. *Jānghi Sorā*: It is the numbers of *heedhee* which are kept in a circular position in the jungle around the domesticated hunting cock. The hunting cock is placed at the centre and bound on a pole. When it starts crowing, jungle cocks come to fight him and in the process of fighting they get trapped.
9. *Khedār*: It is a place fenced with bamboo or wood keeping a door or a dug-out hole where the animals are chased. When they enter it, the door is closed and the entered animals cannot run away and killed.
10. *Poi:* It is the placing of sharp pointed bamboo or thorn, etc., below a gorge or at the down of an animal passage. When the animals are chased, they fall on the sharp bamboo blade and get killed.

11. *Peikh Jāl*: Itis placing of net at the passage of bards.
12. *Ādhā Shalā*: It is the placing of sticky sticks at the place where usually birds sit.
13. *Peikh Ghar:* It is a cage made to catch small birds especially *ugurhik*. In which a *Ugurhik* is placed inside the cage which have entry and no exit. When other *ugurhiks* enter it, they are trapped.
14. *Bādol*: Catapult.
15. *Shel Dhanu:* Bow and arrow.
16. *Bunduk:* Gun.
17. *Bunduk Kal*: Gun trap.

The Chakma also use some other tactics to catch an animal. If an animal like armadillo, porcupine, monitor lizard, etc., enters a hole or borrow they used to send smoke in it by burning grass at the mouth of the hole and close it tightly. On the next day they check it and find the animal dead near the mouth if there is no other way to escape.

For catching fish, the Chakma use the following equipments:

1. *Borshi*: Fishing hook.
2. *Luii*: It is a triangular equipment made by plaiting bamboo tapese used to catch small fishes and shrimps in a stream by cornering to the bank.
3. *Kāni Jāl*: It is the process by which two persons strain the river or stream or pond with a piece of cloth and catch small fishes or shrimps.
4. *Jāl*: It is fishing net.
5. *Dup*: *Dup* actually means a coop. *Dups* are of three kinds: *Ijya Dup* (shrimp coop). *Kāngārhā Dup* (crab coop) and *Gochchyā Dup* meant for big fishes of the river.
6. *Jādhee*: It is a whelse meant to hit upcoming fishes and hidden turtles.
7. *Shel*: It is a small iron rod say a rod of an umbrella fitted on a catapult used to hit small fishes or shrimps in a stream or at the bank of a clear river.
8. *Phājhee*: It is a cone-shaped trap made of canes. The bigger end is equipped with inward thorns. Some food say roasted paddy husk, etc., are kept in it to attract the fishes. The fishes easily enter the *Phājhee* and cannot come out due to the thorn.
9. *Terā:* It is a long cylindrical cage made by weaving bamboo chips. It is placed by making an embarkment at the up and make the water fall rapidly in strong current. When the water falls rapidly on the cage along with the fish, they cannot come up due to strong current and get trapped in the cage.
10. *Chei*: It is also a coop which is placed at an embarkment where there are holes for entry at both sides. When fishes enter it, they cannot come out.
11. *Chharhā Hijhā*: It is drying up of a small fish pond in a stream by making embarkment and catch the fishes of the pond.
12. *Nāllri Denā:* When there is two flow of water at a small river or stream, one flow is blocked and dried up by making a dam and catch the fishes from the dried area.
13. *Borshi Chharā:* It is placing of multiple fish hooks binding on a rope which one end is bound at a firm source and the other end is bound at a floating thing. Some more floating objects may also be bound at the middle of the rope to keep it floating.

14. Meil Denā: It is a kind of poisoning. In which some herbs like '*Ojhon Shāk*' or *Korhoi Bāgal* (bark of Korhoi tree) are crashed at the upstream of a stream and the juice are released. The fish and shrimps die up at the downstream.

Notes

1. Chakma Parichiti, p. 54, by Sugata Chakma, Bargang Publications, Rangamati, 1983.
2. Chakma Parichiti, p. 53, by Sugata Chakma, Bargang Publications, Rangamati, 1983.

18

The Chakmas of Mizoram

The Chakmas of Mizoram are the natural citizen of the area. Mizoram was earlier known as Lushai Hills District of Assam Province during British period. It was renamed as Mizo District in 1952 as Mizo District and as Mizoram Union Territory in 1972. The habitation of the Chakma in Mizoram is on the river banks of Karnafuly, Sazek (Sazuk Lui), Thega and Tuichawng and along the Bangladesh border. These areas were earlier a 'no man land' since the Mizo live on hill tops whereas the Chakma live on river banks. The Chakma were brought to these areas by the British and given settlements to extract forest produces and navigation in the rivers on the recommendation of local Mizo chiefs. Since the Chakma are expert in river navigation with their dug-out boats and bamboo rafters.

As per 'Chakma Chanchin' published by Tribal Research Institute, Art and Culture Department, Govt. of Mizoram, 1996, Page 39, entry of Chakma started in 1872 when the Chakma queen Kalindi assisted the British with 500 coolies in the Lushai Expedition. Afterward there was emigration and immigration between Chittagong Hill Tract and Lushai Hills. Statistical Records of Chittagong Hill Tracts records the following family's emigration from and immigration into Chittagong Hill Tract:

Year	Emigrated from	Immigrated into
1894-95	249	50
1895-96	50	233
1896-97	29	12
1897-98	13	14
1898-99	21	5
1899-00	90	9
1900-01	95	19
1901-02	15	6
1902-03	14	30
1903-04	28	60
Total	**604**	**444**

The settlement of the Chakma in present Mizoram is along the corridor of Myanmar and Bangladesh international border. They are the natural citizen of these areas. Their settlement was in existence during British period. As per records of Provincial Gazzetteers of India, Vol. IV, Page 413 it is stated that—"the boundaries were revised and a strip of an area of about 326 square miles including Demagiri with a population of about 1500 was transferred to the Lushai Hills from the CHT" the home of the Chakma under proclamation No. 1697-E Dt. 6th September, 1895 issued u/s 4 of Govt. of India Act, 1865. Nobody knows for sure as to how many Chakma were there in that 1500 population living in that portion of South Lushai Hills District in the province of Assam and no record is found to ascertain the actual Chakma population in the southern belt of Lushai Hills till 1930. However, there was evidence of Chakma settlements in the Thega valley at the last part of eighteen century as per—"Chandobi Baromach' and in 1918 at Diblibagh as per High Lander News Paper. There is also report of import of Chakma from CHT to extract forest produces and engagement of porters by the British soldiers during World War-II and who later sought permission for settlement at the no man fertile lands for jhum cultivation along the rivers of Tuichawng, Karnaphuly and Sazuk. In fact, they were duly permitted to settle in those river banks as the Chakma know water navigation and making of dug out boats. They were issued settlement permission as under:

No exact record is found to ascertain the actual Chakma population living in the southern belt of Lushai Hills till 1930's. However considerable number of Chakmas lived at Diblibagh, Lettisuri, Demagiri, Nunsuri, etc., places along the Karnafully valley, Tipperaghat, Kojoisury, Bekabekia and other places in the Thegha valley. The 'Chandhobi Baromhach' which was published in the first decade of nineteenth century, states the settlements of Chakmas in the Thegha Valley.

After 1872, the Chakma started settling at the Thegha Valley in the area of Tlanglau Chief Zakhupa. The story of Chandhobi and Nua Ram in 'Chandhobi Baromhach' states that, Chandhobi's father had migrated to Thegha Valley in the Kuki Land and Nuaram came to Thegha Valley to dug out boat. Their unsuccessful love story 'Chandobi Baromhach' was published during the reign of Chakma Chief Bhuban Mohan Roy s/o Raja Harish Chandra Roy Bahadur. As per the story, Chief Vannawla s/o Zakhupa had asked for marriage with Chandhobi with offer of Methun (*Sial*), money and Marha (their traditional necklace) to Joy Singh, brother of Chandobi. The composition runs as *"Gaba laghe Tengā dibo ārha dibo Marhā, Hājhi Hājhi kawi kadhā Kugi Vānnwal* Rājā (I will give Methun (*sial*), moiney and *Marha*, the Kuki Chief Vannawla started while proposing, smiling)". But the marriage was denied and he later named his daughter as Chandhobi. After 1905, many Chakma entered into Lushai Hills in Tiante, Lungno, Thingsen, Muallianpui, Pukzing, Laisawral, etc., areas. Chakmas settled at Marpara area was in 1918 and Phudungsei area in 1925. Before 1933, only Ghreeta Muni Chakma and his group were permitted to settle at Haulongsora and Padda Dhar and Godadhar Chakma families were said to been permitted to reside above Demagiri. They were seen there in 1918. They were the fathers of Kina Chan, Mogollya, Badollya, etc., who later settled at Sugorabasoa, Ugudasuri, Diblibagh, etc., places before 1966.

Actually, the Chakma came to Lushai Hills during British period with permission from the authority and on the invitation of Lushai and Tlanglau/Bawm Chiefs. The Chiefs were happy to allow the Chakma in their no man lands as the Lushai and Tlanglau lived on hill tops and the Chakma live on river banks. Further, they could use them for river navigation and also levy 'Fatang', the poll tax @ Rs. 5/ per family, per year. Imagine they used to get huge amount of Rs.

5/- when one day wage of labour was only three/four *Annas* (quarter Rupee). Further, they were used in Chief's work and maintenance of footpath.

In 1933, the SDO Lungleh granted settlement to Shri Debicharan Tongchangya to settle at Lokkhisuri with 15 families in the no man area. The order run as under:

"Order No. 4 of 1933-34

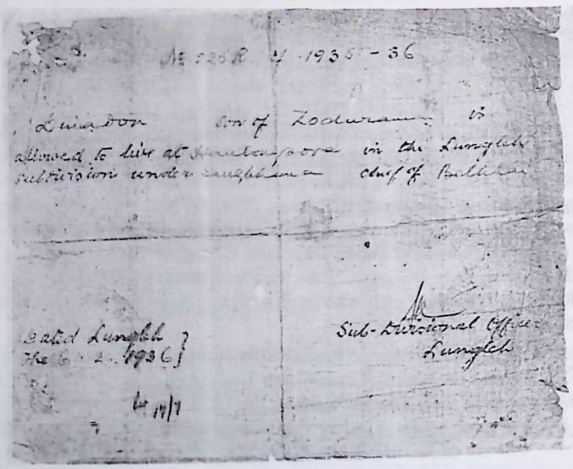
CI Taia's report received. Previous paper perused.

Debicharan is allowed to settle with his 15 families in the land of Lukisuri. The provisionery boundary of which will be as follows:

West	:	Thegalui
North	:	Up the Lukisuri lui from the junction with the Thega to its source in the Uiphum range.
East	:	Along the Uiphum Tlang to the Source of Silsurilui.
South	:	Down the Silsurilui from its source in the Uiphum Tlang to the junction with the Thega.

In the event of Debicharan committing any misdemenoeur, he is liable to be turned out on being giving a month notice."

Lambha Muni Tongchangya s/o Debicharan Tongchangya, Chief of Lukisuri is said to have received Rs. 3,840/- as compensation as assessed u/s 8 of Assam Mizo District (Acquisition of Chiefs Right) Act 1954).



My grandfather also came to Lushai Hills in 1933 along with 45 other families under the leadership of my maternal grandfather Shri Sizukya Karbari. They are said to have to waited for two years at Kumarghata (just above Demagiri, below Diblibagh) for Settlement Permit from SDO Lunglch and ultimately got them in 1936. The permit of my grandfather reads as under:

"No. 220R of 1935-36

Duiadon son of Zoduram is

Allowed to live at Haulongsora in the Lunglch

Sub-Division under Sangkhuma Chief of Belkhai.

Dated Lunglch **Sd/- Illegible**

The 6-2-1936 **Sub Divisional Officer**

Lunglch"

They were settled at Haulongsora. Before them there were few Chakma families under Ghreeta Muni Chakma alias *Pollanya*, the renowned Chakma hunter. They later shifted to Jaganasury, Tuichawng dwar and Matrisora. From Matrisora, at the growth of population the established new bastis at Tinkonamurosora, Pannyabasha, Saitha-I, Saitha-II, Savawmlui, Talalasora, Mardwar, Betbonya, Kaudwar, Putlungsuri, Phairuangdwar, Boga Khali, Chumachumi, Bogakhali, etc., villages.

During World War-II (1939-45), the British utilised the services of the Chakma labourers in carrying their rations and soldier along the Course of Karnafuly and Phairuang. As such they became familiar with the local people and started settling by obtaining Settlement Permit with the help of local Lushai and Tlanglau friends. Afterward Shri Ananda Kumar Karbari (father of Sri Nilo Baran Chakma, MCS) with considerable families settled at Samuksury in 1949. Actually, the Chakma came to Lushai Hills during British period with permission from the authority and on the invitation of Lushai and Tlanglau/Bawm Chiefs. The Chiefs were happy to allow the Chakma in their no man lands as the Lushai and Tlanglaus lived on hill tops and the Chakma live on river banks. Further, they could use them for river navigation and also levy 'Fatang', the poll tax @ Rs. 5/ per family, per year instead of Rs. 2/-. Imagine they used to get huge amount of Rs. 5/- when one day wage of labour was only three/four *Annas* (quarter Rupee). Further they were used in Chief's work and maintenance of footpath.

As per Lushai Hills District Cover the system of tax collection in 1934 was as under:

"In exercise of power conferred by section 35 of the Chin Hills regulation, 1896 (Regulation V of 1896) as extended to the Lushai Hills District by Notification No. 2287 A.P. Dated the 10th March 1932 and No. 2194 A.P. Dated 13 March, 1933, The Government of Assam are pleased to prescribe with effect from the first August 1934, for the said District, the taxes specified in the schedule annexed hereto, as modified by addition of notification.

Schedule

Lushais : House Tax Rs. 2/- per year throughout the District.

Non-Lushais : House Tax at Rs. 5/- per year."

But the Hill Commissioner of Assam held the collection of 'Fatang' or poll tax of Rs. 5/- from the Chakma and Tripuris as illegal under provision of Notification of the Governor of Assam No. 1541-F9 (a) dated 10-4-1930 as amended by notification No. 2962-F9(a) which has provided for payment of poll tax by non-natives since the Chakma were accepted as native subjects of British India.

In the Official Memorandam McCall, the then Superintendent of Lushai Hills District and the Governor of Assam vide No. 4720 G S dt. 07-11-1938 mention about Chakma settlements is found and in one place reads—"There has been a tendency to facilitate the import of Chakmas and other tribes who live in the lower foot hills into these are as in the Lushai Hills in order to broaden the chances of forest extracts. ..... Chakma across the rivers were imported as boatmen and forest labourers who were later given settlements along the riversides on the low foot hills."

For certain period, the imported and newly settled Chakma and the Tripuris asked to pay 'Fatang', the stamp duty as non-natives. But the Commissioner of Hills Division, Govt. of Assam held the system illegal under the provision of Assam Governor's Notification No. 1541-F9(a) Dt. 10-04-1930 as amended by the Notification No. 2962-F(a) Dt. 29-07-1930. Since the Chakmas and the Tripuris were considered as natives.

The order of E.S. Hyde, Superintendent of South Lushai Hills dt. 21-03-1944 regarding Chakma settlements clearly admits the existence of large number of Chakma settlements with considerable families and he decided not to consider further settlements except on exceptional cases.

As a result, the then Superintendent, South Lushai Hills, Lungleh issued the following guidelines regarding settlement of Chakma and Tripuris:

"The following principles will be observed in dealing with the Chakma and Tripura settlement and bastees in the South Lushai Hills:

(i) Owing to the large number of Chakma now settled in the South Lushai Hills, most of whom have considerable families, no further application for settlement will be considered but for most exceptional reasons.

(ii) No passes for new separate houses will be considered except where the applicant is:

  (a) The grown up married son of a Chakma who has been settled for at least ten years in the Lushai Hills.

  (b) The grown up married grandson of such a settlers. In both these cases, the applicant himself must also be permanent resident of the Lushai Hills. Passes for daughters will not be considered. If they marry outside Chakmas, they must go to their husband's village. If they marry Lushai Chakmas, the husband will be covered by the rules above.

(iii) The site of each Chakma bastee will be decided by the Chiefs in consultation with the Karbari and will be reported to the Circle Interpreter. Their sites will not be changed without the permission from the Sub-Divisional Officer or Superintendent. The name of the Karbari with the location of the bastee will be reported for record in the Office.

(iv) The bastees shall consist of not less than 15 houses which are to be concentrated in a village site, or along a lawn which shall not be more than half a mile long. No dwelling houses shall be built outside this site other than Jhum houses, graneries, etc.

(v) The Chakmas will make and maintain throughout the year, a footpath from their bastee to the Chief's village.

(vi) Chiefs will be responsible for the general control of the Chakmas in their *ram*, they will normally work through the Karbari who will be removable on the recommendation of the Chief, if he is found to be either inefficient or of bad character.

(vii) Mass movement of a whole or the large part of the bastee from one Chief's *ram* to another will require the sanction of the Sub Divisional Officer or Superintendent. Individual shifting *pemming* of houses and families will be allowed as in Lushai village.

Sd/ E.S. HYDE

Dated Superintendent of South Lushai Hills

The 21 March, 1944 Lungleh"

The settlement of Chakma in Lushai Hills continued till 1947. During Indian independence in 1947 the Chakma remained in Lushai Hills as a subject of British India as all other tribes remained in Burma, East Pakistan and other states in India. They were taken as citizen of British India. Which was confirmed by Pu R. Zuala, Veteran citizen, Sikulpuikawn, Aizawl as under:

"Chakma hote hi British India citizen an ni a.

Partition a lo ni khan an awmna ah citizen an

ni chho ve ta a ni" (*Source:* Chakma Chanchin).

Likewise, the Zo ethnic people of Burma and East Pakistan also became the citizen of their place of living (Pu Zoramthanga's ancestors and other Mizo ethnic groups living in Burma), (Chakmas, Bawms, Pangs, Tlanglaus living in CHT, East Pakistan). The other non-Mizo like the Nepalese (Gorkhalis), Bengalees and other communities of Lushai Hills were absorbed as a citizen of British India in the Lushai Hills. That's why we find Pu Bama Charan Dey and other Bengalees, Pu Hauva, Tika Ram Upadhyay (Bajea) and other Nepalese (Gorkhalis), Pu Robula (the first Chief Engineer of Mizoram) and other Reangs (Brus), Descendents of Shorab Uddin Khan of Lungleh and other Muslims as citizen of Lushai Hills.

Extract from Inspection Note of Superintendent of Lushai Hills

"(2) **Chakma and Tripura Register:** No new passes are being issued. These people are foreigners. And I do not see any reason why they should not pay tax at the foreigners' rate of Rs. 5/- each. Taxes must be realised at this rate from 1950-1951. Mr. Hyde's Order of dated 21st March, 1944 should be republished both from Lungleh and Aijal. All Chiefs and C.I's should be asked to report the name of Chakmas and Tripuras who entered the District in violation of that order after 1944. This list must reach me by 31-1-50. Any Chief who does not report the infiltration of Chakmas and Tripuras to their *rams*, will be dealt with severely. All Chiefs should be warned accordingly.

Sd/-

Superintendent

No. 10385 G/11-7 of 2-12-49.

Extract to Officer, i/c House Tax for needful.

Sd/-

For Superintendent of Lushai Hills

As

Sir,

I think, we must ask SDO Lungleh to send a copy of Mr. Hyde's Order of 21-3-1944 by W.T. message of Parwan as may be issued to all Chiefs and all C.I.'s on receipt of the order.

Sd/-

Yes. Immediately, also look up for Mr. Mc Donald's order 5-12-49.

TELEGRAM (16)

S.D.O. LUNGLEH STATE

10413 G: REFER SUPDTS INSPECTION NOTES ON CHAKMA REGISTER STOP PLEASE SEND MR. HYDE'S ORDER OF TWENTYFIRST MARCH 1944 IMMEDIATELY

Sd/-

Superintendent

6.12.49

In 1954 more influx was blocked under Standing Order of the Deputy Commissioner of Lushai Hills. Which read as under:

"STANDING ORDER NO. 5 of 1954

It is hereby notified for information and strict compliance by all Chiefs and Headmen in the Lushai Hills District that no new influx of Chakmas and Tripuras will be allowed without the prior permission in writing of the Deputy Commissioner, Lushai Hills.

Serious notice will be taken if any Chief/Headman fails to report the names and particulars of new arrivals (Chakmas and Tripuras) in his jurisdiction.

Sd/- K.G.R. Iyer

1/7/54

Deputy Commissioner

Lushai Hills."

In the above permits it is not written that the Chakma will be treated as non-indigenous or that the settlements were temporary.

All the Kuki ethnic Tribes became Mizo in 1952 and Lushai Hills District became Mizo District and Lushai Hills District Council became Mizo District Council. The Pawis and Lakhers also demanded separate identity and they were given Pawi-Lakher Regional Council. The Mizo were very good and kind. When the Govt. of Assam was found neglecting the Mizo during 'Mautam' in 1959, the Mizo organised an organisation in the form of MNF which ultimately lead to MNF rebellion in 1966. All the Chakma of Demagiri area were grouped at Demagiri and surrounding areas. But the Chakma did not take part in MNF movement. The MNF killed many Chakma during the disturbance. Even my own maternal uncle Chigonya Chakma, the first Chakma Christian in Lushai Hills was killed by MNF along with two other relatives who went to bring their properties from Zawlpui, their village. The Chakma also worked for the Indian armies. They were used as porter and for collection of intelligence. The army also instigated some Chakma to kill Mizo as a result one incident took place near Diblibagh where an innocent Pastor, his wife, daughter, etc., were killed.

As the Chakma were taken as citizen of British India and native, they were included in the **Scheduled Tribes list vide No. SRO 2477-A of 29.10.1956 published under Government of Assam No. TAD/BC/1/55 of 25.1.1957'**

The Chakma were the second largest community in Lushai Hills in July 1951 which means their population was less only to the Lushais and more than the Pawis, Lakhers and other communities in Lushai Hills District. In 1956 the Chakma population was 11435 and they were

second largest community in Lushai Hills after the Lushais. In 1956, the Chakma were enroled in the list of Electorate and my parents name was enlisted as under:

ELECTORAL ROLL, 1956

Sub-Division – Lunglei			**Thana – Lunglei P/S**		
Circle	**- XII**		**Village – SAITHA –II**		
Sl. No.	**House No.**	**Name**	**Father's name**	**Sex**	**Age**
11	**5**	**Or Chandro#**	**Doyadon**	**M**	**37**
12		**Sigoni**	**Sizukia**	**F**	**33**

"My father's name was mis-spelt as the Chakmas always pronounce the letter H silently like the English 'hour', 'honour', etc. Whereas, it should have been Har/Hara Chandra Chakma. Likewise, in Chakma 'K' is pronounced as low pitched 'H' and 'Kh' as exactly as 'H'.

Actually, my father was the Karbari of Saitha-II in 1956. I was born there on 5th June,1957. He shifted to Matrisora (Belphei) in 1958 under Ram Kamal Karbari alias Bhaluk. Ram Kamal expired in 1964 and my father was chosen as Karbari after Ram Kamal's death. He continued to hold that post till 1869 (till grouping centres were formed in 1969). Matrisora (Belphei) was included in Tuichawng Grouping Centre and he was chosen to be VCP of Tuichawng in 1969. He continued to hold that post till his expiry on 15/6/1978. There is no any illegal Chakma village or Bastis in Mizoram. The Chakma are living and trying to live only in those villages and Bastis which were existed before 1966 Mizo Disturbance. There were Chakma settlements in the following villages and Bastis before 1966 which were created as per the order of Dt. 21-03-1944 of Superintendent of Lushai Hills:

Under Circle XVII (Demagiri): Villages are: 1. Phairwang dwar (Phairwangchwah), Lungsen, 2. Barkovakhali, Uiphum, 3. Tuichawng IB, 4. Tuichawng Dwar (Tuichawng chwah), 5. Lambasora, Mauzam (later Tablabagh), 6. Kukisora, Mauzam, 7. Hnakhai-I, Mauzam, 8. Hnakhai-II, Mauzam, 9. Dursury, Puankhai, 10. Haulongsora, Puankhai, 11. Dulusury, Puankhai, 12. Mahlsury, Puankhai, 13. Kojoisury-II, 14. Sumasumi (Chumhachumhi) Hmundo, 15. Diblibagh, Puankhai, 16. Bindiasora, Sirte (later Bindemachor), 17. Muriskata, Lungno, 18. Thega Mukh (Thega Chwah), 19. Tipperaghat, 20. Borapansury (Thega), 21. Begabekkya, 22. Borapansury (Tuichawng), 23. Boro Horina, 24. Gorosora, Sirte, 25. Gurulambasora (Kurbalobaasora), 26. Borapansury, 27. Sangrasury, Kanghmun, 28. Songrasury, Saizawh, 29. Chhotakovakhali, 30. Ukolsury (Ugolsury), 31. Lokkhisury, 32. Borkovakhali, Umphui, 33. Gerakuluksora, 34. Nakkwasury, Hmundo, 35. Sazek. Mauzam, 36. Ugudasury, Puankhai, 37. Bortedoasora (Borchegogozasora), 38. Tuichawng, Lungno, 39. Chengkawllui Chwah (Samuksury dwar), 40. Kurthingdeng (Serlui/Khagarasury), 41. Bhangapulsora, Lungsen, 42. Sedailui (Khagarasury), 43. Belva, Puankhai, 44. Belva, Thingsen, 45. Borakoakhali, Saisi, 46. Bekabekai, 47. Lokkhisury Tlang, 48. Serlui (Jarulsury), 49. Udasury (Serlui), 50. Sumsilui (Telsosora), 51. Saizawhchuah (Bajeisora), 52. Ukdasury (Ugudasury), 53. Jamaisury, 54. Jarolsury (Serlui), 55. Sakeilui (Bagheisury), 56. Kalapani, Sirte, 57. Muriskata, Sirte, 58. Diblibagh, Lungno, 59. Tablabagh, and 60. Lettisury.

Under Circle XII, Belkhai

1.	Saitha-I	Joymuni Karbari
2.	Saitha-	Orchandra Karbari (Hara Chandra)
3.	Savabawmlui	Nagendra Karbari

4. Talalasora — Ratnamohan Karbari
5. Tinkonamurhosora — Chakra Karbari
6. Matrisora (Belphei) — Ramkamal Karbari
7. Samuksury — Ananda Kumar Karbari
8. Haulongsora — Jambuban Karbari
9. Mardwar
10. Jognasury

Under Circle XV, Bawnghmul

1. Betbonia — Toronisen Karbari
2. Kauchuah (Kaudwar) — Kisto Ranjan Karbari
3. Putlungsury — Laksha Karbari
4. Phairuangdwar (Phairuangchuah)

Other Villages under Present Mammit District

1. Amsury (present Tuipuibari, Rajib Nagar)
2. Silsury
3. Lokkhisury
4. Marpara
5. Tarabonia

The following villages were again created during 1956 to 1966 apart from the above:

Gobosury, Chhota Gobosury, Torikau, Pannyabasa, Sugorbasora, Sajekdwar, Pankodasora, Ulusury, Bolisora, Fulsora, Bhulongsuri, Gobomara, Gulsil, Baganpar, Nirolaisora, Jogonasury, Nunsury, Bogakhali and many other villages.

The Chakma joined in in political arena since 1952. They had the following representative in the Mizo District Council from 1952:

1.	1952	Media Chakma of Tipperaghat	Nominated
2.	1957	Media Chakma of Tipperaghat	Elected
3.	1962	Hari Kristo Chakma of Nunsury	Elected
4.	1970	Hari Kristo Chakma of Nunsury	Elected

Shri Atul Chandra Chakma represented the Chakma in the Pawi-Lakher Regional Council from 1954 to till its trifurcation into Pawi District Council, Lakher District Council and Chakma District Council on 2nd April, 1972. These District Councils were again alleviated into Pawi Autonomous District Council, Lakher Autonomous District Council and Chakma Autonomous District Council under Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India on 29th April, 1972. Shri Atul Chandra Chakma was the first Chief Executive Member of the First care taker Executive Committee of the Chakma Autonomous District Council before a General Election could be held.

Since 1971, after the Mizo District was alleviated to Mizoram Union Territory, the Chakma have been sending two MLA representatives in the Mizoram Assembly from Demagiri and Chawngte Assembly Constituencies. They also have influence on Lawngtlai, Buarpuui, Phuldungsei and Lokkhicherra, etc., Constituencies.

They are also sending one representative from Bagheisury (Sakeilui) MDC constituency in the Lai Autonomous District Council and influencing two other MDC constituencies in Lai Autonomous District Council since 1972.

In 1968, all the above Chakma villagers were concentrated in the following 17 (seventeen) Grouping Centres: Tuipuibari (Amsuri), Mar Para, Puakhai, Nunsury, Demagiri, Tipperaghat, Diblibagh, Tuichawng, Lungsen, Kojoisury, Borapansury, Jarulsury, Kukurdhuleya, Damdep, Parva, Vaseitlang, and Chawngte.

The followings are the Chakma inhabited villages in Mizoram as per 2001 Census:

S.No.	Name of Village	No. of Households	Population
Mammit District			
1.	Belkhai	54	253
2.	Tuipuibari	357	1,159
3.	Rajiv Nagar	373	2,380
4.	Ander Manik	119	705
5.	Silsuri	390	2,376
6.	Hnahva (Lokkhisuri)	107	698
7.	Hruiduk (Kujurhuk Bhui)	115	670
8.	Marpara North	338	1,552
9.	Khantlaaaang	42	236
Lunglei District			
1.	Marpara South	354	1,961
2.	Tarabonia	26	168
3.	Sachan (Bogakhali)	67	376
4.	New Sachan (Nua Bogakhali)	104	527
5.	Bhandiasora	77	486
6.	Devasuri	78	490
7.	Malsuri	486	886
8.	Puankhai	175	1,066
9.	Lokisuri	24	160
10.	Sunasumi	40	235
11.	Hmundo	26	169
12.	Belthei	66	380
13.	Balukiasuri	35	234
14.	New Balukiasuri	37	253
15.	Lamthai-III (Tablabagh-III)	44	
16.	Lamthai-II (Tablabagh-II)	59	343
17.	Lamthai-I (Tablabagh-I)	41	249
18.	Serhuan (Kamalabagan)	55	329

19.	Ukdasuri (N)	59	401
20.	Samuksuri	83	595
21.	Sugarbasora	65	377
22.	Diplibagh	219	1,412
23.	Tuichawng	389	2,248
24.	Andermanik	50	350
25.	Sihphirtlang	16	96
26.	Kauchhuah	75	477
27.	Nunsuri	125	885
28.	Champasuri	3	19
29.	Muriskata	25	155
30.	Bindiasora	49	317
31.	Thekaduar	26	171
32.	Khagarasuri	5	27
33.	Balungsuri	34	195
34.	Khojoisuri (new)	92	546
35.	Khojoisuri (old)	43	317
36.	Silkur	35	241
37.	**Borsegojasora**	**30**	**194**
38.	Tipperaghat-III	42	283
39.	Tipperaghat-II	63	429
40.	Tipperaghat-I	139	789
41.	Letisuri	18	129
42.	Khojoisuri	52	350
43.	Boronasuri	40	242
44.	Thanjamasora	46	303
45.	Sedailui (Khagarasuri)	27	161
46.	Vairokai (Boli Adam)	24	141
47.	Lalnutui	29	115
48.	Gulsil	26	134
49.	Kalapani	59	402
50.	Zawlpui (Kau)	158	847
51.	Tuisen Chhuah (Tuisen duar)	46	214
52.	Tuisen Bolia	79	484
53.	Matrisora (Belphei)	121	808
54.	Hmunthar	32	174
55.	Phairuang		

Lawngtlai District			
A.	C.A.D.C.		
1.	Borapansury-I	203	1,090
2.	Borapansury-II	187	1,029
3.	Ugulsury	92	15
4.	Rajmandal-I	52	324
5.	Rajmandal-II	35	200
6.	Boronasury	22	96
7.	Kurbalobasora	113	641
8.	Montola	62	351
9.	Silsuri	91	505
10.	Tungosora	25	179
11.	Chhotapansury	67	413
12.	Songrasuri	36	216
13.	Baganpara	79	548
14.	Bajeisora	87	573
15.	Kamalanagar-II	248	1,443
16.	Kamalanagar-III	343	1,784
17.	Kamalanagar-I	95	952
18.	Old Bajeisora	32	224
19.	Nalbanya	64	377
20.	Gulsingbapsora	6 4	290
21.	Nakdarasora	43	236
22.	Gerakuluksora	51	299
23.	Udalthana-II	100	655
24.	Udalthana-I	115	703
25.	Bormon	36	204
26.	Jarulsury	131	646
27.	Ugudasury, South	169	1,107
28.	Adhubhangasora	6	220
29.	Jamersury (Serlui)	85	523
30.	Bungkawn'S'	22	133
31.	Kukurdhuleya	90	479
32.	Moinabapsora-I	49	336
33.	Phelyabapsora	16	102
34.	Ulisury	53	338
35.	Mandirosora	71	506

36.	Moinabapsora-II	64	377
37.	Borkovakhali	58	355
38.	Rengkashya	97	618
39.	Futsury	65	396
40.	Lokklisury	52	287
41.	Ludisora	23	123
42.	Gerasury	33	210
43.	Jaruldubosora	47	327
44.	Boroituli	29	171
45.	Silosora	32	192
46.	Parva-I	272	1,251
47.	Kamtuli	77	474
48.	Gabasuri	29	190
49.	Ugudasury 'N'	43	271
50.	Ngharum (Mastor Para)	29	157
51.	Saizawh 'W'	67	422
52.	Boroituli	19	106
53.	Ajasora	197	1,244
54.	Borkalak	79	508
55.	Simeisuri	29	186
56.	Vaseitlang-I	99	378
57.	Vaseitlang-II	54	346
58.	Golasuri	69	449
59.	Betbonya	31	202
60.	Longpuighat	161	840
61.	Chaminisora	12	70
62.	Charluitlang	22	120
63.	Devasora	108	598
64.	Futsora	29	197
65.	Chhotaguisury-I	43	265
66.	Chotaguisury-II	23	148
67.	Silbhanga	25	144
68.	Pabla Khali	11	69
69.	Dursora	35	205
70.	Damdep-I (New Jognasury-I)	132	816
71.	Damdep-II (New Jognasury-II)	48	281

72.	Baraguisuri	75	484
73.	Chhipui (Fultuli)	43	249
74.	New Chhippui	14	19
75.	Bilosora	55	339
76.	Devasora 'S'	114	719
77.	Parve-II	49	316
78.	Parva-II	66	388
79.	Bundukbhangasora	48	341
80.	Siminasora	50	355
81.	Dhudhuksora	3	18

B. L.A.D.C

1. Tuikurlui (Ijyaguribap Adam)
2. Telsosora (Sumsilui)
3. Bagheisury-I (Sakeilui-I)
4. Bagheisuri-II (Sakeilui-II)
5. Jognasury
6. Monbuksora
7. Dhwahsora
8. Bhulongsury (Karlui)
9. Ugudasury (Damlui)
10. Pankodhasora (Pandawnglui)
11. Vaseikhai
12. Bolisora
13. Betsury
14. Itsury
15. Saibawk
16. Changarasuri (Nahlimlui).

There was no confrontation or clash between Mizo and Chakma before Mizo Disturbance in 1966 except attack of Mizo at Chakma villages in 1872 at Lo Gang and Puch Gang at Circle 22 in Chittagong Hill Tracts. In fact, the Mizo loved the Chakma and invited them to settle in the erstwhile Lushai Hills to extract forest products and water navigation since the Chakma know to make dug out boats and water navigation. Further, the Chakma settled on river banks whereas the Mizo choose to live on hill tops. The Mizo had brotherly love and no confrontation or clash. But in 1966, the Mizo revolted against the Govt. and the Chakma remained loyal to the Govt. The security forces and intelligent agencies also used the Chakma as porters and informers. In facts they even instigated the Chakma to go against the Mizo. As a result, we find the killing of the family of one innocent Pastor near Diblibagh in 1966. We also found killing of Chakma by MNF insurgents at Betbonya, Gorosora and Ugudasury North in 1966. Still there was no much clash

between the Chakma and Mizo. In the meantime, some clashes occurred between Chakma insurgent Shanti Bahini and Mizo insurgents Mizo National Front in Bangladesh and the MNF Returnee from Bangladesh started hating the Chakma. The Christian Missionary in Mizoram also became active to convert the Chakma into Christianity with lure of financial assistance and other facilities. But the Chakma are found to be very conservative in their faith in Buddhism and the Missionaries could not convert the Chakma except the few poor and lazy unemployed people. Some of whom also returned back to original faith Buddhism after their condition was improved.

The immediate Chakma hatred by Mizo started in 1978 after the Peoples Conference Government of Brig. Thenphunga Sailo fell due to withdrawal of support by the independent Chakma MLA Shri Kristo Mohan Chakma. The PC politicians started campaign against the Chakma and the Chakma Issue became a Vote Attracting Slogan. And to attract the voters and assert themselves nationalist and Mizo leaders, other party politicians also started vomiting poison against the Chakma. In fact, Chakma issue became an attractive political slogan and Mizoram politics revolved around the Chakma. On the other hand, the Mizo missionaries who could not convert the Chakma into Christianity were also not pleased with the Chakma. They also grabbed the opportunity to campaign against the Chakma. So, we find that the Chakma are denied job facilities. The earlier system of reservation of job for the Chakma was gradually kept at avayanche. Even the jobs which the Chakma are supposed to be engaged in the Chakma inhabited localities for smooth administration are given to Mizo. The immediate Chakma hatred came to peak after the publication of one book named "*Pheichham Man Chakmate*" in 1992 by F. Lianchhinga, a Missionary School Inspector of Serkawn who depicted the Chakma as foreigners and second-class citizen. He wondered as to how the Chakma could get an Autonomous District Council, who are foreigners and second-class citizen and exclaimed. They must be blessed by the 'Pheichham' (the mythical one-legged Mizo spirit who bless others with unimaginable things if pleased). Mr. F. Lianchhinga was at Kamalanagar, Chawngte for about ten years and tried to convert the Chakma but was not successful and so he had grudge with the Chakma. As a result, we find the MZP uprising in 1993 where in connivance with the state officials they deleted the original Chakma inhabitants' names from the Electoral Rolls. In fact, a cultural annihilation drive went on by renaming the Chakma villages into Mizo name like Sachan for Haulongsora, Tuikawi for Bogakhali, Belphei for Matrisora, Lamthai for Tablabagh, Tlabung for Demagiri, Sumsilui for Telsosora, Sakeilui for Bageisury, Pandawnglui for Pankodhasora, Karlui for Bhulongsuri, etc., etc.

Now, the Chakma are not given any job under state Govt. except few Police constabulary in the Police department and the local teachers. In fact, even some Mizo are being appointed in the Chakma area schools, whereas there are many Chakma unemployed youths. The Govt. also enacted a law prescribing that at least knowledge of Class-VIII standard Mizo will be required to get a Government job. Whereas it did not extend the facility to teach Mizo to the Chakma by appointing Mizo teachers in the Chakma area schools for the Chakma. It is nothing but to deprive the Chakma from job. Even the facilities for technical studies are being striped. Now the YMA is also demanding the abolition of Chakma Autonomous District Council. Fear of Chakma population increasing abnormally based on fictitious and fabricated figure is being spread to mislead and create anti-Chakma sentiment among the innocent people of Mizoram. It has been stated that as per 1991 census the Chakma population in Mizoram was 80,000, which is far from truth. Whereas the actual Chakma population in 1991 as per census was 54,217. It is also conjured

that the Chakma population in 2001 is 1,50,000 with the deliberate intention to create undue fear in the mind of the Mizos despite the census figure available, which states just 71,283.

Now some Mizo NGOs and ZNP presenting misleading figure of Chakma population in their memorandums first to the Union Home Minister and then to Shri Sata Pal Singh, Chairman, Joint Parliamentary Committee for Citizenship Amendment Bill as it appeared in the Mizoram Post (www.zoramobserver.com) and other local vernacular dailies. The figure which the ZNP published as Buddhist (Chakma) population in Mizoram is shown below:

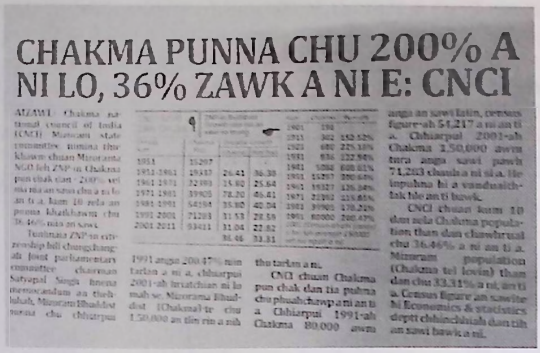
Year	Chakma	Growth per cent
1901	198	-
1911	302	152.52%
1921	680	125.16%
1931	836	122.94%
1941	5,088	608.61%
1951	15,297	300,64%
1961	19,327	126.34%
1971	22,392	115.85%
1981	39,905	178.21%
1991	80,000	200.47%

As the 2001 census was not based on caste, the estimate Chakma population figure is taken as 1,50,000.

The Chakma National Council of India (CNCI) has published the exact Chakma Population in Mizoram vide their e-mail: mscnci14@gmail.comas under:

Census Year	Total Population of Mizoram	Chakma Population	Rest Population (2-3=4)	Decadal Growth (Chakmas)	Decadal Growth (Rest population
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1951	1,96,202	15,297	1,89,905	-	-
19 51-1961	2,66.063	19,337	2,46,726	26.41%	36.38%
1961-1971	3,32.390	22,393	3,09,997	15.80%	25.64%
1971-1981	4,93,757	39,905	4,53,852	78.20%	46.41%
1981-1991	6,89,756	54,194	6,35,562	35.80%	40.04%
1991-2001	8.88.573	71.283	8,17,290	31.53%	28.59%
2001-2011	10,97,206	93.411	10,03,795	31.04%	22.82%
Average decadal growth rate of Chakmas is				36.46%	33.31%

Source: Mizoram at a Glance 2001. Directorate of Economics and Statistics Mizoram.http://dipr.mizoram.gov.in/uploads/documents/documents3.pdf: http: censusindia.gov.in/Tables Published/SCSTdh st mizoram.pdf



CHAKMA PUNNA CHU 200% A NI LO, 36% ZAWK A NI E: CNCI

The implication is quite baseless, illogical and unfounded. Since the Chakma have no means and ways to encourage illegal Bangladeshis. Since, there is not a single Chakma officer or staff in the department like Civil Administration, Police, Civil Supply, Election Branch, Vigilance, etc., department who are supposed to detect growth of population and influx of foreigners. There is Standing Order No. 5 of 1954 issued by KGR Iyer, Deputy Commissioner of Aijal and of Lushai Hills District of Assam banning new influx of Chakma and Tripuris without prior permission. The said order has not yet been revoked. It is a fact that the state officials are not managed by the Chakma to encourage foreigner entry. All the departments are manned by Mizo officials. If there was actually any influx, why could not the Govt. official could detect it? They could have easily done it from the periodical population report submitted to the Civil Administration, Election Department and Civil Supply. The Intelligent Agencies also could have detected it on finding new faces. If, still there is any influx, it is not the fault of the Chakma, but the Mizo officials of the State Govt. and the missionaries who are reported to encourage entry of Christians. On the other hand, why they are silent about the influx of Mizo Christians from Bangladesh and Myanmar. Dinthar Veng of Upper Tlabung (Demagiri) is said to be a village of Bangladeshi Christian Mizos. Let me also state here the population of the two family trees of my fraternal grandfather and Maternal grandfathers to show how the Chakma population has increased:

1. Doya Dhan Chakma (my grandfather) had (1) Jagatswari (daughter), (2) Or Chandra/Hara Chandra, my father), (3) Tara Banu (daughter), (4) Such Banu (daughter), (5) Mohan Chandra (son), (6) Ratna Banu (daughter), and (7) Pottyabi.

(1) Jagatswari married to Rijab Chandra. Their children are: (1)(a) Roya Dhan, (1)(b) Barunda Bala, (1)(c) Japan Dhan, (1)(d) Nibul Dhan.

(1)(a) Roya Dhan expired at Matrisora. His children numbering five sons, one daughter all married and live at Matrisora (Belphei).

(1)(b) Barunda Bala was married to Jayanta, ex-VC member of Belkhai during Mizo disturbance. They shifted to Tuipuibari in 1968. From Tuipuibari, they shifted to Machhmara Tripura in 1980. Now live there with with three sons and three daughter. All married.

(1)(c) Japan Dhan lives at Matrisora with his 8 married children.

(1)(d) Nibul Dhan lives at Tuichwng. Four of his children also got married.

(2) Hara Chandra married Bidyadhari alias Chigoni. He was Karbari at Saitha-II during 1955-56. Kabari of Matrisora (Belphei) from 1964-1968. VCP of Tuichawng from 1968 to 1978 (till his death). Their children:

(2)(a) Kalokka alias Kanak Baran (son), now lives at Kamalanagar-II with one married daughter and three grandchildren.

(2)(b) Amulya Dhan (son) expired last year. Have three sons all married and six daughters-five married.

(2)(c) Amullya Bala (daughter) Lives at Tuichawng. Two sons one daughter live at Tuichawng, two sons live at Kamalanagar.

(2)(d) Subarna Bala (daughter). She was married to Dhirendra Lal s/o Chigonya (whom MNF killed in 1966). They lived at Tuichawng. Dhirendra was V/C Seretary of Tuichawng. Dhirendra left for Bangladesh after MZP activists had caused deletion of his name Electoral Roll in 1995 with his other wife and children. Subarna Bala now lives at Kamalanagar with her four married children and one unmarried daughter.

(1)(e) Sashi Bhusan (son): He is now a retired Head Constable of MRP now lives at Kamalanagar with two married sons and one married daughter and grand children.

(2)(f) Sushil Bala (dughter): She expired in 2013 at Tuichawng leaving behind three sons, three daughters. Only one son remained unmarried.

(2)(g) Lakshmi Bhusan (son): He lives at Kamalanagar-II with two daughters.

(2)(h) Bokul Bala (daughter): She was married to Chandra Hangsha Chakma, now DSP in Mizoram Police. They have two sons and three daughters. They live in Kamalanagar. Two of their children got married. One son serving in the army as Major. Two daughters are Air Hostesses.

(2)(i) Nirod Bala (daughter): She expired in 1966.

(2)(j) Kamalkamini (daughter): She expired in 1972.

(2) Chanchala Devi : She was married to Sujit Chakma of Tuichawng. Sujit served as SI of Mizoram Police. Took VRS this year and now settled at Kamalanagar. They have three sons and one daughter. Daughter got married. Sons studying in college.

(3)) Tara Banu: She was married to East Pakistan. They migrated to NEFA as refugee in 1964. Nothing is known to me about her children.

(4) Such Banu: She was married to Tungu. They have Akshay Muni, Chenbi, Doya Muni and two other children. All married and now live at Matrisora (Belphei).

(5) Mohan Chandra: He lived at Tuichawng. His son Deputi Bhushan was once VCP of Tuichawng in the eighties. Daughters Phul Kumari at Tuichawng, Kamalini at Phairuang. Deputi has two sons and five daugters all married and they are settled.

(6) Ratnabanu: She was married to Dunglu (nickname). They have four sons three daughters. All got married and now live at Phairuang, Phairuangchhuah andankhai area. one son in Pu.

(7) Pottyabi: She was married to Ramani Kanta in 1956 at Matrisora. They have three sons and five daughters. One of their daughter was married to an MAP who is now promoted to SI. Elder son Sunirmal expired in December 2015. Another son Sneha Lal is the headmaster of Tuipuibari Middle School. On. All got married. They shifted to Tuipuibari (Rajivenagar) in 1968 after Mizo Disturbance. One of their son Sneha Lal Chakma.

2. Sizukkya Karbari: He had four sons (Tarani Sen, Ambika Sen, Chigonia and Indrajit) and four daughters (Chigoni alias Bidyadhari, Kandori, Bandori and Kuttyani).

(2) (1) Tarani Sen (son): He was Karbari of Betbonya under Bawnghmul during 1966). His Children are:

(2)(1)(a) Jisu Kumar lives at Diblibagh. He was VCP of Diblibagh many times. Have five daughters and two sons.

(2) (1)(b) Juga Maya, lives at Matrisora (Belphei) with children and grandchildren.

(2) (1)(c) Chanchani, lives at Matrisora (Belphei) with children and grandchildren.

(2) (1)(d) Rangamuah, lived at Matrisora. Expired last year. Children and grand children live at Matrisora.

(2) (1)(e) Jesto Kumar. He lives at Matrisora with 8 children. He was sometimes VCP of Matrisora. Some of them got married and have children.

(2) (1)(f) Lotripon, son, lives at Tuichawng with children.

(2) (1)(g) Niral Kumar, son, lives at Tuichawng with children.

(2) (1)(h) Binod Kumar alias Chithak (nick name), son lives at Tuichawng with children.

(2) (2)(b)Ambika Sen (son): He lived at Tuichawng. Have three sons (1) Nishi Kumar alias Kalachukchuk. He expired at Tuichawng leaving behind five married children.

(2)(b) Shanti Kumar: He lives at Tuichawng with eight children. Five of his children are married.

(2)(c) Khageswar: He used to live at Tuichawng. He has three married sons and two married daughters at Tuichawng from his first wife. From his second wife he has two married sons. Now he lives at Lunglei with his third wife.

(2)(d) Shantimala was married to one Assamese Assam Police, named Gohain in 1968 and no news is known afterward.

(2)(e) Basanti was married to Amrit Ranjan at Tuichawng. They now live at Tuichawng with seven children. Two of whom got married.

(2) (3) Chigonia (Who was killed in 1966 by MNF at Zawlpui (Kau) when he went to fetch his properties from his village Betbonya. He was the first converted Chakma Christian in Mizo District): He has three sons—Dhirendra, Ongku and Bosu. Dhirendra was VC Secretary of Tuichawng. He left for Bangladesh with his second wife after his name was deleted from Electoral Roll in 1995. He has three sons and three daughters from the first wife. Two sons and two daughters already got married and now live at Kamalanagar.

(3)(b) Onku lives at Matrisora with his eight children. Three of them got married.

(3)(c) Bosu lives at Tuichawng with seven children. One son got married.

(3) Chigoni alias Bidyadhari (daughter and my mother): As stated at Hara Chandra.

(4) Kandori (daughter): She was married to Roy Muni at Matrisora. She expired in 1964 at Matrisora leaving behind Shani, Khoni, Doyamoy and Bora.

(5)(a) Shanti now lives at Tuichawng.

(5)(b) Khoni was married to Gada at Tuichawng. Expired after giving birth to one son.

(5)(c) Doyamoy expired at Theiriat when the army took him as forced coolie in 1966.

(5)(d) Bora alias Debabrata also expired leaving behind two sons and one daughter. They now live at Phairuang.

(5) Indrajit: He has three children from his first wife—Sneha Kumar, Satyalata and Sukhshanti. During Mizo disturbance, he was at Betbonia. His elder son expired at Tuichawng leaving behind two sons and two daughters. Daughters got married. One son got married and serving in Assam Rifles. From his second wife he has one daughter and one son (Sangamitra and Dara Singh).

Before Mizo Disturbance Indrajit was a friend to many Mizos like Pu Lalhmingthanga, ex-PC minister, Pu Germena of Lunglei, Pu R. Kapbuaia, ex=Magistrate, Lunglei. They maintained it even after Mizo Disturbance. After Mizo Disturbance, he settled at Tuichawng. But in 1995, his name was deleted from Electoral Roll and he left Tuichawng with a mind to go to Bangladesh. But settled at Maalsuri. There he was looted by dacoits. He then shifted to Nunsuri and his youngest son settled at Diblibagh. Now he is over eighty and roams from Nunsuri, Diblibagh, Tuichawng and Kamalanagar treating people with broken bones. He is expert in traditional healing of bones, even if it is crashed.

(8)(b) Sattyalada: She got married in her village Tuichawng. She has five children and now live at Matrisora.

(8)(c) Sukhshanti expired before marriage.

(8)(d) Sangamitra: She was married to Kunal Chakma an MAP from Tuipuibari. They have three sons and one daughter. Now live at Kamalanagar.

(8) (e) Dara Singh Chakma: He lives at Diblibagh with five children.

(2)(5) Chigono alias Bidyadhari: My mother. We are nine siblings (1) Kanak Baran, (2) Amulya Dhan, (3) Amulya Bala, (4) Subarna Bala, (5) Sashi Bhusan, (6) Sushil Bala, (7) Lakshmi Bhusan, (8) Bakul Bala and (9) Chanchala Devi.

(2) (6) Kandori: She was married to Roy Muni of Matrisora (Belphei). She expired after giving birth (1) Shanti, (2) Khoni, (3) Doyamoy, and (4) Bora alias Debabrata. After Kandori's death Roy Muni who was a BSF Water Carrier at Demagiri, married a Magh widow at Goala Bastee, Demagiri. He has four sons all of them got married.

(6) Bandori (daughter): She was married to Sujasa at Matrisora but died without an issue.

(7) Kuttyani (daughter): She expired before marriage.

Now, the readers please see, how two families have increased into many persons. In this rate, why the population of Chakmas should not grow? Therefore, the Chakma population in Mizoram is quite natural.

From the above, it is clear that the Chakma are not at all foreigners. They settled in Lushai Hills with due permission from the authority. Hence, they are the natural citizen of British India. They are therefore taken as natural citizen of British India after the Independence and partition of Indian as done with other communities. Even the non-tribals like Bengalees and Nepalis who lived in Lushai Hills during British period were taken as citizen of Lushai Hills has also done in Burma and East Pakistan. The people who lived in any area during British Rule were taken as the natural citizen of that place.

It is also clear that the entry of illegal Chakma and Tripura in Mizo District after 1954 and in Mizoram is not at all possible. Since, the Standing Order is still in force and never revoked. If any illegal Chakma had actually entered in Mizoram, it is not for the fault of the Chakmas but

for the failure of the Government. Since all the Govt. Departments and agencies are being occupied by the Mizo officials, Chakmas are not represented in the state Govt. Offices. If the Government could not check it, it is the failure of the Government. The Chakma have no hand in it since the Chakma cannot influence the Government offices by infiltrating in the offices and favouring or influencing in the office. If there is any infiltration the state officials could have easily detected from Intelligence Report, Population records periodically submitted to Civil and District Administration and Local Administration Department, Civil Supply Office and of course, at the Election Branch. All these departments are occupied by Mizo Officials and not by any Chakma officials to influence it. If there is really any infiltration from East Pakistan or Bangladesh – they could have easily detected it. The Chakmas are not given any job opportunity under state Govt. except the teaching jobs in the Chakma inhabited areas and a few constabulary in the Police Department.

Actually, what I came to believe on the Chakma Issue is only for being non-Christian. The Christians, specially the north-east Indian Christian are very communal in their religious belief. It is not their fault. The first Commandment of the Holy Bible says that they should not believe in others except the Almighty Lord, Jesus and the Holy Bible. That they should not worship others. Hence, they have less respect for other religion and beliefs. They therefore could not tolerate Pu Lalthanhawla's showing respect to Durga at Kolkata. For such blind believe only Galileo was administered poison for saying that the world revolves around the sun as it is stated in the Bible that the sun revolves arpond the Earth. Such a thought and believe is very harmful for a secular democracy like India. Otherwise, Europeans and American Christian can show respect to other religions, why not the North-East Christians? Their policy is that—**"When you are in Rome, you should behave as a Roman"** which brings tolerance, friendship, peace and tranquillity. If they visit India and go to any temples—they show respect to others religions, though they are Christian. Since showing respect to others is not a worship. We can show respect to our President, Vice-President, ministers, Chief Ministers, high officials, etc. If we show some respect to others religious beliefs, what is the harm in a secular democratic India? Which, is healthy for peaceful co-existence!

Another fact which brought intolerance to Chakma is that they could not convert any influential Chakma into Christianity so far, though they have been trying for years. It is said that, in the Holy Bible, it is advised that a good Christian is he who can convert a non-Christian into Christianity and for which they can attain heavenly abode after death as of the Mohammedans. Some Mohammedan religious leaders also said to teach their followers to convert non-Muslims into Islam with the lure of heaven after death and also if any one dies for Islam and Muslims, his position is reserved in BEHEST (heaven). That's why we find Muslim terrorism everywhere in the world. For this very reason, the Mizos lecture on Christianity and always try to convert the Chakma and others by insisting to convert into Christianity, getting a chance, have prayer functions in Chakma friends' houses and also give lecture on Christianity in the Chakma areas. Whereas the Chakma never go to preach their religion to any Mizo. Mr. F. Lianchhinga, who was a Missionary School Inspector at Chawngte tried his best for about ten years to convert the Chakma. But he was not successful to convert any influential Chakma. For that very reason I suspect, he was hateful to Chakma and wrote the Chakma hating book–Pheichham Man Chakmate'. In the book he depicted the Chakma as illegal foreign immigrants. That the Chakmas has got citizenship due to the blessing of the **'Pheichham'** the mythical one egged spirits of the Mizos. As a result of which, I believe, the MZP people got furious in 1994-95 and the names of

original Lushai Hills Chakmas were deleted from the Electoral Rolls. Whereas, the Chakma are happy with their own tradition, custom and Buddhism. They never insist or preach Buddhism to any Mizo. The Buddhism has given them free hand to think since Buddhism say— ***"Yehi Paccico upanayako"*** (Come! Feel! Experience, understand and then believe and accept!). They need not believe anything blindly. The Chakmas believe that 'Precious things need no advertisement!'. Those who need precious things, should come in search!

I believe, if the Chakmas are Christian, there will be no clash with the Christian Mizos. They can tolerate other Christians, though they may not have similarity with tradition or language. As they have included the Lakhers (Maras) in the Mizo group. Though they have no similarity in language, tradition and culture. The Mizo group want to assimilate other communities into Mizos as they have done with the Haulongs, Raltes and other small groups, Half of the Hmars, Half of the Pawis (Lais) and other communities. Now, some Hmars and Pawis (Lais) hesitate to identify themselves as Hmars and Pawis or talk in Hmar or Pawi. In Lawngtai district only the Pawis (Lais) of Sangau division knows and use Pawi (Lai) language and Only Some Hmars in Kolasib District and the Hmars of outside Mizoram like Hmarkhwlien (Cachar) knows Hmar language. Some Lais of Lawngtlai feel shy to talk in their own mother tongue! If other communities embrace Christianity, the Mizos accept them. Therefore, we find many non-Mizos to assimilate into Mizo and we find Benglees, Punjabi, Keralian, Dumkas, Assamese, Nepalese, Manipu is, Muslims, etc., to identify themselves as Mizo. The recent incident with MSU at Kamalanagar College is also reported that the MSU leader is a descendent of Bengalee. His grandfather was Ramani Mohan Dey, a cousin of Bama Charan Dey who married a Mizo girl at Chawngte and the MSU leader of that College incident is his grandson. From Chakmas also some have become Mizos like Hindu Kumar and Hari Kumar's family of Belphei who now live at Bunghmun. An uncle of Lalkima Chakma and his family at Tuiipui, etc. Actually, as per the wider meaning of the 'MIZO', the Chakmas are also included in it. Since, 'Mi' means men or people. 'Zo' means hilly land or area. Which means 'People of hilly land or region' meaning tribal. But due to difference in language, culture and religious believe the Chakmas are kept outside the term. Now it is reported that the Mizo Missionary is importing educated Chakma Christians from Bangladesh and giving them all facilities like quarter, etc., for preaching Christianity. They are said to be helping the Christian Chakmas to settle in Mizoram and making their citizenship documents. The policy is said to be to make the Buddhist Chakmas of Mizoram either christian or minority Buddhist among the Chakmas.

Actually, if the Maras and Lais are Mizos, they need no separate Administrative set-up in the form of Autonomous District Council. Since in Mizoram, all the Mizos are equal. They are not persecuted or deprived. They can enjoy equally all the facilities of the Mizos. Whereas the Chakma are persecuted in every field. They are not given job opportunity. Excepting few consutabulary in the Police Department and the teachers' job in the Chakma inhabited area, employment of the Chakmas is almost nil in other departments. Nowadays, even the teacher's jobs in Chakma areas are being offered to the Mizo.

Appendix: Pictures

CADC Emblem

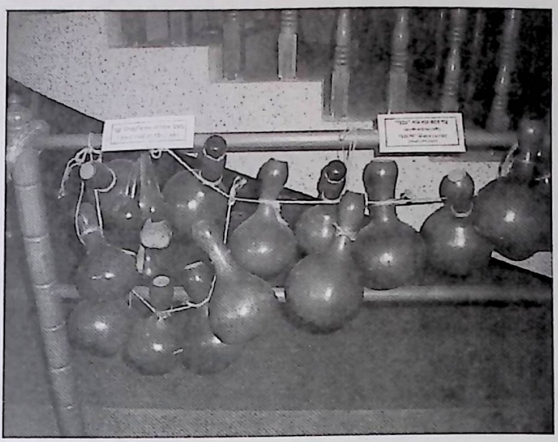
1st row (from L to R) - P.B. Nikhuma (Dy. Minister), Hiphei (Dy. Minister), Khawtinkhuma (Minister i/c Finance), Zalawma,Ch. Chhunga (Chief Minister), H. Thansanga (Speaker), Ch.Saprawnga, R. Thangliana (Minister i/c Development), Saptawni, Vaivenga (Minister i/c Education)

2nd row (from L to R) - Lalhlira, Vanlalhruaia, C. Chawngkunga, Lalbiringthanga, Hrangaia, R. Dotinaia, Lalrinliana, Kapoor Chand Thakuri, Hrangvela, Hari Krisno Chakma, Lalsangzuala.

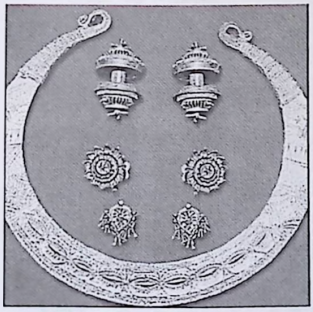
3rd row (from L to R) - Buktharsanga (Under Secretary), Satya Priyo Dewan, Sapliana, L.P. Thangzika, Lalkunga, Saitlawma Sailo, R. Zoliana, K. Sangchhuma, I. Ngurdawla, C. Lalruata, Sangkhuma, N.C. Handique (Secretary), Lalpianga (Marshal).

Absentee : J. Thanghuama and K.L. Rochama

Life



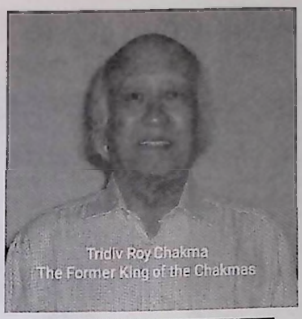
Shantipur Arenya Kutir



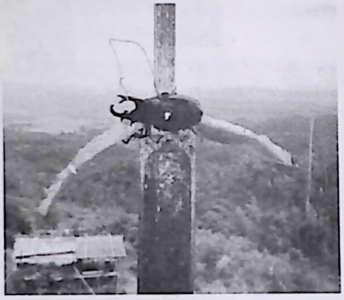
History

Chakma King's Palace in Rangamati, at presently under water

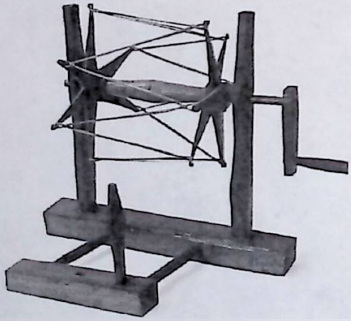
চাকমা রাজা কুমার মোহন রায় (মাঝখানে)


Tridiv Roy Chakma
The Former King of the Chakmas

Jum Cultivation

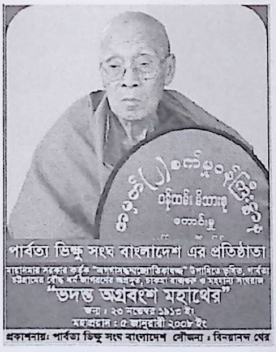


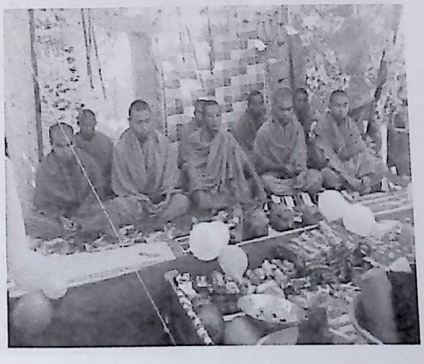
Bein and Weaving



PICTURE SHOWING DIFFERENT WEAVING MOTIFS (PATTERN)
Fig 15
Fig 16
Fig 17

Religion

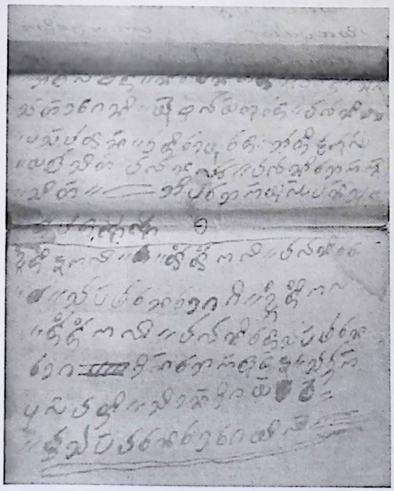

পার্বত্য ভিক্ষু সংঘ বাংলাদেশ এর প্রতিষ্ঠাতা
"ভদন্ত অগ্রবংশ মহাথের"
প্রকাশনায়: পার্বত্য ভিক্ষু সংঘ বাংলাদেশ সৌজন্য : বিনয়ানন্দ খেত

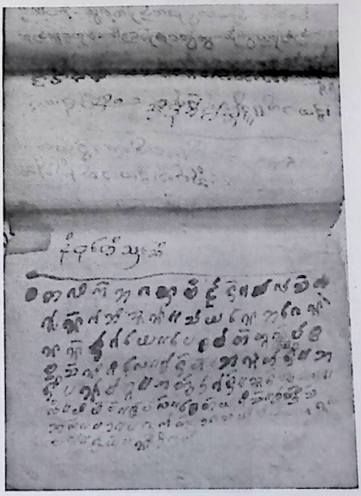


Rites and Festivals

Folklore

Literature





Games and Sports

Drift Seed Game
Giley Hara

Index

A

Abetment 144, 197

Abolition 18, 161, 326

Acquinted 63

Adulteration 145, 196

Allegories 275

Almighty 75, 93, 94, 95, 96, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 128, 224, 234, 250, 251, 284, 285, 287, 332

Anti-Chakma 326

Appellation 3, 4

Assault 139, 155, 197

Assimilated 8, 14, 33, 39, 46

Atrocious 31, 33, 42, 175, 176

B

Ballad 149, 168, 192, 199

Birthrite 52

Blessing 26, 62, 64, 128, 158, 190, 250, 251, 276, 332

Blistering 301

Buddhism 7, 27, 28, 56, 64, 80, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 186, 222, 223, 244, 245, 326, 333

C

Ceremonies 306

Ceremoniously 55, 179, 224

Christian Missionaries 7

Chronology 5, 34

Cocynx 116, 240

Community Welfare 18, 25, 51

Confrontation 325

Conspiracy 38, 105, 158, 197

Criminal trespass 139, 159, 197

Culprit 65, 143, 187, 284

Curiosity 41

Customs 7, 19, 24, 25, 51, 58, 59, 60, 65, 68, 136, 137, 138, 139, 151, 163, 170, 181, 182, 186, 194

D

Dacoity 148, 196

Dangling 292

Defamation 153, 197

Deformities 57, 109, 236

Democracy 332

Demons 95, 105, 107, 243

Denoting 5

Destruction 98, 293
Disobedient 20
Disownment 184

E

Eagerness 262, 281, 288
Elopement 58, 148, 170, 171, 173, 174, 191, 196
Embarkment 310
Embrace 333
Encroachment 192
Enthusiastic 281
Escullants 77, 202, 289
Exorcists 95
Expeditions 2, 37

F

Fairies 7, 95, 105, 107, 109, 110, 111, 214, 236, 237, 238, 239, 243, 248
Fermentation 306
Flogging 142, 143, 158
Foeticide 149
Folklore 244, 264, 270, 271, 273
Forgery 198
Forgiveness 17, 172
Frecognise 65

G

Gazzetteers 313
Genealogical 80
Guilty 137, 142, 163, 187

H

Habitation 1, 3, 4, 7, 13, 14, 43, 95, 108, 111, 112, 113, 158, 181, 190, 227, 238, 248, 312
Handlooms 2, 6
Harmony 62
Harvesting 25, 51, 76, 290, 291
Heaven 35, 36, 67, 68, 91, 96, 101, 102, 150, 156, 178, 233, 285, 294, 332
Hereditary 3, 6, 18, 173, 185
Hindu religion 7, 93
Hinduism 43, 45, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 251
Hospitality 26, 98
Humanism 269
Humiliator 115

I

Immemmorial 181
Immunity 118
Impermanancy 177
Imprisonment 137, 162, 169, 189, 192, 193, 198
Indo-Aryan 270
Infidel 20
Inhumanly 165, 198
Intimidation 148, 196
Intoxicants 64, 98
Islamic sovereignty 2

J

Jaggery 119, 152, 168, 180, 221, 223, 279

K

Kingdom 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 18, 19, 24, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 68, 69, 79, 96, 107, 161, 239, 240, 270, 283, 308

L

Lithographic 80
Lobiyodi 26
Lunatic 184, 186

M

Mahabharata 177, 221
Manuscriptology 98
Marriage System 57
Meditation 37, 41, 68, 99, 101, 105, 115, 158, 245, 253, 275
Mensuration 302
Misfortune 7, 65, 95, 105, 107, 114, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 155, 159, 164, 179, 188, 189, 191, 214, 216, 227, 228, 229, 231, 232, 233, 292

Mizo missionaries 326
Moghul period 7, 8, 17, 18
Monks 7, 57, 64, 66, 69, 70, 73, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 146, 147, 153, 155, 158, 160, 169, 170, 179, 180, 185, 218, 219, 221, 223, 224, 226, 235, 244

N

Nakshatras 100
Non-Chakma 90, 170, 174, 184, 185, 186, 187, 189, 190, 194
Notoriously 171
Noviceship 9

O

Orthodox 80, 94
Oxidised 306

P

Pandemic 80
Patriarchal system 25, 170, 186
Permissible 20, 60, 120, 152, 169, 170, 191, 192
Poliandry 20
Post-humus 184
Pretext 291
Priest 66, 79, 80, 96, 97, 154, 171, 229, 233, 241
Proclamation 313
Prosperity 7, 62, 95, 99, 150, 168, 218, 222, 224, 232, 234, 291

Q

Quael 235
Qualities of a Bride 60
Quardian 110, 236
Quarrel 63, 88, 92, 162, 189, 193, 194, 292, 295

R

Ramayan 94
Rebellion 39, 318
Refugee 49, 329
Rheumatism 7, 109, 236
Ritual 7, 52, 63, 69, 146, 147, 148, 150, 152, 153, 154, 155, 158, 159, 161, 162, 164, 165, 166, 167, 169, 177, 181, 195, 198, 233, 234

S

Salvation 69, 80, 95, 96, 97, 99, 101, 158, 180, 218, 220, 221, 248, 251, 252, 253, 262
Shieve 38, 56, 62, 64, 71, 72, 73, 91, 105, 127, 215, 249, 289, 303
Social system 7, 25, 51, 71, 136, 253

T

Talisman 53, 89, 91, 105, 108, 112, 113, 114, 120, 123, 125, 126, 151, 153, 159, 164, 188, 216, 250
Terminated 60, 163
Turban 73, 152, 288, 291

U

Ubho geet 56, 159, 188, 244, 270, 272
Ugurhik 71, 201, 203, 310
Uniqueness 79
Unlawful sex 194
Upstream 215, 241, 289, 311

V

Vanished 76, 293
Vasant Panchami 224
Veiled 83
Vigilance 328
Violation 60, 151, 152, 168, 192, 193, 199, 317
Virgin 75, 182, 241
Vitality 118
Volunteers 17, 175, 219, 220
Vulture 60, 97, 102, 106, 112, 188, 200, 286

W

Wagtail 106
Welfare 18, 25, 51, 114, 147, 155, 158, 164, 168, 225, 226, 232, 233
Wildlife 110
Will of Property 186

Winder 303
Witches 7, 24, 95, 105, 107, 109, 111, 126, 236, 237, 243, 308
Worshipped 80, 93, 94, 95, 96, 102, 103, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 110, 150, 155, 159, 167, 214, 226, 229, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 240, 241, 242, 243, 286

Y

Yakshas 105
Yantra 123, 250

Z

Zamindari 19
Zodiac 112, 116, 224

Chakma Library
www.chakmalibrary.net

The present book consisting of eighteen chapters is a compendium of the Chakma tribe spread across South-East Asia. It addresses the anthropological, cultural, social, socio-political aspects of this tribal community. It has covered Chakmas' history, lifestyle, cultivation, language and script, religious beliefs, myths, indigenous medicine, rites and festivals, games and sports, literature, marriage, death, hunting, socio-political condition, etc. It is hoped that this book will greatly help the readers to explore several areas of this tribe so far untold or unaddressed.

About The Author

Shri Lakshmi Bhusan Chakma (popularly known as LB), born on 05.06.1957 at Khagarasuri (Saitha-II), CircleNo. XII Belkhai of the Sub Division of Lungleh in the Mizo District of Assam to the family of Shri Hara Chandra Chakma and Smt. Chigoni alias Vidyadhari Chakma. His grandparents migrated to Lushai Hills in the year 1933, under the leadership of Sizukkya Karbari with proper permission from SDO, Lungleh, along with other forty-four families. LB started school in 1963 and passed HSLC in 1979 from Narsingh Higher Secondary School, Silchar and could not continue further studies due to financial constraints. So, he took job as a Teacher at Tipperaghat Primary School in 1979 and continued till December 1980. In 1981, he joined Mizoram Police as an Assistant Sub Inspector. He passed PUC (Arts) from Lunglei Morning College in 1984. He resigned from police services and joined the Chakma Autonomous District Council (CADC) as the Historical Research Officer on 22.04.1987 in the Art and Culture Department. With his utmost sincerity and acumen, LB served CADC as the Arts & Culture Officer, the Legislative Secretary and the Planning & Development Officer. Finally, he was appointed as the Court President and Recorder of the District Council Court.With sweet-bitter experiences, LB retired as the Court President on 30.11.2020.

LB wrote two plays: Dwabadâ Path and Ânâ, edited the CADC Silver Jubilee Souvenir in 1997 and magazine AALAAM (1997-98) with the help of Triptendu Bikash Chakma. He wrote a Chakma Primer named Châṅgmhâ Haragar Pogon Pâdâ (1988) and its revised edition (1994) was introduced as the main text for the Primary level in the CADC schools from 1995. During his service period he collected (and copied) many books especially those written on the Chakmas and from the natives including his mother the contents included in the present book. The present book is evidently an output of those collections and the future generations are expected to find the true picture of the Chakma tribe.

About the Editor

Dr. Susanta Kumar Bardhan, Associate Professor of English, Suri Vidyasagar College, West Bengal, India, is engaged in research on the Chakma Language and Culture. He did his Ph. D from EFLU, Hyderabad on Chakma Lexical Phonology. His works on Chakma morpho-phonology have received wide appreciation. His areas of interest include linguistics, applied linguistics, ELT, Stylistics, literature and culture.

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